

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Ancient GERMANS;

Including that of the
CIMBRI, CELTÆ, TEUTONES, ALEMANNI, SAXONS,
And other

ANCIENT NORTHERN NATIONS,
Who overthrew the ROMAN EMPIRE, and established that
of the GERMANS, and most of the Kingdoms of EUROPE.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

From the first certain Account of those
Several Nations inhabiting the Coun-
try now call'd *Germany*, to the Foun-
dation of the *Monarchy* of the *Franks*,
in *Gaul*, *Ann.* 486.

VOL. II.

From the Foundation of the *Monarchy*
of the *Franks*, in *Gaul*, to the Ex-
tinction of the *Merovingian*, and the
Beginning of the *Carlovingian* Line,
Ann. 751,

Written Originally in HIGH GERMAN;

*And illustrated with a great Number of Notes and Quotations, from ancient Authors,
Monuments; Inscriptions, Accounts of Medals, Coins, and other Antiquities,
which give a Light as well to the Roman as the German,
Italian, Spanish, French and English Histories;*

By Doctor JOHN JACOB MASCOU,

Aulick Counsellor to the King of *Poland*, Assessor of the Court of Justice,
and Senator of the City of *Leipzick*, in *Saxony*.

Now Translated into ENGLISH,

By THO. LEDIARD, Esq;

Late Secretary to His MAJESTY's Envoy Extraordinary in *Lower Germany*.

VOL. I.

LONDON and WESTMINSTER:

Printed by JAMES MECHELL, at the KING'S ARMS, in FLEETSTREET, and sold by him for the TRAN-
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INNYS and MANBY, near St. PAUL'S; GILLIVER and CLARKE in WESTMINSTER-HALL; WILCOX
in the STRAND, and WILLOCK in CORNHILL. 1737.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT GERMANES;

Including that of the

CIMBRI, SUEVI, ALEMANNI, FRANKS,
SAXONS, GOTHES, VANDALS,

And other

Ancient Northern Nations,

Who overthrew the ROMAN EMPIRE, and establish'd that
of GERMANY, and most of the Kingdoms of EUROPE.

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VOL. I.

To the Foundation of the MONARCHY of the FRANKS.

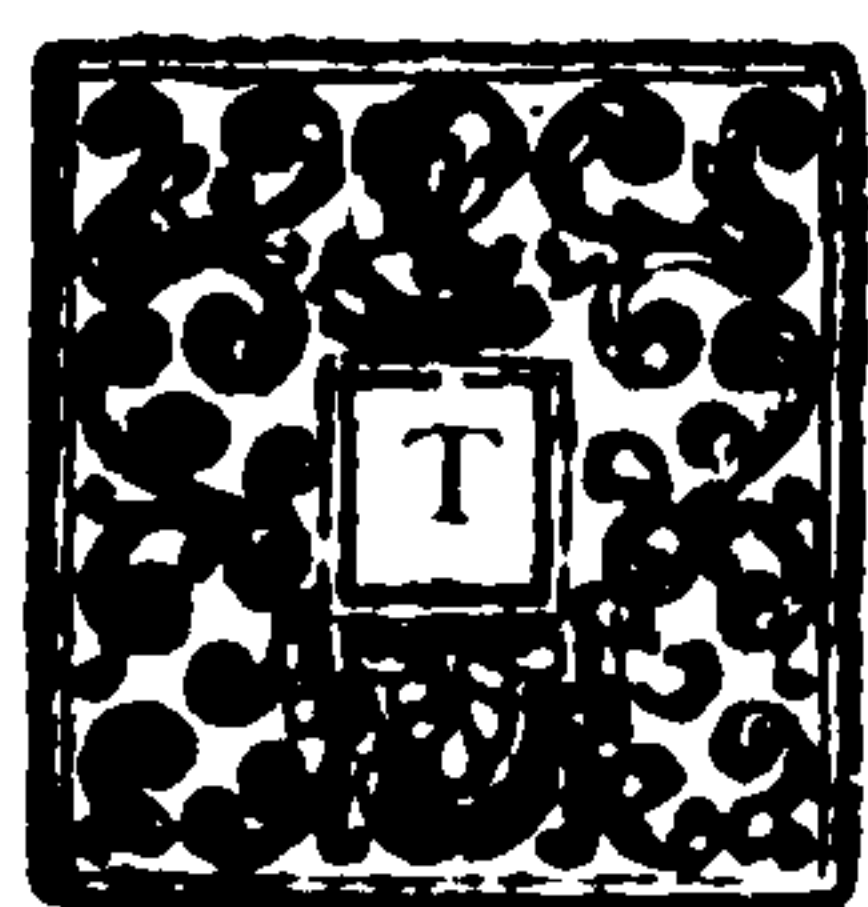
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NOSTER-ROW; CURL, in COVENT-GARDEN; MILLAN, at WHITEHALL; WILLOCK, in CORNHILL;
and BRETT, in WESTMINSTER-HALL. 1738.



THE
Author's Preface,
TO THE
FIRST VOLUME.



THE general Good Reception, which any Work, tending to illustrate the History and Antiquities of *Germany*, at present meets with, has encouraged me to attempt the *Ancient History* of that Nation, to the Extinction of the *Carlovingian* Line, in *Germany*; at which Period, the History of the *German* Empire properly begins: But upon bringing the Materials, I formerly collected for this Design, into Order, I found this Work so increas'd upon my Hands, that I was oblig'd to finish this Volume at the Beginning of
a *Clovis's*

Clovis's Reign. It was at this Time the *Western Empire* ceas'd, and left the Provinces under the Dominion of the *Germans*. The Reign of that Prince, as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, begins a new Period, in which all *Germany* was united under one Scepter.

My Design is, to lay a Foundation, as well for a general *History of Germany*, as for those, in particular, of the Countries and Nations appertaining thereto ; and to reduce, into some Order, whatever is to be found dispers'd in *Ancient History* of the Origin of the *German* People, their Habitations, Migrations, Inroads on the *Roman* Provinces, Civil Wars ; and, at the same Time, of their Form of Government, Genius, Religion, Manners, Arms, &c. That, on the one Hand, those Things, of which a Certainty is to be got, may be set in a true Light, and where, on the other Side, this Certainty is wanting, we may be supply'd with Matter and Room for probable Conjectures.

THE particular Reasons *Germany* has, to be thoroughly acquainted with the Origin of its Constitution, frequently leads the Curious back into the most obscure Times : And for those who will be truly inform'd of the Foundation of their National Laws and Customs, they must be no less conversant in *German* Antiquity, than those who apply themselves to the Study of the *Roman* Laws, ought to be in that of *Ancient Rome* (*). There are many Countries, to this Day, belonging to the *German* Empire, which were formerly sub-

(*) *What is here, and in other Parts of this Preface, said of the Germans, is equally applicable to the English, and every other Nation of Europe, that has its Origin from any of the Northern People, which in this History are, in general, call'd Germans.*

ject to the *Romans*; and many others, that were inhabited by *Germans*, are fallen to the Share of Foreign Nations. Many *Roman* Institutions, as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil, have been adopted and propagated; all which, if not related in a due Connexion, is difficult to be understood. If ever a Period was full of Events, strange and unconceivable to those, who only consider the Outside of Things, it was this. As most Nations in *Europe* find an Account of their most ancient State, in the *Roman* History; so, on the other Hand, it is the *German* History, they must apply to, for the Occurrences of the IV, V, and following Centuries, and, in many Points, even for the Origins of their present Constitutions.

MORALISTS meet likewise, in those, as well as in more modern Times, with sufficient Matter for their Contemplation. The Decorations of the Theatre are indeed greatly different, and the Actors have a quite different Aspect as well as Behaviour: But their inward Motives proceed from the same Human Desires and Passions, and produce Effects, equally the same, in the Revolutions of Kingdoms and People. In particular, it cannot but be agreeable to *Germans*, to consider, that their Ancestors could set Bounds to the immense Power of the *Romans*, and at Length wholly subdue it; and that at a Time, when perhaps even their Descendants look upon them to have been *Barbarians*. The more formidable their Enemies were, the greater was the Difficulty to attain to a Superiority over them; and if we previously know, that the *Germans* were at last Conquerors, we may with Patience peruse the many Accounts given by *Roman* Writers of their Victories over them. This Consideration may, at the same Time, excite that Nation so to cultivate their own Genius,

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that,

that, if they do borrow some Things from other People, the Foundation may nevertheless be always their own.

THE Plan, I have followed, in the Execution of my Design, appears sufficiently from the Division of the Work itself; but it may not be improper here to shew some of the most material Circumstances I had in View. Nations are to be consider'd, either with Regard to their general Extraction; or to their particular Interests, and the Limits of their Publick Weal. According to the Examples set us by *Pliny* and *Tacitus*, we here regard the *Germans* in the former Sense, as being, in the Times I treat of, not yet united under one Head, or in one State. We here comprehend all those Nations, whose Language, Stature, Religion and Manners shew them to have been of *German* Extraction. We shall accompany those, who remov'd out of *Germany*, on their several Transmigrations, to the new Kingdoms, which they founded in distant Regions, as their History often serves to illustrate that of those People, who remain'd in *Germany*, and form'd the present *German Empire*. We cannot, for Instance, rightly understand the State and Circumstances of the *Monarchy of the Franks*, and the *Actions of their Kings*, unless, at the same Time, we are acquainted with those of the *Burgundians*, the *Ostro* and *Wisi-Goths*. I have not ventur'd to go farther backwards, than the ancient Historians have gone before me, nor do I treat of the *Germans*, 'till I find them inhabiting *Germany*, and purposefully pass by the uncertain Conjectures of their Arrival in that Country. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones* take the first Place in this History; to which follow the Migrations of the several *German Nations* into *Gaul*; the Wars waged, on that Account,

Account, with *Julius Cæsar*, by *Ariovistus* and the *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* ; the Motions of the *Suevi*, who obliged *Cæsar* twice to pass the *Rhine*, into *Germany* ; and what farther Share the *Germans* had in the *Gallick* War. The *Rhine* and *Danube* then become the common Theatre of Action ; however, the advancing of the *Roman* Armies to the *Ems*, *Weser* and *Elb* ; the Wars of the *Cherusci* with the *Marcommani* ; the Civil Wars of the former under *Arminius* and *Italus*, and of the latter under *Maraboduus* and *Godwald*, open a Way to the inward Regions, of *Germany*, to the *Elb*. In the *Marcoman* War, wag'd by *M. Antoninus*, we have a View of almost all the *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations, who inhabited to the North of the *Danube*, between the *Vistula* and the *Nieper*. The *Goths* lead us to the *Don*, sometimes to the Heart of *Scythia*, and again sometimes into *Asia* ; the Wealth of the latter having prompted them to cover the *Black-Sea*, and the *Mæotick Lake*, with their Barks. The *Franks*, in the mean Time, form a Nation on the Right of the *Rhine* ; the *Alemanni* cut out Work enough for *Constantius*, *Valentinian*, and his Successors ; and, as they are led by the several Alliances made with them, serve sometimes as Auxiliaries, to support, and sometimes as Enemies, to invade the *Imperial Throne*. The *Saxons* cruise the Northern Seas, and display that Valour on the *Gallick* and *British* Coasts, which afterwards opens their Way to the Dominion of *Britain*. Towards the Conclusion of the fourth Century, the *Goths* give the first Shock to the *Roman* Empire. Under *Honorius*, those Fences, which had 'till then cover'd the Frontiers, are entirely broken down : And thereupon ensues that so Famous and Grand Transmigration of a Swarm of Nations. The *Wisi-Goths* march into *Italy*, and *Alaric* sacks

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sacks the City of *Rome*. The *Rhine* can no longer keep the neighbouring *Germans* from *Gaul*. The *Vandals* and *Suevi* erect new Kingdoms in *Spain*; and the former at Length remove into *Africa*. *Attila* afterwards makes, indeed, a Diversion for a Time; but no sooner did the *Germans* recover their Freedom, after his Death, than the *Ostro-Goths* extended themselves yet farther. After this, the Histories of the *Franks*, *Alemanni* and *Burgundians*; of the *Ostro* and *Wisi-Goths*; of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and of the *Suevi* in *Spain*, are continued; the Origin of the *Bavarians* and *Thuringians* are shewn; and all the single Histories of the *German* Nations are carried to that Height, from whence they fall into the general History of the *Franks*.

THE noble Author * of the Life of *Frederic* the First, has, in Regard to Stile, indeed shewn, how much may, in the Sequel, be expected from one, who applies himself to *German* History: But for my Part, the Obscurity, and, I may venture to say, the Horror, that overspreads this Beginning thereof, will, I hope, plead in my Favour. My chief Endeavours have been, to preserve, as well as possibly I could, Certainty, Order and Perspicuity. In Matters so remote, no greater Vouchers can be required, than what we can produce from ancient Historians, who, so long as their Testimony is not liable to the Suspicion of Partiality or Negligence, are receiv'd by the Learned, without Exception. The Certainty here required is chiefly with Regard to the princi-

* Our Author here means Monsr. von Buhnau, Privy Counsellor to the late King of Poland, an eminent Historian, who has written on the same Subject; tho', in the general Opinion of the Learned, not so successfully as Monsr. Mascou.

pal Occurrences. The Expeditions of the several Nations, their Battles, the Foundation and Subversion of the several Kingdoms herein mention'd, are Points which are beyond all Doubt, tho' perhaps some of the more secret Circumstances may lie concealed, or are variously related by different Writers. It is, in general, difficult to dive into the private Recesses of Affairs: We are often contented, if we know what has been said of them, at the Times when they happen'd; and no Historians are more liable to Suspicion, than those, who very confidently relate the *Arcana* of the Cabinets of Princes. I have, besides this, labour'd under the singular Difficulty, of being obliged to collect my Intelligences of the *German* Nations chiefly from the Writings of their Enemies; and of finding frequently, in the *Roman* History, such Chasms, that almost all Coherence ceases. To come, however, as near as possible to the Truth, I have consulted all the Authors, who were either cotemporary with, or lived nearest to, the Times of which I treat; and have likewise produc'd such *Roman* Coins, Inscriptions, and other Monuments, as could any Ways contribute to confirm or illustrate my Facts. Poets and Panegyrists I have frequently quoted, but never laid a greater Stress upon their Testimonies than is consonant with the Rules of History. I make no References to modern Authors; unless where they have treated certain Points very circumstantially, and have themselves made a proper Use of the Ancients. An Historian may, indeed, be said to discharge his Duty, if he faithfully points out the Writers he follows: But I have chosen to add most of the Passages I refer to, however disguis'd or mutilated some of them may be: By this Means the Reader has the Vouchers,
taken

taken from those very Translations and Editions of the Books, which I have made Use of, together with the Facts, in one View : And sometimes, where my Relations may appear too concise, this may serve as a Plea for me, when it appears, that the Ancients themselves have left us no farther Materials. Now since, as I observed before, the Vouchers for the principal Occurrences are chiefly requir'd, it may sometimes happen, that they are taken from two or more Authors, who vary in their Accounts of the Circumstances : But this Difference, if material, is likewise remark'd, and their Relations compar'd ; or I have shewn to which the Preference is to be given : And this frequently appears of itself from the Context.

IT may at first View seem, as if such Occurrences of Antiquity should only be related in the Manner of Annals : But I have, in most Cases, at least, found so many Intelligences, that I have not been confin'd barely to relate a Series of Battles ; I have been able, likewise, to lay before the Reader, the Constitutions of Nations, their Alliances, Laws, and other concurrent Circumstances : But I have nevertheless kept up a due Connexion in Chronology. With Regard to the *Consuls*, the Years of each Emperor's Reign, and the Computation of the *Æræ Hispanicæ, Alexandrinæ, &c.* I have follow'd the Path into which so many learned Men, and *F. Antonius Pagi*, in particular, lead us ; and only shew when I have found it requisite to deviate from them. The Occurrences of the *German* Nations are so entangled with each other, that from thence alone arise sufficient Inducements to connect Matters so very different in themselves : But as, in general, they had chiefly to do with the *Romans*,
I have

I have been inevitably oblig'd to intersperse Accounts of the *Roman* Affairs ; reserving always, however, the first Place for the *Germans*. It is just the same with the Histories of the *Fazygi*, *Roxolani* and other *Sarmatian* Nations, and, in particular, of the *Hunns*, which are, on many Occasions, interwoven with that of the *Germans* : And when often the most important Occurrences have been related by the Ancients but in a few Words, I have given them no farther Light, than I could draw from the Connexion, and Comparison of all the Circumstances I could possibly meet with. I have been the more cautious, not to give the Publick a Romance instead of a History, as, thro' Inadvertency, it might, very easily, without such Care, have been the Case. This Liberty has been taken not only by many Modern Writers, but we find likewise in the ancient Histories of the *Saxons* and *Franks*, many fabulous Relations. In those ignorant Times, this Manner of Writing was look'd upon as an Art to fix the Reader's Attention, by raising his Admiration ; and whatever Fictions an Author related, Readers were not wanting, who, as they had yet less the Capacity to reflect, readily gave Credit to them. When the Connexion has not been apparent in itself, I have chosen rather to let those Chasms appear, than to invent Circumstances, wherein it might, as it were, be lost. Many Things must be here view'd in the same Light, as in Painting, where distant Objects are represented. On the other Hand, single Occurrences, and perhaps trivial Circumstances, which an Historian, who has a greater Plenty of Materials before him, would probably omit, as not deserving his Notice, are here inserted. We know, by Experience, that, in Matters of Antiquity, a single Circumstance, which, when plac'd by
b itself,

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itself, seems inconsiderable, contains a Key to the most important Matters. In the second Book, I have remark'd, whatever could be collected, of the natural Dispositions, in Body and Mind, of the Religion, Manners, Warfare and Polity of the *Germans*, in general; and as often as any Thing of this Kind has occur'd to me in the History of particular Nations, it has been observ'd in proper Time and Place. By this Means, not only the natural Affinity between these Nations is more and more clear'd up; but we see, how the Affairs, in which they were embroil'd, improv'd their Knowledge in Arms and Polity; how their Manners and Customs were chang'd, and finally how Religion and Learning advanc'd among them.

WHETHER I have preserv'd the Perspicuity, I aim'd at, those Readers will be the best Judges, who possess at least some Part of that Knowledge, which an ancient Author thinks requisite in an Historian *. I only beg Leave here to observe one of those Difficulties, which will occur, in Spite of all an Author can do to prevent it. We are led, as it were into another World; many Things seem so foreign to us, that we can hardly express them in our Mother-Tongue. We are often amidst the Tumults of War, and hardly know ourselves, where we are. In the Provinces, indeed, which formerly appertain'd to the *Roman* Empire, we proceed with some Certainty. In *Germania Magna*, the

* Petronius in *Satyrico*: *Ecce belli civilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit, nisi plenus literis sub onere labetur.*

Confines of those Nations, who dwelt betwixt the *Rhine*, the *Danube* and the *Elb*, are, at least in general, known; sometimes a River, a Lake, or a Mountain, which are irremovable Boundaries, describe them more accurately: But it is the more difficult to set any Confines to the Territories of the *Vandals*, *Heruli*, *Rugi* and other *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Nations, because their Habitations, which were besides only a Kind of Camps, were so often changed. The Names of the Nations themselves are very much corrupted among the Ancients: But I have spared no Pains, to pursue every Track, capable of leading my Readers into the right Way; sometimes, when I could safely venture it, I have added the modern Names of Countries and Cities, to those of the Ancients, or us'd the former alone.

ORNAMENTS, and other Graces of Stile, are hardly to be expected, where all the Circumstances do not ly in such Manner, before the Author's Eyes, that he can select those, which are most easily connected; where all the Persons are not so clearly known, and he cannot delineate the principal Characters, so as to affect the Reader, and make him, as it were, a Sharer in their Fate. Pictures are not so easy to be drawn, as some imagine, who boldly venture to paint the Persons of those, for whose Resemblance, History hardly supplies them with a Feature, as readily, as if they sat for them. I have nevertheless, sometimes, where I have had any Light from the Ancients, and the History is sufficiently
diffusive

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diffusive and circumstantial, ventur'd to place my principal Personages in a somewhat clearer Light : Such, among others, are my Characters of *Arminius*, *Maraboduus*, *Athaulph*, *Genferic*, *Attila*, and *Theoderic II*. We must, at the same Time, not forget, that in History, as in all other Sciences, there are certain Things, in which a mere Relation, if natural, has as good an Effect *, as Art and Ornament in others.

* *Ornari res ipsa vetat, contenta doceri.*



T H E

THE

Translator's Preface.



IN how great Obscurity the *History* of the *Ancient German* and other *Northern Nations* has been hitherto involv'd, is but too well known to those who have been conversant in Antiquity. We find indeed some Fragments of it scatter'd, at Random, in other Histories; but these are only like so many Particles of a Chaos, which want a skilful Hand to unite and digest them into Form.

FOR this we are oblig'd to the ingenious and learned Dr. **M A S C O U**, a Gentleman of a fine Genius, who, by an indefatigable Application, has, in the Prime of his Years, attain'd to so much Knowledge and Experience, as few can boast of: In the Midst of his other laborious Occupations, he has found Time to collect as much of this History, as can be related with any Grounds of Truth, divested of all Obscurity and Fable, and held in a Connexion with that of the *Romans*.

THE Author has given so circumstantial an Idea of the Design and Execution of this first Volume of his Work, in the foregoing Preface, that I shall not need to add any Thing to it: And to form an Idea of the Pains he has taken in the Writing of it, we need only cast an Eye on the Index of Authors he has consulted, and his Notes, consisting chiefly of Quotations from the Ancients, an Account of Ancient Inscriptions, Medals, Coins, &c. at the Bottom of almost every Page. He has written it in *German*, for the Benefit of his Countrymen; and, as the *Ancient German History* has so great a Connexion with that of our Ancestors, the *Anglo-Saxons*, who in Fact were likewise *Germans*; and besides, we have hitherto had nothing like it in the *English* Tongue; I hope it will be both acceptable and advantageous to my Countrymen, that I have render'd it into our Mother-Tongue, with all the Care and Exactness I was capable of. I have neither slavishly kept to the Original, nor (I hope) ever deviated so far from it, as to lose the Sense of my Author. I have purposely avoided a florid and pompous Stile, and aim'd at nothing more than a simple Perspicuity, which, I conceive, is most agreeable, in the Relation of Historical Facts.

AND for the greater Ease, as well as Information of the Reader, and Illustration of this *History*, I have added to the Index of the most Remarkable Occurrences, which the Author has given us, in the Original, another entire New Index, explaining all the *proper Names* of Persons, Places and Things, contained in this Work, collected from the best Dictionaries in several Languages; as likewise accurate Maps of *Ancient Germany*, *Illyricum* and *Italy*.

THE second Volume of the Original was not publish'd 'till this *Easter-Fair* at *Leipzig*, which was one Reason why I delay'd publishing my Translation so long, that the two Volumes might appear within six Months one of the other. I have now entirely translated this second Volume (the Sheets of which I had, by the Favour of the Author, as they came from the Press) a good Part of it is already printed, and the Rest doing with such Expedition, that it will certainly be publish'd at or before the Time propos'd. As the Author has given us a particular Account of his Design, and the Execution of it, in his Preface to this second Volume, which I shall, likewise, prefix to the second Volume of my Translation, I think it superfluous to add more here, than will be necessary to give the Reader a general Idea of it.

THE Author has here continued his History to the Extinction of the *Merovingian* Line; a Period from whence another very remarkable Epoch begins. He has divided this Volume into six Books, the Number of which follow those of the former Volume.

THE Eleventh Book reaches to the Year 534; and, among other Things, gives an Account of the Foundation of the Empire of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, and their Constitution; the glorious Reign of King *Theodoric*; the Establishment of the Monarchy of the *Franks* in *Gaul*; the Conversion of *Clovis* to the *Christian* Faith, and the important Consequences thereof; the History of the *Burgundians*, and their Laws; the Controversies between the *Orthodox* and *Arian* Bishops; the Union of all the Nations of the *Franks* under *Clovis*; the Migration of the *Longobards*; the History of the *Thuringians*, to the

Conquest of that People by *Theodoric*; the History of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and of their War with *Justinian*, to their total Extirpation; the State of the *Roman Empire* under *Justinian*; and of the *Christian Church*, in *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Belgica*, *Noricum*, *Rætia*, &c; with the Political Designs of the *Orthodox-Christians* and *Arians* against each other.

IN the Twelfth, continued to 550, the most remarkable is the War which *Justinian*, after having subdued the *Vandals*, waged with the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*, and their various Fate in different Encounters; and the Expedition of the *Franks* against the *Wisi-Goths*, in *Spain*, with all which is interspersed the Histories of several other *German Nations*; and particularly the Descent of the *Bavarians*, their Success in *Noricum*, and how they became subject to the *Franks*.

THE Thirteenth Book goes to the Year 561, and contains, among other things, *Justinian's War* in *Illyricum*, with the Devastations which ensued; the Histories of the *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, and *Longobards*, (or *Lombards*;) the Irruptions of the *Huns* and *Sclavi*, from whom, among others, the *Russian Empire*, and the Kingdom of *Poland*, took their Rise; the History of the *Sclavens* and *Antæ*, with an Account of their Origin, Persons, Language, Religion and Manners; and of their Irruptions into the Provinces of *Illyricum*; The various Fate and Conclusion of the *Gothick War*; and the Restoration of *Italy* to the Emperor's Subjection. The successful Expeditions of the *Franks*, against the *Saxons*: The Author's Remarks upon the Downfall of so many Kingdoms, and particularly of that of the *Ostro-Goths*; the Continuation of the History of the *Franks*, and the *Wisi-Goths*, and the

the *Franks*, &c. *Justinian's* new Regulations ; the State of the *Christian* Religion in these Times, in the several Parts of *Germany*, &c.

IN the Fourteenth, continued to the Year 613, we have, among other Things, the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, after the Death of *Justinian*; the Destruction of the Empire of the *Gepidæ*, in *Dacia*; the Invasion of *Italy* by the *Longobards*; the bloody War between *Chilperic* and *Sigebert*, Kings of the *Franks*, and their Successors, 'till *Clotarius*, II, brought that People again under one Head, in the Year 613; the Histories of several other *German* Nations continued; the fatal Consequences of the Hatred between the two Queens, *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*; the unhappy Fate of *Merozeus*; the Differences between *Guntram* and *Childebert*; the Encrease of the Empire of the *Wisi-Goths* in *Spain*; the State of the *Saxon* Kingdoms in *Britain*, and of Christianity in *Britain* and *Scotland*, &c. The Conyerfion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, their Language, Laws, &c. and the Fate and ignominious Death of Queen *Brunehild*.

THE Fifteenth, continued to the Year 715, contains the History of the *Franks*, under the Successors of *Clo-taire* II. The Kingdom of the *Franks* restored to a peaceful State; the Improvement of the Laws of several Nations, particularly of the *Bavarians* and *Alemanni*; the History of the ancient Inhabitants of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, &c. their Wars with the *Franks*; a casual Account of the Rise and wonderful Progress of the *Saracens*, and the Followers of *Mahomet*; the Power of the *Maires de Palais* in *France*, and particularly of *Pipin* the Elder; Transactions under *Clovis* III, *Childebert* III, and *Dagobert* III. Origin of the City of *Liege*; the Propagation

pagation of the *Christian* Religion in several of the *German* Provinces; the Irruption of the *Saracens* into *Spain*; the Re-establishment of the Empire of the *Wisi-Goths*, &c. Observations concerning the Constitution of the *Wisi-Gothick* Empire, and on the Language, Writings and Laws of that Nation.

THE Sixteenth Book contains, among other Matters, the Wars of *Charles Martel*, the Son of *Pipin*, with the Dukes of *Aquitain*, the *Swabians*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Frieslanders* and *Saracens*, together with their several Histories; the Continuation of the History of the Empire; the State of *Italy*; the Continuation of the Controversies concerning Religion; the Death of *Charles Martel*. *Carolomannus* and *Pipin* divide the Administration of the Government, and exclude their Brother *Grifo*; their Wars with the *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Swabians*, &c. Remains of *Paganism* among the new Converts to *Christianity*; the Continuation of the History of the Empire; *Carolomannus* resigns, and retires into a Convent; the Acquisition of the Crown of *France*, by *Pipin* the Younger; the History of the *Longobards* in *Italy*; and the Revolution which ensued, when *Charlemain*, after he had subdued them, assumed the *Imperial* Dignity. To conclude this Volume, the Author gives a Description of the State of the Government, Manners, Laws, Arms, Turnaments, Musick, and whatever else can contribute towards a more perfect Knowledge of the Nation of the *Franks*.

THE Author advises me, that, with this Volume, he very properly ends his History of the *Ancient Germans*; and that what he shall hereafter publish, tho' it may not, improperly, be
look'd

look'd upon as a Continuation of this Work, will appear under a different Title. He informs me, in particular, that he has the Manuscript of a Work ready, which will carry on this History, from the Beginning of the Reign of *Charlemaign*, to that of *Charles V*; which, no Doubt, from so laborious and judicious an Author, must be highly acceptable to the Publick. As I have Reason to hope the same Favour, from my Worthy Friend, in this new Work, as I have had in the second Volume that I am now publishing, the Translation of it will be printed very near as soon as the Original, and the Subscribers to these two Volumes, shall have the same Advantage in the Continuance: But as the many important Avocations this learned Gentleman has on his Hands; and the Accuracy with which he, in the Publication of all his Works, supervises the Press, obliged him to keep the Publick ten whole Years in impatient Expectation of the *Second Volume* of the *History of the Ancient Germans*, after he had published the *First*, (which however is of so great Importance, and so very interesting, that it makes ample Amends for the Delay,) it will be difficult to say when we may expect the Satisfaction of this new Work; tho', as the Manuscript is already finish'd, we may hope it will not be very long. In the mean Time, each of these Two Volumes ends at so remarkable a Period, as to make a compleat Work by itself: And the two Volumes together are a perfect *History of all the Northern Nations*, who are comprehended, by our Author, under the general Denomination of the *Ancient Germans*, who overthrew the mighty Power of the *Romans*, and were the common Ancestors of almost all the Nations of *Europe*: This, I say, is an entire finish'd History of all these Nations; tho' even no Continuation of it should ever be published.

ABRIDGE-

ABRIDGEMENTS of History, if done with Judgment, have always been highly esteemed, and are of general Use ; but this is properly an Abridgment, or an Abstract, of a great Number, or indeed of all the Histories which are extant of those Times. What Satisfaction must it not then be to the Reader, and what Obligation has he not to the indefatigable Author, who has taken so much Pains to lay before him, in a small Compass, and in a just and exact Order, a History so entangled with that of other Nations, as has hitherto deterr'd every Body from attempting it!



A N

I N D E X

*Of the Principal, Ancient and Modern, AUTHORS
consulted in the Compiling the first Part of this
Work.*

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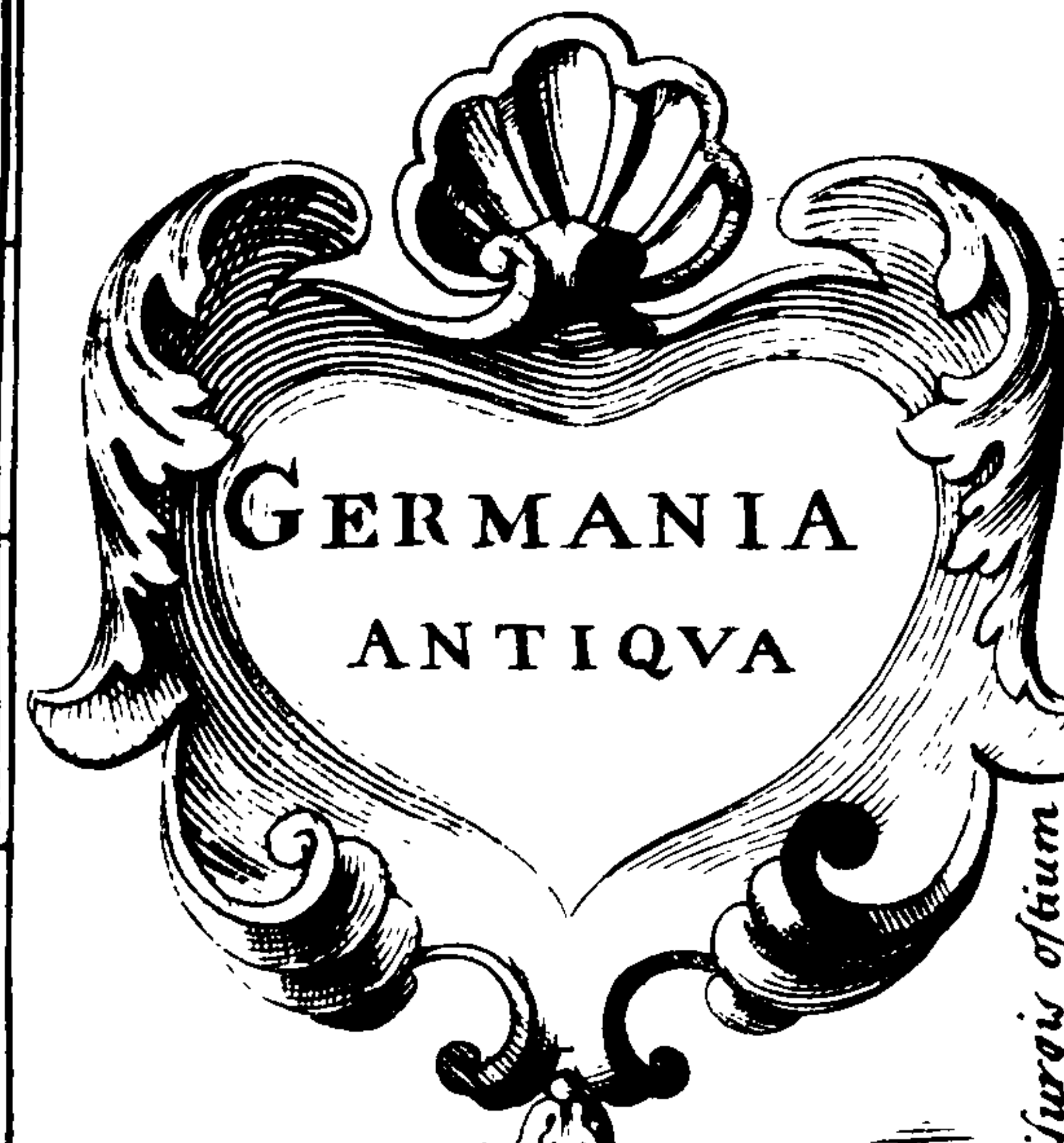
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT GERMAN S.

BOOK I.

The HISTORY of the GERMAN S, to the Conclusion of
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The Uncertainty of the Accounts we have of the ancient Germans.

§. I. **I**T would be as difficult to decide, by what Route, and under whose Conduct, the Germans first came into that Country, which owes its Name to them, as to determine, with any Certainty, from which of the Sons of Noah they were lineally descended. (1.) What Tacitus (2.) has written of them, from their own Relations, is obscure and fabulous. It evidently shews what unexperienced Historians they were, and how imperfect the Accounts must be which the Romans had from them. The incoherent Fables and Chimeras which Jo. Annius of Viterbo would impose upon the World, and father on Berofus, have, indeed, in former Times, seduced some of our Countrymen (the Germans;) but they are now so exploded, that it is almost unnecessary to caution our Readers against them. In the most ancient Greek Historians, the German Nations lie concealed, partly under the Name of Scythians, (3.) and partly under that of Celtae: But, among both, there are, at the same Time, so many other, different People,

§. I. (1.) THE Reader may, however, see, what M. Leibnitz says, in his Meditationes de Originibus Gentium, e Linguis Gentium deductæ.

(2.) TACITUS de M. G. c. 2. Celebrant Carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memorie & annalium genus est) Tuistonem, Deum terra editum & filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoresque. Manno tres filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Hermiones, cæteri

Istævones vocentur. Quidam autem licentia vetustatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marfos, Gambrivos, Suevos, Vandalios adfirmant; eaque vera & antiqua Nomina.

(3.) PLINIUS H. N. L. IV. c. 25. Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope cæteris mortalibus degunt.

compre-

comprehended, that we dare not presume to apply those Things to the *Germans*, which we read of the *Scythians* and *Celtæ*, if we have not some concurring Circumstances, to enforce the Testimony. Besides, the *Greeks* themselves had but a confused and uncertain Knowledge of the *German Affairs*, till the *Romans*, by their Wars, laid open the most distant Parts of *Germany*, to the Curiosity of such as applied themselves to the Study of History and Geography. (4.) In History, as in other Sciences, the best Method is, therefore, to begin with those Things which are most clear and evident, for upon such must those Conjectures be grounded, which are to supply the Want of Certainty in other Cases.

WE shall, upon this Account, begin our *History* of the *Ancient Germans*, with such Things as we find related in the most approved *Latin* and *Greek Writers*. But, as the *Germans* were not then all formed into one single Community, we must be contented with the separate Histories of particular Nations, 'till we come to a Period of Time, when the *Franks* brought and united all the other *Germans*, who remained in *Germany*, together with a great Number of the *Roman Provinces*, under their Dominion. And, as the Defection of the Empire of the *Franks* gave Rise to the *German Empire*, an Illustration of the Original of which is the whole Scope of this Work, our Design is, not only to trace the Histories of those Nations who inhabited *Germania Magna*, and to follow those who erected new Kingdoms in their several Transmigrations; but likewise, as Opportunity shall offer, to shew the State of those Countries which were, indeed, before, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, but were afterwards conquered by the *Germans*, who have ever since possessed them.

The Author's Design in this Work.

§. II. THE Change of Confines being one of the most necessary and material Points to be adjusted in History, it may not be amiss, previously to mark out, at least in general, those Countries which the *Germans* inhabited, at the Time when the *Romans* first began to be thoroughly acquainted with them. Towards the *West*, the *Rhine* originally separated the ancient *Gauls* from the *Germans*; (these two being accounted by the *Roman Historians* distinct Nations;) 'till some Colonies out of *Gaul* marched into the *Hercynian Forest*, and, on the other Side, several *German People* took Possession of one Part of *Gaul*. The *Romans* afterwards conquering *Gaul*, carried more *Germans* over the *Rhine*; so that the left Banks of this River, from the Country of the

The Countries which the Ancients comprized under the Name of *Germany*.

(4) PLINIUS L. IV. c. 28. Nam Germani multis postea (scilicet, post tempora M. A. grippæ) annis nec tota percognita est.

Helvetians, to the *North Sea*, was inhabited by *German Nations*. Towards the *East*, the *Confines* are not so exactly known. Some are of Opinion, that they reached to the Extent of the *Hercynian Forest*, and even to the *Mæotick Lake*. This has induced some Historians to reckon the *Daci* (1.) among the *German Nations*, and others to apply to the *Germans*, what has been related of the *Amazons* (2) and *Scythians*, who dwelt on the Banks of the *Tanais*. On the *North Side*, the *Romans* reckoned all that Tract of Land, which now contains *Holstein*, *Sleswick*, and *Jutland*, and some have accounted even *Scandinavia*, by them supposed to be an Island, as a Part of *Germany*. (3) The Language, Religion, natural Dispositions, Stature and Customs of these Nations, which were afterwards separated from the People who retained the Name of *Germans*, and formed new Empires of their own, do likewise sufficiently shew their Consanguinity. And, notwithstanding every Change, which the Difference of Time, Religion, and Education could bring to pass, they always preserved not a few Marks of their original Descent. Finally, towards the *South*, after the *Romans* had brought *Rhætia*, *Noricum* and *Pannonia* under their Yoke; the *Danube* separated them from the *Germans*. The Inhabitants of this vast Tract of Land were divided, among themselves, into several different Nations, which indeed may, each of them, have had something peculiar, and differing from the rest; but were, however, all in general reckoned under certain Tribes. (4) In what Parts each Nation had its particular Residence, and how they changed their Habitations, has been a Subject of Enquiry among many of the Learn-

§. II. (1.) TACITUS distinguishes the Germans from the *Daci*, in his brief Description of the German Confines, de M. G. c. 1. *Germania omnis a Galliis, Rhatisque, & Pannoniis Rheno, & Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis, Dacisque, mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cætera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus, & insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus, ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit.*

(2.) V. GUNDLINGIANA, P. III. n. 3.

(3.) PLINIUS, L. IV. c. 27. Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Ingævonum, quæ est prima inde Germaniæ. Sevo mons ibi immensus, nec Riphæis jugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promontorium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus Insulis: quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incomptæ magnitudinis, portionem tantum ejus, quod sit notum, Hillevionum gente quin-

gentis incolente pagis, quæ alterum orbem terrarum eam appellat. Nec est minor opinione Eningia. Quidam hæc habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium, a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hiris tradunt.

(4.) PLINIUS ib. c. 28. Germanorum genera quinque: Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Sicambri. Mediterranei Hermiones, quorum pars Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. Quinta pars Peuconi, Basternæ, supra dictis contermini Dacis. Amnes clari in oceanum defluunt, Guttalus, Vistillus five Vistula, Albis, Visurgis, Amisus, Rhenus, Mosa. Introrsus vero nullo inferius nobilitate, Hercynium jugum prætenditur.

ed,

ed, and, as Circumstances may give Occasion, shall be observed in the Sequel of this History.

§. III. THE most ancient Marks of this, which we find in History, are, that some Colonies out of Gaul passed the Rhine, and settled in the Hercynian Forest. About the Time Tarquinius Priscus reigned in Rome, it is said, that Ambigatus, a King of the Celtae, who were in Possession of one Part of Gaul, found his Subjects so greatly increased, that he thought it expedient to detach some Colonies to settle elsewhere. Bellovesus and Sigovesus, his Sister's Sons, two active and valiant Princes, who despised Danger, when it led to Glory and Power, were appointed their Leaders: And the Flight of Birds, a superstitious Custom, as much in Vogue with the Celtae, as among the Romans, and other ancient People, was to determine their Course. Sigovesus was directed, by the Augury, to pass the Rhine, and Bellovesus to penetrate into Italy. (1.) We find, however, no Account in History of the Colonies which Sigovesus carry'd over the Rhine, unless we suppose, that Cæsar is speaking of them, when he says; that, in his Time, there dwelt a Nation of the Gauls in the Heart of Germany, who entirely conformed to the Customs and Manners of that People; (2.) or that they are meant by Tacitus, who in express Terms accounts the Boji a Nation of the Gauls. (3.)

The Gauls send Colonies into Germany.

§. IV. As for the Colonies, who passed the Alps, Livy gives us a more circumstantial Account of them. According to him, Bellovesus, having pass'd the Sylva Taurina, vanquished the Tuscians, whose Dominions extended thither, and laid the Foundation of the City of Milan. The Cenomanni, Saluvii (or Sallyes) and, at length, the Boji and Lingones, (or Langres) followed his Footsteps, and the two latter

And at the same Time into Italy.

§. III. (1.) LIVIUS, L. V. c. 34.

(2) CÆSAR de B. G. L. VI. c. 24. Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Gallivirtute superarent, & ultro bella inferrent, ac propter hominum multitudinem, agrique, inopiam, trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quæ fertilissima sunt, Germaniæ loca circum Hercyniam silvam, quam Eratoſtheni, & quibusdam Græcis, fama notam esse video, quam illi Orciniam appellant, Volcæ Tectosages occuparunt, atque ibi confederunt. Quæ gens ad hoc tempus iis sedibus se continet, summamque habet justitiæ, & bellicæ laudis opinionem, nunquam in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia, qua Germani, permanent, eodem victu, & cultu corporis utuntur. Gallis

autem propinquitas & transmarinarum rerum notitia, multa ad copiam atque usus largitur. Paulatim assuefacti superari, multisque victi proeliis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant. RHENANUS in Comment. Rer. German. Supposes that these VOLCÆ TECTOSAGES inhabited the Banks of the Neckar, and that the Castle of Teck took its Name from them. And DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS, in his Remarks upon CÆSAR, ad h. l. starts the Question, whether Volkach, in modern Franconia, had not its Name from these Volcæ?

(3.) TACITUS de M. G. c. 28. Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam, Rhenumque & Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boji, Gallica utraque gens, tenere.

passed

Whether
the Germans
had any
Share in
these Excur-
sions?
Examination
of a Passage
in the *Fasti*
Capitolini.

passed over the *Apennin Alps*, (1.) Last of all followed the *Semmones*, who, after having long rambled about, pillag'd *Rome*, and reduced the *Capitol* to such Extremity, that the Residue of the *Romans* must have purchas'd their Liberty with Gold, if the valiant Dictator *Camillus* had not come seasonably to their Relief. (2.) The Regions about the *Apennin Alps*, thro' which the *Gauls* passed in Swarms into *Italy*, were, at that Time, inhabited by *German* People; (3.) and therefore, it is highly probable, that they had their Share in these Excursions, and in the Ravages which ensued. This, however, cannot be so evidently proved from the *Roman History*; because the *Romans*, before they passed the *Alps*, with their Armies, and by that Means got a distinct Knowledge of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, confounded both these Nations, under the common Appellation of *Gauls*. We find a remarkable Passage in the *Fasti Capitolini*, at the Year 531.

M. CLAUDIUS M. F. M. N. MARCELLUS =
COS. DE. GALLEIS. INSUBRIBUS. ET. GERMANEIS
K. MART. ISQUE. SPOLIA. OPTIMA RETTULIT.
DUCE HOSTIUM VIRIDOMARO AD CLASTIDIUM
INTERFECTO. (4.)

THIS Victory of *Marcellus* is not only highly extolled in the *Roman Histories*; (5.) but *Virgil* reckons it among the great Actions, which *Anchises*

§. IV. (1.) LIV. L. V. c. 35. Aliæ subinde manus Cenomannorum, Elitovio duce, vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso, quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt (locos tenere Libui) confidunt, &c. Some pretend to read here Manus Germanorum, but without Grounds.

(2.) LIVIUS, L. V. c. 35.—49.

(3.) LIVIUS, L. XXI. c. 28. Nec verisimile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quæ ad Penninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus SEMIGERMANIS fuissent, neque hercule montibus his, (si quem forte id movit) ab transitu Poenorum ullo, Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum: sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice, Penninum montani appellant.

(4.) THAT which is printed in smaller Capitals has been added, by the Criticks, to the *Fasti*.

(5) POLYBIUS gives an Account of this Expedition, L. 2. p. 104. seq. and says, the Insubres called in the Gætæ, who inhabited the Banks of the Rhone, to their Assistance, but makes no mention of Viridomarus. Other Historians, who speak of him, vary in some Circumstances. Plutarch gives us a Relation of this War, in his Life of Marcellus, and after having said of the Insubres: Milites ex cæteris Gallis mercenaria stipendia merentes, qui Gætæ vocantur, exciverant. He adds, p. 300. Gætatarum Rex Viridomarus decem millibus militum assumtis regionem circum padanam vastavit. Quod ubi perlatum ad Marcellum est collega ad Acerras cum peditatu, universaque gravi armatura relicto, reliquum equitatum secum trahens nec die nec nocte raptim agmine facto, remisit iter, dum ad hostes pervenit juxta Clastidium vicum Galliarum, &c. Cluverus in Antiq. Ger. L. I. c. 8. p. 55, &c. 44. p. 298. proves, that the Gætæ were not a pe-

chises foretold his Son, in the *Elysian Fields*. (6.) In the Collection of Medals belonging to the *Cornelian Family*, we find one, upon which this *Marcellus* is represented, offering the Spoils of vanquished *Viridomarus*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. (7.) It may, however, be questioned, whether those who copied the *Fasti Capitolini* have not been mistaken in their Reading; since, of all the Historians of those Times, none mention the *Germans*, a Name perhaps not then known. It is probable they may have read *Germani* instead of *Cenomanni*: The latter were likewise a People of *Gaul*, who inhabited the Countries next adjoining to those of the *Insubres*, where afterwards the Cities of *Brescia*, *Cremona* and *Placenza* were built, and who had a considerable Share in this, as well as the ensuing Wars with the *Romans*. And we have the more Reason to believe this, as we find in the *Fasti*, that, not long after the Times of *Marcellus*, *Cethegus* triumphed over both these Nations, the *Insubres* and the *Cenomanni*, at one and the same Time. (8.)

§. V. WE find a more satisfactory Account of the Colonies which the *Germans* sent over the *Rhine* into *Gaul*. *Julius Cæsar* (1.) informs us,

Of the German Colonies which settled in Gaul and Britain.

a peculiar Nation, but a kind of Militia, so called from the Word *Gesa*, a Sort of half Pike of Iron, which was the Arms they used; as the *Schleuderer* (or Slingers) were so called from their *Schleuder* (or Slings) and the *Halbardeers* from their *Halberds*. In *Livy's Epitome*, 20. *Viridomarus* is called a King of the *Insubres*. *Exercitibus Romanis tum primum trans Padum ductis, Galli Insubres, aliquot proeliis fusi, in deditionem venerunt. M. Claudius Marcellus, occiso Insubrium Gallorum duce, Viridomaro, opima spolia retulit. Florus L. II. c. 4. says; Viridomaro Rege, Romana arma Vulcano promiserant: aliorum vota ceciderunt. Occiso enim Rege, Marcellus tertia post Romulum patrem Feretrio Jovi arma suspendit. In Eutropius L. III. c. 2. Sect. 5. We find, Postea cum collega ingentes copias Gallorum peremit, Mediolanum oppugnavit, tandem prædam Romam pertulit, ac triumphans Marcellus spolia Galli, stipiti imposita, humeris suis vexit. This Viridomarus is likewise mentioned by Propertius, Lib. IV, Eleg. X. v. 40. seq.*

Claudius Eridanum trajectos arcuit hostes,

Belgica cui vasti parma relata ducis.

Viridumari. genus hic Rheno jactabat ab ipso

Nobilis e tectis fundere Gesa rotis.

The first Line is likewise read thus:

Claudius at Rheno trajectos arcuit hostes.

However the most noted Criticks have shewn, that instead of the Words *at Rheno*, we must read *Eridanum*. See *Bruckhusius* ad h. l.

(6) *VIRGILIUS ÆN. VI. v. 855.—860.*

*Aspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, Victorque viros supereminet omnes.*

*Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
Sistet eques, sternet Poenos, Gallumque rebellem*

Tertiaque arma patri, suspendet capta Quirino MANNIS.

Confer. Perizonium in animadvers. Hist. c. 7.

(7) *V. PATINI familiæ Romanæ in numis. p. 87. num. 3 4.*

(8) *AD an. V. C. DLVI. C. CORNELIUS L. F. M. N. Cethegus Cos. de Insubribus & Ceno:*

§. V. (1) *CÆSAR, L. II. c. 4. Quum ab his quæreret, quid in bello possent—sic reperiebat, plerisque Belgas esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse; solosque esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata, Teutones, Cimbrosque intra fines*

suo:

that the *Belgæ*, who were in Possession of a third Part of *Gaul*, and who, in his Days, were esteemed the most valiant People of that Nation, ow'd their Extraction to the *Germans*. The *Treviri* and *Nervii*, in particular, were proud of this Descent. The *Belgæ* afterwards peopled the Coasts of *Britain*, (2.) and were in continual War with the *Germans*. (3.)

The Original of the Name of *Germans*.

§. VI. THE very Name of *Germans* took it's Rise on the other Side of the *Rhine*; when the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cærasi*, and *Pæmani* passed that River, after the Example of other *German* Nations, who had before established themselves in *Gaul*. These were the first People to whom the Name of *Germans* (1.) was given, which Name was afterwards extended, not only on the *Gallick* Banks of the *Rhine*, but on the opposite Side of that River, to other *German* Nations, who had the same Original, Language and Customs, 'till at last it became a general Denomination for all the *Germans*: (2.) We have several Examples of par-

suos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti carum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent.

(2) IDEM *L. V. c. 12.* *Britanniæ* Pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt. Maritima pars ab iis, qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex *Belgio* transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, & bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cœperunt.

TACITUS, *Vit. Agricolæ, c. 11.* *Rutilæ Caledoniæ* inhabitantium Comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant.

(3) CÆSAR, *L. I. c. 1.* Horum omnium fortissimi sunt *Belgæ*, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciæ longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commeant, atque ea, quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important. Proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans *Rhenum* incolunt, quibus cum continenter bellum gerunt.

§. VI. (1) IDEM, *L. II. c. 4.* *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cærasi*, *Pæmani*, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur; & *L. VI. c. 32.* *Segni*, *Condrusi*, ex gente & numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter *Eburones*, *Trevirosque*, legatos ad Cæsarem miserunt, oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret, neve omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra *Rhenum*, causam esse unam judicaret.

(2) TACITUS *de M. G. c. 2.* Cæterum Germaniæ vocabulum recens & nuper additum: quoniam, qui primi *Rhenum* transgressi, *Gallos* expulerint ac nunc *Tungri*, tunc *Germani* vocati sunt. Ita nationis nomen, non gentis evanuisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a se ipsis, invento nomine, Germani vocarentur. This Passage, which is in itself perplexed and obscure, has given Room to the Learned, who have pretended to explain the Word *Germans*, to draw many different, and, in Part, very far fetched Conclusions, all which, however, have been attended with some Difficulties. Thus much is at least evident, from this Passage of Cæsar's, that the *Condrusi*, and the other *German* Nations, who accompany'd them over the *Rhine*, and who, in the Days of Tacitus all went by the Name of *Tungri*, were not call'd *Germans* till they invaded *Gaul*. Among the many Alterations, which the Learned have thought fit to make in the Text it self, that seems most deserving of our Notice, when they read *A VICTIS* instead of a victore. Taken in this Sense, the Name of *Germans* would have been first given them by the *Gauls*: And, therefore, the Etymology of the Word has been sought in the *Celtan* Tongue, and believed to be a Compound of the Word *Gerre*, which in that Language signifies War, and the Word *Man*; Consequently the whole Word signifies, a Soldier, or *Mantrain'd up to War*. Let it be, however, either of *German* or *Gallick* Extraction, we cannot

particular Names, which, in Process of Time, have become common to whole Nations. Thus the *Germans* themselves are all called, in the *French Tongue*, *Allemands*; The Reader will find the History and Actions of these first *Germans* in our Second Book. The *Condrusi*, in particular, are called by CÆSAR, *Clientes Trevirorum* (Vassals of the *Treviri*.) (3) But their Name disappeared with the rest; or, at least, was very little heard of, after they were comprehended in general under the Name of *Tungri*.

§. VII. AMONG the German Nations, of whose Wars with the Ro-
mans, we have any satisfactory Account, in History, the *Cimbri* and first Victo-
Teutones are the first. The *Cimbri* (1) had their Residence in the great ries obtained
Peninsula, which extended from the Mouth of the *Elve*, into the North by the Cim-
Sea; (2) and which, from them, was called *Chersonesus Cimbrica*. The bri over the
Teutones inhabited the neighbouring Coasts and Islands of the *East Sea*, Roman..
or *Baltick*. (3.) Their native Country not being extensive enough for
the Number of its Inhabitants, the most daring among them removed,
with their Wives and Children, to seek new Habitations, in distant Re-
gions. It is, indeed, a Doubt, whether both these Nations began their
Excursions, at one and the same Time, or which Way they directed their

cannot forbear wondering, since, as Tacitus writes, they themselves made Use of it, that it has not been preserved, and handed down to us, in their own Language.

(3) CÆSAR. L. IV. c. 6. *Condrusorum, qui sunt Trevirorum Clientes.*

§. VII. (1) ACCORDING to PLUTARCH'S Account, in *Vita Marii*, p. 410. Some of the Ancients imagin'd that the *Cimbri* were a-kin to the *Cimmerii*, on the *Mæotic Lake*. STRABO, Lib. VII. p. 293. gives the Opinion of Posidonius, on this Matter, in the following Words: Idem (*Posidonius*) non inepta conjectura colligit, *Cimbros homines fuisse prædones ac vagos armisque ad Mæotin usque Lacum progressos: & fuisse ab iis Cimmericum Bosphorum denominatum, quasi Cimbricum, quum Græci Cimbro Cimmericorum nomine afficiant. Idem perhibet, Bojos quondam Hercyniam incoluisse silvam, ac Cimbro ab iis, quum ad ea loca se contulissent repulso, ad Istrum, & Scordicos Gallos descendisse.* ERPOLD LINDENBRUCH, in the Beginning of his *Chronicle of the Cimbrian War*, has given a small Specimen, how we may recon-

cile the Accounts we have of the *Cimmerii*, with the History of the *Cimbri*.

(2) PLINIUS H. N. L. IV. c. 27. *Promontorium Cimbrorum excurrans in maria longe peninsulam efficit.*

(3.) PTOLEMEUS, L. II. c. 11. p. 23. *Post Saxones vero à CHALUSO fluvio usque ad Suevum fluvium tenent Pharodini — Inter Pharodinos vero & Suevos Teutones & Avarpi. MELA, L. III. c. 3. writes: Super Albim Codanus, ingens sinus, magnis parvisque Insulis refertus est. Hac re Mare, quod gremio litorum accipitur, nusquam late patet, nec usquam mari simile, verum aquis passim inter fluentibus ac sæpe transgressis, vagum atque diffusum facie amnium spargitur. — In eo sunt Cimbri & Teutoni: ultra ultimi Germaniæ Hermianes. And farther, c. 6. In illo sinu, quem Codanum diximus, sex (scil. insulæ) ex iis Scandinavia, quam adhuc Teutoni tenent, ut magnitudine alias, ita fecunditate, antestat. LINDENBRUCH, l. c. circa fin. supposes that they inhabited that Country, where the City of Teutoburgium was situated.*

Course? (4) According to the Account PATERCULUS (5) gives us, we might reasonably conclude they invaded *Gaul*, with united Force; if, on the contrary, we did not find, by LIVY (6) and STRABO, (7) that the *Cimbri* alone had before penetrated into *Noricum* and *Illyricum*,
 A. U. 640. and, about the 640th Year of the *Roman Æra*, (8) vanquished the *Roman Consul*, PAPIRIUS CARBO, near the City of *Noreja*. (9) Four Years after, they sent an Ambassy to *Rome*, and entreated the State to assign them a Portion of *Land*, for their Habitation, in Return for which, they offered to serve the *Romans* in all their Wars: Their Request was, however, denied; there being great Divisions at that time in *Rome*, concerning the *Leges Agrariæ*, or Repartition of their Lands; and this Refusal was, to the *Cimbri*, a Declaration of War. The *Consul*, M. JUN. SILANUS (10) was soon after vanquished by them in a pitched Battle; for which he was called to a strict Account by the *Roman People*. (11)
 The third
 Victory of
 the *Cimbri*
 over the *Ro-*
mans.
 §. VIII. THIS War proved, in the Sequel, of the more dangerous Consequence to the *Romans*, because, about the same time, the *Tigurini* took to Arms, and joined with the *Cimbri*. These *Tigurini*, (1) a

(4) PLUTARCHUS, in Vita Marii. p. 411. *Dr takes Notice, in his Time, that he had found in some of the Ancients: Has domo egressas, non uno neque perpetuo impetu, verumquoquo anno semper porro progredientes, sub ver arma circumferendo, peragrasse continentem Europæ.*

(5) PATERCULUS, L. II. c. 8. Tum *Cimbri & Teutoni transcendere Rhenum, multis mox nostris, suisque cladibus nobiles. Conf. JULIUS CÆSAR, L. II. c. 29.*

(6) LIVIUS, Epit. 63. *Cimbri gens vaga, populabundi in Illyricum venerunt, ab iis Papius Carbo Cos. cum exercitu fusus est.*

(7) STRABO, L. V. p. 214. Sita est Aquileja extra Venetorum fines ———— CIO. CC. Stadiis ad Norejam urbem, apud quam Cn. Carbo inani Conatu cum Cimbris conflixit. *Perhaps the Cimbri march'd first into Illyricum, and the Teutones directly into Gaul; whom the Cimbri might after follow, and join them there.* (8) TACITUS de M. G. c. 37. Sexcentessimum & quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, quum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Cæcilio, Metello ac Papius Cos.

(9) *The City of Noreja was situate in the Regions of the Carni, on the Borders of Illyricum, about 8 or 9 Roman Miles from Aquileja. See the Words of Strabo, in Note 7.*

(10) C. Cæcil. Metello, M. Junio Silano Cos. An. U. 644.

(11) LIVIUS, Epit. 65. M. Junius Silanus, Consul, adversum Cimbrorum infelicitate, pugnavit. Legatis Cimbrorum sedem & agros, in quibus considerent, postulantibus, senatus negavit. FLORUS, L. III. c. 3. *gives a farther Account of this Ambassy of the Cimbri; Misere legatos in Castra Silani, inde ad Senatum, petentes, ut Martius populus sibi aliquid terræ darent, quasi stipendium: cæterum, ut vellet, manibus atque Armis suis uteretur. Sed quas daret terras populus Romanus agrariis legibus intra se dimicaturus? Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere constituunt.*

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS, at the End of his Commentary, in Cicer. and Orat. II. pro C. Cornelio, gives the following farther Account of the Battle with Silanus: M. Silanus quinquennio ante Consul fuerat, quam Domitius Tribunus Plebis: atque ipse quoque adversus Cimbrorum rem male gesserat. Quam ob Causam Domitius eum apud populum accusabat. Criminabatur, bellum cum Cimbris injussu Populi gessisse, idque principium fuisse calamitatum, quas eo bello populus accepisset: ac de eo tabellam quoque dedit. Sed plenissime Silanus absolutus est.

§. VIII. (1) SEE CELLARIUS, in his Dissertation de Cimbris & Teutonis, §. 17. and 20.

People

People of *Helvetia*, (2) had likewise forsaken their native Country, in Quest of new Habitations. On their March, they met with *L. Cassius*, the *Roman* Consul, on the Confines of the Regions belonging to the *Allobroges*, and overcame him in a pitched Battle. (3) Much about the same Time, *M. Aur. Scaurus*, who had been Consul the foregoing Year, but then commanded as *Legatus Consulis* (or *Vice-Consul*) (4) was so unfortunate, in an Action against the *Cimbri*, that he not only lost the Field, but was himself taken Prisoner: Their King, *Bolus*, in the Council of War, which he held after this Battle, desirous to dive into the Thoughts of his Prisoner, order'd him to be brought before him. *Scaurus*, who was under more Concern for the Honour of his Country, than his own Misfortune, represented to the Victor the Peril he was running into, if he made any further Attempt against the *Romans*, adding, that they were an invincible Nation. *Bolus* might easily have confuted his Prisoner, by putting him in Mind of the Success of the late Battle: But he was so enraged at the Rhodomontade of a Man, whom he had just before subdued, that he caused him to be cut in Pieces on the Spot. (6)

§. IX. PERHAPS the *Cimbri* first united with the *Teutones*, after this Battle; for we find, from that time, the *Cimbri*, *Teutones* and *Tigurini* held together. We likewise often find the *Ambrones* mentioned with them; and it is probable, that they were a People of *Gaul*, who first joined the *Germans* in their Passage through that Country. There are, however, some, that believe them to have been *Germans*, who, dwelling in the Neighbourhood of the *Cimbri*, on the Banks of the *Amber*, accompanied them in their Excursions. Against these, the *Roman* Con-

The fourth
Victory of
the *Cimbri*
over the
Romans.

(2) *Of the Confines of the Helvetians, vide Book II. §. 3.*

(3) *CÆSAR de B. G. L. I. c. 12. de Tigurinis.* Hic pagus unus, quum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria *L. Cassium*, Consulem, intersecerat, & ejus exercitum sub jugum misit. *LIVIVS, Epitom. 65.* *L. Cassius*, Consul, a *Tigurinis Gallis*, pago *Helvetiorum*, qui a civitate secesserant, in finibus *Allobrogum* cum exercitu cæsus est. *Milites*, qui ex ea clade superaverunt, obsidibus datis, & dimidia rerum omnium parte, ut incolumes dimitterentur, cum hostibus pacti sunt. *PAULUS OROSIUS, L. V. c. 15.* *Iisdem Jugurthini belli temporibus*, *L. Cassius*, Consul, in *Gallia Tigurinos* usque ad *Oceanum* persecu-

tus, rursusque ab iisdem insidiis circumventus, occisus est.

PLINIUS, L. X. c. 13. says, that this *Cassius* was Consul with *Marius*, but the *Fasti Siculi* differ from *Pliny* in this Point.

(4) SEE *CELLARIUS, L. c. §. 18.* where he contradicts *Sigonius* in his *Chronology*.

(5) HE may perhaps be the same whom *Plutarch* calls *Bojorix*.

(6) *LIVIVS, Epit. 67.* *M. Aur. Scaurus*, *Legatus Consulis*, a *Cimbris*, suo exercitu, captus est: & quum in Consilium ab iis evocatus, deterreret eos, ne *Alpes* transirent *Italiam* petitori, eo quod diceret, *Romanos* vinci non posse, a *Bolo Rege*, feroci juvene, occisus est.

A. U. 648. *ful. C. Manlius*, and the *Proconsul, Q. Servilius Cepio*, were sent: (1) But they disagreeing, and each envying the other every Advantage over the Enemy, they were both defeated, and, with the Battle, lost their Camp. (2) This Battle was fought on the *Rhone*, and so great was the Overthrow of the *Romans*, that the Day it happened on was numbred in their Calendar, among the unfortunate Days: (3) And, as *Cepio*, by his imprudent Conduct, had contributed most to this Disaster, his Goods were all proscribed at *Rome*. (4.)

The *Cimbri*
and the *Teu-*
tones, at
Length, in-
vade *Italy*.

§. X. WE do not know what hindered the *Cimbri*, at this Time, from invading *Italy*. We only find, that after having depopulated the whole Country, between the *Rhone* and the *Pyrenees*, (1) they bent their Course towards *Spain*: But being repulsed by the *Celtiberi*, they re-joined the *Teutones*, in *Gaul*, and there laid all waste before them, far and near; there being no Nation of the *Gauls* (the *Belgæ* only excepted) who were able to withstand them, and to keep them from their Confin-
fines. (2) At length, they agreed to attack *Italy*, on both Sides at

§. IX. (1) *Vide CELLARIUM*, l. c. §. 19.
(2) Excerpta *DIONIS Valesiana* p. 631. *LIVIVS* Epit. 67. Ab iisdem hostibus *C. Manlius*, Consul, & *Q. Servilius Cepio*, Proconsul, victi proelio, castris quoque binis exuti sunt. *OROSIUS*, L. V. c. 16. gives us the following Relation of this Matter: *Manlius*, Cos. & *Q. Cepio*, Proconsul, adversus *Cimbros*, & *Teutonas*, & *Tigurinos*, & *Ambro- nas*, *Gallorum* & *Germanorum* gentes, quæ tunc, ut imperium Romanum extinguere, conspiraverant, missi, provincias sibi *Rhodano* fluvio medio diviserunt. Ubi, dum inter se gravissime invidia & contentione disceptant, cum magna ignominia & periculo *Romani* nominis victi sunt. Siquidem - - - octoginta millia *Romanorum*, sociorumque, eadem tempestate trucidata, *Antius* scribit. *SALLUSTIUS* d. B. I. in fine says: Per idem tempus adversum *Gallos* a ducibus nostris, *Q. Cæpione*, & *M. Manlio*, male pugnatum est. He calls them *Galli*, perhaps because the *Tigurini*, and the *Tugeni*, were amongst them. Vid. *CELLARIUM*, l. c. §. 20. *PLUTARCHUS* in *Vita Q. Sertorii*, p. 369. A. makes likewise mention of this Expedition of *Cepio's*. Prima stipendia, quum *Cimbri* & *Teutoni* impressionem fecissent in *Galliam*, sub *Cæpione* faciens, quum essent *Romani* fusi fugatique, equo amisso, ac conciso vulneribus corpore. *Rhodanum* transmisit, cum ipsa lorica & scuto adver-

sis ingentibus undis natans. Adeo erat robusto corpore & subacto exercitatione.

(3) *PLUTARCHUS* in *Lucullo*, p. 510.

(4) *LIVIVS* Epitom. 67. Secundum populi *Romani* jussionem, *Cæpionis*, cujus temeritate clades accepta erat, damnati, bona publicata sunt.

§. X. (1) According to the Order of Time observed by *LIVY*, Epit. 67. The Invasion of *Spain* by the *Cimbri* must be placed the same Year that *Marius* was a second time Consul: For he first relates the Triumph of *Marius* over *Jugurtha*, and then proceeds: *Cimbri* vastatis omnibus, quæ inter *Rhodanum* & *Pyrenæum* sunt, per saltum in *Hispaniam* transgressi, ibique multa loca populati a *Celtiberis* fugati sunt; reversique in *Galliam* bellicosus se *Teutonis* conjunxerunt.

(2) We see this by a Passage in *CÆSAR* L. II. c. 4. where the Ambassadors of the *Remi* say: *Solos Belgas* esse, qui patrum memoria omni *Gallia* vexata, *Teutonas*, *Cimbrosque* intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Of this likewise the Passage, I. VII. c. 77. must probably be understood; when *Critognatus* is introduced saying: Ergo mei consilii est, facere quod nostri majores, nequaquam pari bello *Cimbrorum*, *Teutonorumque* fecerunt, qui in oppida compulsi, ac simili inopia subacti, eorum corporibus, qui ætate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt, neque se hostibus tradiderunt.

once.

once. The *Teutones* and the *Ambrones* were to march through *Provence*, while the *Cimbri*, crossing the *Rhine*, were to attempt their old Route, through *Noricum*. They both left a good Part of their burthen some Baggage behind them, on the *Rhine*, with a Guard of some Thousands of Men. This Remnant, being afterwards constrained, wherever almost they went, to fight their Way thro', settled, at length, in *Belgick Gaul*, where, in Process of Time, they were called *Atuatici*. (3)

§. XI. It is easy to conceive, in what Consternation the *Romans* were, at the Approach of the, 'till then, invincible *Cimbri*. The only General then judged capable of opposing them was *C. Marius*, who, about this Time, had overthrown *Jugurtha*, King of *Mauritania*, and thereby obtained the Reputation, among the *Roman* People, of a brave and fortunate Commander. He was, therefore, chosen *Consul*, a second time, while absent; and the *Cimbri*, in the mean while, marching into *Spain*, this Dignity was conferred upon him, the ensuing Year, a third time. The *Cimbri* now returning out of *Spain*, and threatening *Italy*, he was constrained to keep his Post another Year; and thus, when he marched against this Victorious Enemy, he was dignified with the *Consulship*, a fourth time. (2) He encamped in *Provence*, near the *Rhone*, A. U. 651.

C. Marius sent by the *Romans* to encounter the *Germans*.

(3) CÆSAR L. II. c. 29. de Atuatibus: Ipsi ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui cum iter in provinciam nostram, atque Italiam, facerent, his impedimentis, quæ secum agere ac portare non poterant, circa flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiæ ex suis ac præsidio VI millia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias illaturum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt. That it was at the time of this Expedition, we may reasonably infer, because we do not find the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* mentioned so expressly being together, in any other.

§. XI. (1) PLUTARCHUS in Mario p. 412. B. Quæ quum ad urbem essent diversis ex locis nuntiata, acciverunt ad bellum gerendum, atque iterum Consulem designaverunt Marium. Quum lex autem absentem, & nisi interjecto certo spatio vetaret denuo creari Consulem, repudiavit populus adversantes. Quippe . . . arbitrabantur . . . non alienioris præsentem causam illa, ob quam contra

leges Consulem creaverant Scipionem, quum non timerent urbis suæ perniciem, sed Carthaginem cuperent evertere. Hæc sententia obtinuit.

(2) IDEM, p. 413. D. Id Romam nuntiatum imprimis Mario tertium Consulatum confecit: Simul etiam, quia incunte vere adventus barbarorum in expectatione erat, nolebant, ullo alio duce aleam Martis cum illis jacere. Non tam cito tamen (ut ferebat opinio) advennerunt, sed Consulatus tempus iterum Mario circumactum est. Urgentibus commitiis, quum defunctus collega ejus esset, relicto ad exercitum M. Aquilio, contendit Romam. Ibi multis & insignibus viris consulatum ambientibus, L. Saturninus, qui præcipue inter tribunos impellere valebat plebem, quem circumegerat in se Marius, monuit eam pro concione, ut Consulem illum crearent. Quum Marius, in speciem detractare se Consulatum, nec cupere, jactaret, proditorem eum patriæ Saturninus appellavit, qui periculo impendente tanto, bellum suscipere gerendum abnueret. Haud clam erat eum simulationi Marii inscitum hiitionem servire, verum quod tempus videret populus

Rhone, (3) leaving to his Colleague, *Luftatius Catulus*, the Care of defending the *Norick Alps*. (4) *Marius* resolved to wait there the coming of the Enemy; and, in the mean time, to facilitate the Navigation of Ships coming from the Sea into the *Rhone*, he caused his Soldiers to dig the famous Canal, near *Marseilles*, which is known, in History, by the Name of the *Fossa Mariana*. (5) The *Teutones* formed their Camp almost opposite to the *Romans*, and endeavoured, more than once, to entice them to a Battle; but *Marius* put a Check to the Impetuosity of their Valour, under Pretext, that he had not yet seen the auspicious *Omens*, which he expected from the *Gods*. (6) His real Intention was, however, to make himself, and his Soldiers, better acquainted with the Arms and martial Discipline of the *Teutones*, to which they were, till then, Strangers; and, besides, he hoped, by feeding up their Expectations, their Impatience would be a Spur to their Courage.

The *Ambrones* and the *Teutones* defeated by *Marius*.

§. XII. THE Patience of the *Teutones* being, at length, worn out, they resolved to march into *Italy*, and leave *Marius* behind them; and some of them were so presumptuous, that they rode up to his Camp, and asked the *Romans* tauntingly, if they had any Commands to their Friends at *Rome*? (1) *Marius* followed them, and overtook them near *Aix*, a Colony then but newly founded by the *Romans*. The *Teutones*, and the *Ambrones*, who marched in different Bodies, both halted, and waited his coming up. *Marius* first attacked the *Ambrones*, who were 30,000 Men; (2) and having beaten them out of the Field, the next Day, he fell upon the *Teutones*, whom he likewise routed, and took a vast Number of Prisoners. *Plutarch* gives us a very circumstantial Relation

populus requirere illius virtutem & fortunam, Consulem eum quantum designaverunt, collegamque ei *Luftatium Catulum* addiderunt, magnæ virum inter primores autoritatis, nec plebi ingratum.

(3) IDEM, l. c. p. 413. E. Ubi hostes prope esse intellexit, raptim superavit Alpes, ac castris ad amnem *Rhodanum* communitis, convexit affatim eo commeatum, ne unquam nisi postulante usu, ex necessariorum inopia dimicare cogeretur.

(4) IDEM, L. c. p. 414. A.

(5) Vide *MELA* L. II. c. 5. *PLINIUS*, L. III. c. 4. & *PLUTARCHUS*, L. c. p. 414. H. This Canal *Marius* made a Present of to the City of *Marseilles*, after the Victory he obtained over

the *Teutones*. *STRABO*, L. IV. p. 183. Posterioribus temporibus *Marius* videns, adgestione limi ostium *Rhodani* obturari, intratuque reddi difficile, novam egit fossam, qua majorem amnis partem exciperet: eamque *Massiliensibus*, ob navatam præclaram in bello contra *Ambrones* & *Toiygenos* operam, præmii loco donavit.

(6.) *PLUTARCHUS* p. 414. E. Where he likewise makes mention of a Syrian Sorceress, called *Martha*, whom *Marius* carried about with him in his Army, and deluded the credulous *Vulgar*, with the Predictions which they together concerted.

§. XII. (1) *PLUTARCHUS*, L. c. p. 415. E.

(2) IDEM, l. c. p. 416. B.

of

of the Battle, (3) and, among other Things, says, the Number of Slain and Prisoners amounted to above 100,000. He adds, that the Fields about *Marseilles*, being manured with their Blood, were, the ensuing Year more fruitful than usual. *Marius* reserved some of the chief of the Booty for his Triumph, and having caused the rest to be brought into one Heap, made a Thanksgiving-Offering of it to the Gods. The Army was drawn up round the Pile, and the Soldiers decked with Garlands of Laurel, when *Marius*, just as he was going to set Fire to it, received Advice from *Rome*, that the *Senate* had honoured him, a fifth Time, with the *Consular* Dignity. (4) He stayed some time in *Provence*, to restore it to its Pristine State; and, in the mean Time, the Chiefs of the *Teutones* and *Ambrones*, who were taken in Flight, were brought to him. (5) Among these, *Florus* mentions King *Teutobochus*, (6) whose Name, in After-times, gave Birth to many Fables. (7)

§. XIII. *Luftatius Catulus*, who had been *Consul* with *Marius*, and now commanded as *Proconsul*, was not so fortunate against the *Cimbri*, who attempted *Italy*, by the Way of *Noricum*. He at first possessed himself of the narrow Passes of the *Alps*; but afterwards, fearing to separate his Troops too much, he retired beyond the *Adige*, thinking that a secure Barrier. Thus the *Cimbri* passed the *Alps*, without Opposition, and they no sooner approached the *Adige*, than the *Roman* Army, being struck with a *Pannick*, fled. They, therefore, crossed that River with the same Ease, and took a small Fort, which the *Romans* had erected to cover their Bridge. The Garrison was suffered to march out, upon very

Catulus repulsed by the Cimbri.

(3) PLUTARCHUS, L. c. p. 417. PATERCULUS reckons the Number of the Slain to be 150000. LIVIUS, Epit. 69. goes yet farther, and says, there were 200,000 slain, and 90,000 Prisoners. But how little Reliance there is on such Accounts, is well known.

(4) PLUTARCHUS, L. c. p. 418. B. Desilierunt ex equis, atque eum amplexi, nuntiaverunt leti quintum Consulatum.

(5) IDEM, L. c. p. 419. D. Sic fatus victos Teutonum Reges produci imperat, nam in Alpibus fuerant a Sequanis retracti.

(6) FLORUS, L. III. c. 3. Certe Rex ipse Teutobochus, quaternos, senosque equos transilire solitus, vix unum, quum fugeret, ascendit, proximo in saltu comprehensus, insignis spectaculum triumphi, fuit, quippe vir proceritate eximia, super tropæa sua eminebat.

(7) There is yet to be seen, at Orange, an ancient Roman Triumphal Arch, which, as it has been believed, was built by *Marius*, in Memory of this Victory. De la Pile says, that about the

Beginning of the XV Century, a Stone fell down, upon which was carved the Word TEUTOBOCHUS. This Opinion is, however, with great Grounds of Reason, confuted, by the Author of the Dissertation, dans laquelle on examine, qui sont ceux, qui ont fait construire l'Arc de Triomphe, que l'on voit à Orange, which we find, in the Bibl. Franc. T. II. P. II. p. 210. About the Year 1613 there ran a Report, that a Tomb had been discovered in the Dauphiny, not far from the Place, where the Isere falls into the Rhone, with the Inscription TEUTOBOCHUS REX, in which was found a Skeleton five and twenty Foot and a half long: But Pieriscius discovered the Cheat, and proved it to be the Skeleton of an Elephant. The Reader will find a Relation of this Matter at large, in Gassendus in Vita Peiriscii, L. III. p. 88. 89. & 156. He takes Notice, at the same time, p. 89. of a Treatise published by Nicholas Habigot, a Surgeon at Paris, concerning these pretended Giant's Bones.

good

The Cimbri
overthrown
by Marius.

good Terms, which were sworn to on a Brazen Bull, (1) a Ceremony by which they were wont to execute all their Bonds and Covenants.

§. XIV. ROME was, at that Time, in the utmost Anxiety, and expected nothing less than a second *Brennus*. The best Counsel they could take was to recall *Marius*. His Return revived the sinking Spirits of the *Romans*, and the Fame of his Victories over the *Teutones* made them hope the same happy Success against the *Cimbri*. *Marius* joined his Legions with those of *Catulus*, and they had no sooner crossed the *Po*, with their united Force, than an Ambassy from the *Cimbri* arrived in their Camp. Their Demand was, as before, that a certain District of Land might be amicably allotted, for them and their Brethren to inhabit. Being asked whom they meant by their Brethren, their Answer was the *Teutones*; upon which the whole Assembly was moved to Laughter. *Marius* bad them be under no farther Concern for the *Teutones*; because he had assigned them an eternal Habitation; and to convince them of this Truth, he commanded the Chiefs of that Nation to be brought before them in Bonds. The Ambassadors were no sooner returned, than the *Cimbri* prepared for Battle. *Bojorix*, their King, in Person, required the *Romans* to determine the Time and Place, and *Marius*, at length, appointed to meet them, the third Day, in the Plains of *Vercelli*. The Appearance of the German Horse was, at first, very terrible to the *Romans*; their Helmets being decked with the Heads of wild (and, some of them unknown) Beasts, adorned with large Plumes of Feathers, which made them seem much taller than in Reality they were. Their Misfortune, however, was, that they had not only the *Romans*, but the Sun, the Wind, and the Dust to combat with; an Advantage *Marius* had prudently known how to gain over them. This occasioned, in a great Measure, their Overthrow, a Description of

§. XIII. (1) PLUTARCHUS, p. 419. Barbari autem præsidium trans Athesin adorti, ceperunt, militesque qui impositi fuerant, quum gessissent se fortissime, atque ex dignitate patriæ decertassent, reveriti virtutem eorum, datis induciis dimiserunt, æneum taurum jurati; quem post sub pugnam captum, in domum Catuli ferunt, tanquam victoriæ primitias delatum fuisse. Conf. OL. BORRICHIVS in Ant. urb. Roman. sac. cap. 7. In a Treatise on the Original of the Cimbri, published in the Year 1594, and entitled Libellus de origine & rebus gestis Cimbrorum, It is indeed said: Plutarchus scribit, in vexillis Cimbrorum depictum fuisse caput Tauri, quod nunc quoque ducum

Megapolensium est insigne. But we find no such Passage in Plutarch; at least not in his Life of Marius, in which he treats most at large of the Cimbri. Johannes Strelorius, in the Preface to his Chronic: Guthilandorum writes, that the Cimbri offered publick Adoration to such an Image, and that a Bullock's Head was their Ensign, as the Eagle was that of the Romans: But, as we find no Testimony of this in the Ancients, we can look upon it but as a mere Conjecture. Thomas Bartholinus shews, however, a great Inclination, in his Antiquit. Dan. I. II. c. 9. p. 484. to derive the Bullock's Head, in the Arms of Mecklenburg from this Original.

which

which, with several Circumstances of it, we find in *Plutarch*; (1.) And we may give the greater Credit to his Account, because he had the authentick Relations of *Sylla*, *Catulus*, and several others, which are now lost, for his Guides. That *Sylla*, who was in Person in this Action, wrote a Description of it, we find by *Plutarch* himself; and that *Catulus* left *Memoirs* of all the remarkable Events of his Consulship appears from *Cicero*; (2.) Who, in another Place, in Honour to that excellent Poet, *Archias*, says, he sung the *Cimbrian War* so happily, that *Marius* himself, as little as he favoured Learning, was pleased with it. (3.)

§. XV. THE Intrenchments the *Cimbri* had made with their Carriages drew the *Romans* into a new Skirmish with their Wives, who chose rather to perish, with their Children, than to suffer themselves to be led away into Captivity. (1.) Nay, the very Dogs defended their Huts, which

The German Intrenchments of Carriages forced.

§. XIV. (1.) PLUTARCHUS in *vita Marii*, p. 419, 420. *The Order of Battle and Accoutrements of the Cimbrian Army deserve to be particularly mentioned here: And p. 420. B. he describes them in the following Manner: Cimbrorum pedites ex castris composite processerunt, ac quadrata acie constiterunt. Si quidem latera aciei singula cernas, millia septingenta & quinquaginta passuum obtinebant. Equitum quindecim millia numero effuderant se splendide. Galeas gerebant, quæ repræsentarent sevarum beluarum rictus, & inusitatas figuras, quas alatis fastigiantes cristis, apparebant eminentiores. Loricis ferreis erant exculti, ac candidis micabant scutis, pro telo habebant singuli telum bipenne. Pede collato ingentibus utebantur, & gravibus gladiis. The Intrepidity of the Cimbri, and how earnest they were of dying in the Field, we may see by the following Passage in Valerius Maximus, L. II. c. 6. Avara & foeneratoria Gallorum philosophia: Alacris & fortis Cimbrorum & Celtiberorum, qui in acie exultabant, tanquam gloriose & feliciter vita excessuri: Lamentabantur in morbo, quasi turpiter & miserabiliter perituri. BARTHOLINUS, in his Treatise de Causis contemptæ mortis apud veteres Danos, illustrates this Idea of the ancient Germans, with divers other Evidences.*

(2.) CICERO in *Bruto* c. 35. Jam Q. Catulus non antiquo illo more, sed hoc nostro eruditus. Multæ literæ, summa non vitæ solum atque naturæ, sed orationis etiam comitas, incorrupta quædam latini sermonis integritas:

quæ perspicui cum ex orationibus ejus potest, tum facillime ex eo libro, quem, de Consulatu, & de rebus gestis suis, conscriptum molli, & Xenophonteo genere sermonis, misit ad A. Furium Poetam.

(3.) CICERO Or. *pro Archia* c. 9. Nam & Cimbricas res adolescens attigit: Ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, jucundus fuit.

§. XV. (1.) PLUTARCH, p. 421. A. Quum effusos ad castra summovissent, inciderunt in horrendissima spectacula. Feminae consistebant in plaustris pullatae, fugientesque, hæ viros, illæ fratres, parentes aliæ interficiebant: Infantes suis strangulabant manibus, & sub rotas, jumentorumque pedes projiciebant, mox trucidabant semetipsæ. Unam memorant ex summo dependisse temone, quæ pueros ex cruribus suis, annexos laqueis, hinc inde suspenderat. Viros arborum inopia cornibus boum, alios cruribus adalligasse colla mox eos stimulas, quo exilientibus bobus raptati & obtriti interirent. Qui, quanquam ita sibi conciliarent mortem, capta tamen sunt plus LX millia. Cecidisse bis totidem referuntur. FLORUS L. III. c. 3. Quum missa ad Marium legatione libertatem ac sacerdotium non impetrassent (nec fas erat) suffocatis, elisisque passim infantibus suis, aut mutuis concidere vulneribus, aut vinculo crinibus sui facto, ab arboribus, jugisque plaustrorum, pependere. *What Florus says of the Priesthood must probably be understood only of the Sorceresses which always followed the*

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which were erected on their Carriages. (2.) I am, therefore, at a Loss, how to understand the *Roman Writers*, who pretend, that the total Overthrow of this People, who behaved so bravely, in several Engagements with them, cost them no more than three Hundred Men. (3.)

The *Tigurini* retire.

§. XVI. WHEN the *Tigurini*, who stayed behind, in *Noricum*, were informed of this entire Defeat of the *Cimbri*, they dispersed, and probably returned into their own Country; for we shall find, that, in the Days of *Julius Cæsar*, they were the Authors of new Troubles. (1.)

The Triumph and Trophies of *Marius*.

§. XVII. IT will be easy to conceive, with what Joy and Triumph, *Marius* was received at *Rome*, where the Fears they were under, on Account of the *Cimbri*, were so great, that they had vowed solemn Festivals to *Jupiter*, to implore his Assistance, which was never done but in Times of the utmost Danger. (1.) Every one looked upon *Marius* as the Preserver of the *Roman State*; (2.) And tho' the Success of the last Battle was chiefly owing to *Catulus*, the Honour of it was almost wholly ascribed to *Marius*. (3.) The *Plebeians* were for excluding *Ca-*

Cimbrian Camp. We find the following remarkable Passage concerning these Women, in *Strabo*, L. VII. p. 294. *Morem hunc fuisse Cimbris usitatum ferunt. Sequentibus eos in bellum uxoribus, vates quædam comitabantur canæ, albo vestitu, carbasinis supparis desuper fibulis affixis, cinctu æreo, pedibus nudis: Eæ per castra captivis occurrebant, strictis gladiis, prostratosq; ad craterum æneum adducebant, amphoras circiter XX. capientem. Super eum pulpitum erat, quo consenso, vates sublimis supra lebetem elevatis guttur incidebat: e sanguine in crateram fuso suam captabant quandam divinationem: Reliquæ cadavera sic cæforum scindebant, intestinisque spectatis victoriam suis vaticinabantur. In proeliis pelles pulsabant, cratibus curruum prætentas, quibus sonitus terribilis, edebatur.*

(2.) *PLINIUS in Hist. Nat. L. VIII. c. 41. says, Canes, Cimbris cæsis, domus eorum plaustris impositas, defendisse.*

(3.) *FLORUS L. I. c. 14. Millia inde sexaginta ceciderunt: hinc trecenti, minus. EUTROPIUS: Romani milites ex utroque exercitu 300. perierunt.*

§. XVI. (1.) *FLORUS L. III. c. 18. Tertia Tigurinorum manus, quæ quasi subsidio Noricos infederat Alpium tumulos, in diversa lapsa, fuga ignobili & latrocinii evanuit.*

§. XVII. (1.) *SUETONIUS in Augusto c. 23. Vovit & magnos ludos Jovi optimo maximo, si res publica in meliorem statum venisset: Quod factum CIMBRICO, Marsicoque bello erat. In Livy's Epit. 68. it is observed, that before the Cimbrian War, the Ancilia were heard to clatter with a very great Noise, which was always esteemed an evil Omen at Rome.*

(2.) *CICERO mentions him long after his Death; in Or. ad Quirit. pro rexit. c. 4. Custodem libertatis atque imperii Rom. And in Catilin. IV. c. 10. he says, Sit in æterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione & metu servitutis liberavit.*

(3.) *PLUTARCH. l. c. p. 421. C. Mario tamen totum illud factum & superior palma, & Consulatus majestas adscripsit. Atque adeo illum plebs urbana tertium Romæ conditorum appellavit, quod Gallico hoc non levius avertisset discrimen, lætique cum liberis, & conjugibus, quisque domi in cœna Diis, & Mario libaverunt, solique voluerunt utrumque triumphum decernere, quo tamen non est ille usus. Cæterum quo commendaret tantis rebus gestis modestiam suam, una cum Catulo triumphavit. Adhæc nonnihil milites illius formidabat, obstinatos, si Catulus eo honore spoliaretur, nec sibi permittere triumphum.*

tulus

tulus from the Triumph; but *Marius* had more Modesty, or, at least, more Prudence: For he was apprehensive the Troops which were under the Command of *Catulus* might, in that Case, have opposed his Entry. They were, therefore, joined in their Triumph; and among other Spoils, which were exposed to publick Shew, was the *Brazen Bull*, (4.) which *Catulus* afterwards caused to be preserved in his own House, as a perpetual Memorial of this Victory. (5.) *Marius* assign'd one Part of the Booty, to build a Temple, dedicated to *Honour* and *Virtue*; (6.) and happy had it been for *Rome*, if, in his future Conduct, he himself had pursued the Paths he hereby pointed out to others; and if his seventh *Consulship* had not obscured, if not totally effaced, the extraordinary Merits of the six foregoing. Many were the Trophies which were erected to his Honour. They were, indeed, afterwards demolished by *Sylla*; but *Julius Cæsar*, who professed a Value for the Memory of *Marius*, as being nearly allied to him in Blood, restored them. (7.) One Inscription is yet in Being, in which honourable Mention is made of *Marius's* Victory over the *Cimbri*, for which Reason we shall insert it here. (8.)

C. MARIUS. C. F. COS. VII.

PR. TR. PL. Q. AVGV. TR. MIL. EXTRA.
 SORTEM. BELLVM. CVM. IVGVRTA. REGE. NVMD.
 GESSIT. EVM. CEPIT. ET. TRIVMPHANS. IN. SECVNDO.
 CONSVLATV. ANTE. CVRRVM. SVVM. DVCI. IVSSIT.
 III. CONSVL. APSENS. CREATVS. EST. III. CONSVL.

(4.) See §. XIII. Note 1.

(5.) See, concerning this, the Words of Plutarch, *ib.* in the 1 Note.

(6.) POMPEIUS FESTUS L. XVII. in voce *summissior* says, *summissiorem aliis ædem honoris & virtutis C. Marius fecit, ne si forte officeret auspiciis publicis, augures eam demoliri cogerent.* CELLARIUS l. c. p. 28. supposes, he only restored and beautified the Temple, which had been before built by Marcellus.

(7.) SUTTON. in vit. Cæs. c. 2. Quorum (sc. optimatum) auctoritatem, ut quibus posset modis invicem diminueret, tropæa C. Marii de Juvurtha, deque Cimbris atque Teutonis olim a Sylla disiecta, restituit. The Trophies which are to this Day standing before the Capitol, are by Borrichius, in ant. urb. sac. c. 7. NARDINUS Rom. vet. IV. 2. FABRICIUS, descr. urb. Rom. c. 14. pretended to be the Trophies of Marius, but without Grounds. V. DONATUS de urbe Roma III. 10. BELLO-

MARIUS believes them to be the Trophies of Trajan, the Emperor, in fragm. veteris Romæ, p. 13. We have likewise a Medal, which seems to refer to this. But the best Judges think it spurious.

(8.) GRUTERUS CCCCXXXVI. 3. In Count Moscardi's Cabinet, at Verona, was formerly seen another Inscription, concerning this Victory of Marius's, which Mabillon has given us in his Mus. Ital. T. I. P. I. §. XVI. as follows.

D. F.
 G. M. TRVCIDATIS
 CIMBRIS. IN. F. ITA. A. V.
 R. R. OB INSIGNEM EIUS
 MEMORIAM

S. P. Q. R.
 In the Fasti Pighiani the Triumph is placed A. U.
 DCLII.

C. MARIUS. C. FILIVS. CONSVL. V.
 DE TEVTONEIS AMBRONIBVS ET
 CIMBREIS.

D 2

TEVTO-

TEVTONORVM. EXERCITVM. DELEVIT. V. CONSVL.
 CIMBROS. FVGAVIT. EX. IEIS. ET. TEVTONEIS. ITERVM.
 TRIVMPHAVIT. REM. P. TVRBATAM. SEDITIONIBVS
 TR. PL. ET. PRAETOR. VI. QVI. ARMATI. CAPITOLIVM.
 OCCVPAVERANT. VI. CONSVL. VINDICAVIT
 POST. LXX. ANNVM. PATRIA. PER. ARMA. CIVILIA.
 PVLSVS. ARMIS. RESTITVTVS. COS. VII. FACTVS. E. T
 DE. MANVBIEIS. CIMBRICEIS. ET. TEVTONICEIS. AEDEM.
 HONORI. ET. VIRTVTI. VICTOR. FECIT. VESTE. TRIVMPHALI.
 CALCEIS PVNICEIS.

Of the Cim-
 bri who re-
 mained in
 their own
 Country.

§. XVIII. THUS the *Cimbri* lost, in one Day, all the Hopes they had built upon the Success of so many bloody Battles, by grounding their Enterprizes rather on a rash Intrepidity, than a prudent Conduct, and by exposing their whole Force, at once, against an Enemy who was in a Capacity to send fresh Armies into the Field, every Year. Those who remained in their own Country constantly preserved their ancient Habitation; (1.) And of those who escaped from this Battle, it is highly probable, that many returned thither likewise. We find, that the *Cimbri* sent an Ambassy to *Augustus*; (2.) And *Tacitus* (3.) speaks of them as being a noted People, in his Days. *Ptolemy*, (4.) who wrote in the Days of *M. Antoninus*, extols them as the most renowned of all the Nations who inhabited the great *Peninsula*, from them called *Chersonesus Cimbrica*. *Claudianus* (5.) likewise mentions them, as a People who flourished in his Time, and names that Part of the Ocean, (6.) which we now call the *North Sea*, by their Name. The *Saxons*, another People who inhabited the *Cimbrian Peninsula*, advancing by Degrees to a great Renown, it is probable that the *Cimbri* took Part with them, in all their Excursions, and were thus, in Course of Time, swallowed up in the same Denomination.

§. XVIII. (1.) Besides the Authors which are already, here and there, mentioned, we find, that *PAULUS CYPREUS*, *HIERON. TURLERUS* and *JOH. JANUS ALANUS* have written concerning these *Cimbri*.

(2.) *STRABO*, L. VII. p. 292-293. De Cimbris quædam inepte dicuntur, quædam probabilitatem habent non mediocrem. Non enim hæc de causa eos ut incertis vagarentur sedibus, & latrociniiis victum quærent, compulso crediderim, quia e peninsula, quam inhabitaverint ejeti: Cum hodieque antiquas incolant sedes: Nuperque Augusto lebetem, qui apud ipsos facerrimus habebatur, dono

miserint, amicitiam expetentes, & veniam illatarum injuriarum; eaque consecuti domum redierunt.

(3.) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 37.* Eundem Germaniæ sinum proxime Oceano *Cimbri* tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens.

(4.) *PTOLEMÆUS* L. II. c. 11.

(5.) *CLAUDIUS* L. IV. Cos. Honorii, p. 450.

- - - latisque paludibus exit
Cimber, & ingentes *Albim* liquere *Cherusci*.

(6.) *IDEM* 335. - - *Cimbrica* *Thetis*
 Divisum bivio consumit, *Rhene*, meatu.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ANCIENT GERMAN S.
BOOK II.

The Wars of the GERMAN S with JULIUS CÆSAR.

SECT. I. **T**HE Histories written by Julius Cæsar were suspected of Partiality in his Life-time. The Division of ancient Gaul. Fifteen thousand Germans pass the Rhine, and are followed by a much greater Number. II. Ariovistus founds a Kingdom in Gaul. III. Julius Cæsar, on Occasion of the Helvetian War, intermeddles in the Affairs of the Gauls. IV. And resolves to set Bounds to the Power of Ariovistus, or to drive him out of Gaul. V. His Conference with Ariovistus. VI. The Battle which ensued, and the Overthrow of the Germans. What became of the Marcomanni, the Tribochi, the Nemetes, and the Vangiones. VII. Cæsar vanquishes Gallia Belgica; makes Comius King of the Atrebates: VIII. And himself becomes Master of the Metropolis of the Atuatici. Where the Atuatici inhabited? IX. Galba's Attempt to subdue the People who dwelt about the Source of the Rhine. X. Cæsar's fruitless Expedition against the Morini and the Menapii. XI. Who gave Occasion to the War which Cæsar made with the Germans on the East Side of the Rhine. His Description of the Manners and Customs of the Suevi and Ubii. XII. The Tencteri and Usipites, (or Usipedes) two German Colonies, invade Gaul: XIII. But are defeated by Cæsar. Some accuse him of violating the Laws of Nations with

with these People. XIV. Cæsar builds a Bridge over the Rhine, and ravages the Country of the Sicambri. XV. Broils occasioned by the Treviri. XVI. A Roman Army decoyed into an Ambush, and defeated by Ambiorix, a Prince of the Eburones. XVII. Ambiorix spirits up the Nervii to attack Q. Cicero. Their Want of Experience in the Art of besieging. XVIII. Cæsar relieves Cicero. XIX. Labienus beats Induciomarus, Prince of the Treviri. A Medal of Induciomarus, and another of Comius, King of the Atrebatæ. Note (3.) XX. The Treviri renew their Preparations for War. Cæsar makes an Inroad into the Country of the Nervii. XXI. And subdues the Menapii. XXII. Labienus defeats the Treviri a second Time. Cingetorix appointed Ruler over them. XXIII. Cæsar passes the Rhine again. XXIV. Pursues the Prince of the Eburones, and delivers his Country a Prey to his Neighbours. XXV. The Sicambri pass the Rhine, and surprize Cicero in Atuatica. XXVI. Cæsar destroys the whole Nation of the Eburones. XXVII. Some of the German Colonies serve Cæsar against the Gauls, and others the Gauls against Cæsar. XXVIII. The Conclusion of the Gallick War. A Figure, representing the Rhine, carried in Triumph at Rome. XXIX. Cæsar retains Germans in his Service after the Conclusion of the Gallick War. XXX. The Death of Cæsar interrupts his great Design of opening a Way thro' Scythia into Germany. XXXI to XXXIX. A Description of ancient Germany, and its Inhabitants; with a brief Account of the Genius, Policy, Religion, Warfare, Arts and Customs of the Ancient German Nations.

The Division of Ancient Gaul.

§. I. **A**FTER the Cimbrian War, we find no Mention of the Germans, in the Roman History, 'till Julius Cæsar, on Occasion of his War with the Gauls, was, by the Circumstances of Affairs, frequently embroiled with them likewise. Great Pity it is, that we are obliged to have Recourse chiefly to Cæsar's own Commentaries, for our Relations of these Matters, since Asinius Pollio (1.) very much questioned the Impartiality of them, even in his Life-time. Gaul was, at that Time, divided, by the Romans, into Gallia Cis-alpina and Trans-alpina. We shall only take Notice of the latter, which contained all that Tract of Land, which reached from the Alps to the North Sea, and was separated from Germany by the Rhine. That Part of it which bordered upon Italy was already under the Roman Yoke, as a Province, whence it goes by the Name of Provence to this Day. The Remainder had 'till then retained its Liberty, and was inhabited by three different Nations: The Upper Part by the Belgæ, the Middle, by the Celtæ, and that Part

Part towards the Borders of *Spain*, by the *Acquitains*. (2.) In *Gallia Celtica*, the *Ædui* and the *Arverni* were till then the most powerful People; all the others were either tributary to them, or had endeavour'd to secure their Friendship by Alliances. The flourishing State of the *Ædui*, who, as they bordered upon *Provence*, lived in a good Intelligence with the *Romans*, had long excited the Envy and Jealousy of the *Arverni*. They therefore confederated with the *Sequani*, who were the nearest Neighbours to the *Ædui*, and likewise call'd in the bordering *Germans* to their Aid, against them. (3.) At first, about fifteen Thousand only of the *Germans* pass'd the *Rhine*; But, being delighted with the Country, their Number soon encreas'd to a Hundred and twenty Thousand. With the Help of these, the *Sequani* vanquish'd the *Ædui*, in several Battles; And, at Length, reduced them to the Necessity of submitting to their Yoke, to give them their Children in Hostage, and to promise not to seek any farther Assistance from the *Romans*. *Divitiacus* alone refused to accept of these hard Conditions, and, escaping to *Rome*, implored the Aid of the Senate, to relieve his Country. *

§. II. THE *Sequani* were, however, as great Sufferers by their Victory, as the *Ædui* by their Overthrow: As it generally is the Fate of those, who call in Auxiliaries, to pay them in Proportion to the Danger for which they employ them. *Ariovistus*, King of the *Germans*, found *Gaul* so agreeable, that he obliged the *Sequani* to evacuate a third Part of their Possessions for his Use. At the same Time, he ingratiated himself so far with the *Romans*, that, in the Consulship of *Julius Cæsar*, they allowed him the Title and Respect of a King, an Honour they were otherwise very sparing of. (1.) (2.) In the mean while, having overcome most of the Nations of *Gaul*, who had engaged in a Confederacy against him, in a Battle near *Amagetobria*, he look'd upon their Dominions as his Property, won by the Sword. He therefore, soon afterwards, demanded of the *Sequani* the Possession of another third Part of their Territories, which he design'd for the *Harudes*, who, about this

(2.) CÆSAR L. I. c. 1.

(3.) CÆSAR L. I. c. 31. *Where* *Divitiacus* is introduced, saying: Factum esse, uti ab Arvernīs, Sequanisque Germani mercede accerferentur.

* IDEM L. I. c. 31.

§. II. (1.) *When the Son of Syphax demanded of the Romans, Ut Rex, sociusque, & amicus appellaretur, his Answer was: No-*

minis ejus honorem, pro magnis erga se meritis dare populum Romanum consueſſe. LIVIUS L. XXXI. c. 11.

(2.) DIO. I. XXXVIII. p. 81. *says: Germanis illis Ariovistus imperabat, cujus regnum Romani confirmaverant: ipsumque Cæsar in Consulatu suo inter amicos sociosque Romanorum adscripserat.*

Time, pass'd the *Rhine*, to the Number of four and twenty Thousand. While the *Sequani* were in the utmost Consternation at this Demand, *Julius Cæsar* obtained the Proconsulship over *Gallia Narbonnensis*, as a Province; And, besides, Fortune threw another Opportunity in his Way of intermeddling in the Affairs of the Rest of *Gaul*.

Cæsar's War with the Helvetii.

L. Pisonis A. Gabinio Coss. A. U. 695. a C. 58.

§. III. THIS Opportunity was given him by the *Helvetii*, who were Possessors of that Country, to which *Cæsar* set the following Confines: (1.) Towards the South, the *Lacus Lemanus* and the *Rhone*, which River separated them from *Gallia Narbonnensis* and the *Allobroges*: Towards the East, and in Part the North, the *Rhine* was a Boundary between them and the *Germans*, as, towards the West, Mount *Jura* was a Separation between them and the *Sequani*. Weary of being confined within these narrow Limits, they resolved to leave their Country, and seek a more extensive Habitation in *Gaul*, pleasing themselves with the Hopes, that they might possibly conquer the whole Country. (2.) Their Confidence was so sanguine, that they set Fire to their Houses, Villages and Towns, with all their Stores, which they could not carry with them, thereby to cut off all Prospect of a Return. (3.) They excited, not only their Neighbours, the *Rauraci*, (4.) the *Tulingi*, (5.) and the *Latobrigi*, (6.) but likewise the *Boji*, who had seated themselves in *Noricum*, and taken Possession of *Noreia*, to share in the Fortune of this Expedition. Their Design was to pass the *Rhone* near *Geneva*, where they found a Bridge, and to continue their Route thro' *Gallia Romana*. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed of their Motions, than he hastened to his Province, and not only refused to consent to their March, but put himself in a Posture to repel them by Force. Being thus denied a Passage by the *Romans*, they then sought it of the *Sequani*,

§. III. 1. CÆSAR L. I. c. 2.

(2.) HOTTOMANNUS ad c. 2. Cæsaris, endeavours to discredit his Relation of this Matter.

(3.) HOTTOMANNUS. c. 1. supposes, not without some Shew of Reason, that these were not the whole Nation of the Helvetians.

(4.) THE *Rauraci* inhabited the Country where now *Basel* stands. The Roman Consul, L. Munacius Plancus, erected a Colony amongst them, which was afterwards, (perhaps in Honour to *Augustus*) called *Augusta Rauracorum*. It is now a poor Village on the *Rhine*, not far

from *Basel*. *Valesius* in *notitia Galliæ*, in voce *Rauraci*.

(5.) WE have hitherto no better Supposition where the *Tulingi* inhabited, but that it was probably about *Dettingen*.

(6.) IT is ~~supposed~~ where the *Latobrigi* inhabited. The Supposition that it was in the *Brisgow* is hitherto the most plausible, tho' it stands upon a very weak Foundation, being only grounded on the single Syllable *Bri*. VALESIIUS l. c. in voce *Latobrigi*. IDEM in voce *Helvetii*, calls them a People of *Belgium*, and observes, that they inhabited down to the *Mayn*.

pretending, their Design was upon the Dominions of the *Santonæ*, who, 'till then, had lived under the Protection of the *Arverni*. They, hereupon, ravaged the Territories of the *Ædui*, where *Dumnorix*, a Man of great Riches and Authority, privily sided with them, in Hopes, by their Means, to obtain, soon or late, the Sovereignty he aimed at over his Country-men. The opposite Party had Recourse to *Cæsar*, who was then, with an Army, in the Country of the *Segusiani*, (7.) now a Part of the *Brescian*; and who, either because he himself thought it expedient to put a Stop to the Inroads of an Enemy, into the Dominions of the *Santonæ*, from whence they might have infested the *Roman* Province, or to gratify his natural Propensity to War, was very ready to grant the Aid they desired. He, therefore, broke up, and pursued the *Helvetii*, who were then passing the River *Saone*. As they had no other Convenience but Floats, they had been twenty Days about it, when *Cæsar* overtook them, and found the *Tigurini*, who made a fourth Part of their Army, on that Side of the River. These he immediately defeated, hardly allowing them Time to put themselves in Order of Battle; and, laying a Bridge over the River, soon came up with the Body of the *Helvetian* Army. They had the Courage to attack the *Romans* first, not many Leagues from *Bibracte*; (8.) but, after a bloody Battle, were routed, obliged to leave their Camp and Provisions a Prey, and, in a few Days, to surrender themselves, on Discretion, to the Conqueror. *Cæsar* caused the *Helvetii*, the *Tulingi*, and the *Latobrigi*, to return to their old Abode, lest the *Germans*, whose Neighbourhood he was more apprehensive of, finding that Country waste, might possess themselves of it; and, as they had destroyed every Thing at their Departure, he commanded the *Allobroges* to furnish them with Provisions, 'till they had again cultivated their own Lands. Only the *Boji* were suffered to remain in *Gaul*, at the Suit of the *Ædui*, on Account of their extraordinary Valour. They canton'd them on their Confines, (9.) and soon after gave them not only their Liberty, but the Right of Citizens, and thus they became one People. *Cæsar* says, (10.) they found, in their Camp, Lists,

(7.) THE *Segusiani* inhabited, where now the District called *Lionois Forêt*, and a Part of *Beaujolois* and *Brescia* is situated.

(8.) IT is now but a poor Village, not far from *Autun*, call'd *Bevrai*, or *Beuvrai*, VALESIIUS l. c. in voce *Augustodunum*.

(9.) HOTTOMANNUS thinks opposite to the *Arverni*.

(10.) CÆS. L. I. c. 29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt literis Græcis confectæ, & ad Cæsarem perlatæ, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus

Lists, written in *Greek*, as well, in general, of all those who had left their Country, as, in particular, of those who were able to bear Arms; by which it appeared, that they were in all three Hundred and sixty-eight Thousand Souls, among which were ninety-two Thousand Warriors. *

His War
with *Ariovistus*.

§. IV. THIS Victory gave great Renown to the *Roman* Arms, in *Gaul*; and those who were devoted to the *Romans* represented to their Country-men, that, in them, they would find a sure Relief against *Ariovistus*. The *Sequani*, to whom he was the most irksome, readily united with the *Ædui*: And *Cæsar* was besought, in the Name of all the Nations of the *Celta*, to deliver *Gaul* from this troublesome Guest. *Divitiacus*, who was then the Chief of the *Ædui*, found no great Difficulty to persuade him to it. *Cæsar* had indeed great Reason to fear, that, when the *Germans* had once got sure Footing in *Gaul*, the *Roman* Provinces would be no less exposed to them, than they had been to the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*; but his Ambition to engage in such important Wars, which could not but establish his Power, soon gained the Ascendant over his Fears. (1.) However, as he, being now Proconsul, durst not have entered upon a new War, without the Knowledge of the Citizens of *Rome*, (2.) he again made a Pretext of the *Ædui*, whose Defence the *Roman* Governors, in *Gaul*, were, by Virtue of former Alliances, authorized to undertake, without a special Order from *Rome*. His first Step was to send an Ambassy to *Ariovistus*, to acquaint him, that the *Roman* Proconsul had Matters of the highest Concern, to treat with him; and, therefore, desired he would name some Place between their two Situations, where they might have an Interview. *Ariovistus* answered very coldly, that he should not hazard his Person, with a small Retinue, in the Midst of the *Gauls*, and to come with an Army was liable to many Inconveniences. *Cæsar*, hereupon, let him know, by his Ambassadors, that he was obliged to protect the

merus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, & item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat, capitum Helvetiorum millia CCLXIII. Tulingorum millia XXXVI. Latobrigorum XIV. Rauracorum XXIII. Bojorum XXXII. ex his, qui arma ferre possent ad millia XCII. Summa omnium fuerant ad millia CCCLXVIII.

* IDEM L. II. c. 14-30.

§. IV. 1. DIO. L. XXXVIII. p. 81.
plainly remarks this Reason. *Cæsar*, quod *Ario-*

vistus bello clarus potensque haberetur, parui pendebat: id tantum agebat, ut ab eo occasionem diffidii acciperet, neque prior eum invadere videretur.

(2.) CÆSAR. L. I. c. 35. Si id non impetraret, sese, (quoniam M. Messala, M. Pisonæ Cos. Senatus censuisset, ut quicunque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo R. P. facere posset, *Æduos*, cæterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet) *Æduorum* injurias non neglecturum.

Ædui,

Ædui, and, therefore, insisted upon his returning their Hostages, that he would forbear all farther Hostilities, and not permit any more *German* Forces to be transported over the *Rhine*. *Ariovistus* replied; That the Portion of *Gaul*, which he possess'd, he had won with the Sword, and obliged the *Ædui*, not only to give him Hostages, but to become tributary to him: That he had the Right of War on his Side; and hoped the *Romans* would no more pretend to set him Bounds, what Use he should make of his Victories, than they would suffer him to prescribe Laws for them; but that, in all Events, he was prepared to repel Force by Force. When *Cæsar* received this Answer, the *Ædui* had just sent Complaints, that the *Harudi*, whom *Ariovistus* had suffered to pass the *Rhine*, were ravaging their Country, notwithstanding a Treaty was subsisting between them. The *Treviri*, at the same Time, advised him, that a Swarm of *Suevi*, (3.) under the Command of two Brothers, *Nasua* and *Cimberius*, (4.) were assembled on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and preparing to pass over into *Gaul*. *Cæsar*, therefore, hastened to encounter *Ariovistus*, before these People could join him. After three Days March, he got Intelligence, that *Ariovistus* had likewise broke up, three Days before, having formed a Design on *Vesontio*, (or *Besançon*) the Capital of the *Sequani*, a Place of great Importance, as being fortified and provided with all Necessaries. *Cæsar* pursued his March, Night and Day, with such Diligence, that reaching the Place, before *Ariovistus*, he became Master of it. The Inhabitants of *Besançon* gave the *Romans* so frightful an Idea of the *Germans*, as discouraged them; and *Cæsar* had Need of all his Authority and Eloquence to prevail upon them to pursue the Enterprize. This done, he left a Garrison in *Besançon*, and advanced to meet *Ariovistus*. *Divitiacus* directed the March, and *Cæsar* led his Army fifty *Roman* Miles about, to avoid the Inconveniences of Woods and Mountains, which might have proved a new Discouragement, and have dispirited his Soldiers. The Corn was then ripe in the Field; and, besides, the *Luci*, the *Lingones*, and the *Sequani* were obliged to bring Provisions to his Army.

§.V. THE seventh Day, he got Information, that *Ariovistus* was but four and twenty Miles distant from him; and he received an Ambassy from him, with his Consent, as they were now so near, to the Interview which he had before refused. They agreed to meet on a Rising

Cæsar's Conference with Ariovistus.

(3.) Pagos centum.

(4.) HOTTO MANNUS ad Cæsar. thinks this *Nasua's* true Name was *Nassau*.

Ground, which lay about Mid-way between the two Armies, with a Retinue of ten Persons only, on each Side, all on Horseback, and a certain Number of Cavalry, for their Guards. Being met, *Cæsar* opened the Conference, by putting *Ariovistus* in Mind of the Obligation he had to the *Romans*, who had allowed him the Royal Title and Dignity, acknowledged him their Ally, and withal made him such considerable Presents. He then represented to him, that, as the *Ædui* had lived so long in the strictest Amity with *Rome*, he could not refuse them his Protection; and, to conclude, persisted in his former Demand, that he should return the *Ædui* their Hostages, desist from his Pretence of Tribute from them, never more molest them, nor their Allies, and send Part of his *Germans* back again over the *Rhine*, or, at least, suffer no more to come over that River, for the future. *Ariovistus* answered, that the *Gauls* themselves had engaged him to pass the *Rhine*, with Promises of large Rewards, and had allotted him that Portion of Land which he now inhabited. That for those *Gauls*, who had unjustly attempted to dispossess him of what was thus become his Right, he had vanquished them in open Field, and thereupon made a Convention with the *Ædui*, to become tributary to him. That, as long as they held this Convention, he should no farther molest them; and that, if he had suffered more *German* Troops to join him, from the other Side of the *Rhine*, it was for his own Security, and because the *Gauls* had made such open Professions of their Enmity. He added, that he hoped the *Romans* would not set so high a Rate upon their Friendship; but, if they did, he was very ready to renounce it. He told *Cæsar*, that he was seated in *Gaul*, before the *Romans* came thither; and, as he did not think he had any Right to encroach upon their Provinces, neither would he suffer any Intrusion upon his. As for the strict Alliance, which *Cæsar* pretended was subsisting between the *Romans* and the *Ædui*, he could not but think it very strange; since neither they had lent the *Romans* any Assistance, in their Wars with the *Allobroges*, nor had received any Succours from them against the *Sequani*. He must, therefore, look upon it as a meer Pretext of *Cæsar's* to break with him. He desired him not to think too contemptibly of him; since many of the Chief Men at *Rome*, who heartily wish'd *Cæsar's* Death, in *Gaul*, had attempted to make him his Enemy; but if, on the contrary, *Cæsar* would cultivate his Friendship, and not invade his Rights, he was ready to assist him, with all his Force, against any Enemy, whomsoever. * *Cæsar* replied; but the Matter was too important to be
ami-

amicably decided, between two great Commanders, equally fired with Ambition, and who had an equal Confidence in their Armies.

§. VI. THE two Armies, therefore, advanced, and were, at Length, The Ger-
encamp'd opposite to each other, in such Manner, that a Battle might *mans are de-*
daily ensue. That of *Ariovistus* consisted of seven Nations or Cantons; *feated.*
for, besides his *Suevi*, he had, in his Army, *Marcomanni*, *Harudi*,
Tribochi, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes* and *Sedusi*. He had frequent Skirmishes
with the *Romans*, (1.) but carefully avoided a general Battle; and
Cæsar was informed, by some Prisoners, that it was, because he had
been warn'd by Auguries not to hazard a Battle, 'till the New Moon,
a Period the Ancient *Germans* usually held auspicious for any Under-
taking. (2.) (3.) *Cæsar* took the Advantage of this Circumstance, and,
having drawn out his Army, in Order of Battle, attacked the Ger-
man Camp. The *Romans* had, by this Time, gained some Knowledge
of the *Germans*, and of their Manner of Fighting. They had likewise
obtained some small Advantages, in their Encounters with them,
and the Fear they had, at first, conceived of them, began to dissi-
pate. On the other Hand, that Valour, which was so natural to the
Germans, was, in some Measure, depress'd by their Superstition,
when they found themselves oblig'd to give Battle, in Opposition to
their Auguries. Each Canton formed a separate Body, and behind
them were their Carriages, formed into a Sort of Intrenchment, where
they left their Wives and Children. The *Germans*, finding themselves
attack'd, fell upon the *Romans*, with such Fury, that they could not
make Use of their Slings or Javelins; but were obliged to have

§. VI. 1. CÆSAR L. I. c. 48. Ariovistus
his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit,
equestri prælio quotidie contendit. Genus
hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant:
Equitum millia erant sex, totidem numero
pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni
copia singuli singulos suæ salutis causa dele-
gerant. Cum his in præliis versabantur, ad
eos se equites recipiebant. Hi, si quid erat
durius, concurrebant. Si qui, graviore vul-
nere accepto equo deciderant, circumstitebant;
si quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius
recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione
celeritas, ut jubis equorum sublevati, cursum
adæquarent.

(2.) TACITUS de M. G. XI. Coeunt
nisi quid fortuitum aut subitum inciderit, cer-
tis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut im-

pletur. Nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissi-
mum initium credunt.

(3.) CÆSAR l. 50. Quum ex captivis
quæreret Cæsar, quamobrem Ariovistus præ-
lio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam:
quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut
matres familias sortibus & vaticinationibus de-
clararent, utrum prælium committi ex usu
esset, nec ne: eas ita dicere, non esse fas Ger-
manos superare, si ante novam lunam prælio
contendissent. PLUTARCHUS in vit. Cæs.
p. 717. B. describes the Manner of these Augu-
ries. Magis insuper vaticinia percellebant illos
futiloquarum mulierum, quæ amnium vorti-
cibus inspectis, rivorumque gyris & Arepiti-
bus notatis futura præcinebant. Hæ signa
conferre antequam illuxisset nova luna, ve-
tabant.

Re-

Recourse to their Swords; and even these would hardly be of any Service; for the *Germans*, having formed themselves into a *Phalanx*, or square Battalion, held their Shields so closely join'd over their Heads, that they were a sort of Roof to them, thro' which their Enemies Swords could not penetrate, while they rushed on with their Spears. The *Roman* Soldiers had, however, the Dexterity and Courage, that they leap'd upon the Shields, and, tearing them asunder, slew them who lurked under them; (4.) 'till, having broken their Ranks, they opened a Passage for their Companions. The right Wing of the *German* Army gave Way first; but their Left had overthrown the Right of the *Romans*, had not *P. Crassus*, with the Cavalry, which formed the third Line of the *Roman* Army, come to their Relief. Upon this, the *Romans* rallied, and the whole *German* Army was put to the Rout, nor could their Intrenchment of Carriages, or the Lamentations of their Wives and Children, stop their Flight. The *Romans* pursued the Fugitives to the *Rhine*, (5.) where some of them escaped by swimming, whilst others, among whom was *Ariovistus* himself, got over in small Boats. These, however, were but few; for much the greater Part were either kill'd, or taken Prisoners by the *Romans*. Among the latter, were the two Wives of *Ariovistus*; one of the Blood of the *Suevi*, to whom he was married, before he pass'd the *Rhine*; and the other, a Sister of *Vocion*, a King of *Noricum*, who, thinking to advance his Credit, by this Alliance, gave her in Marriage to *Ariovistus*, after his Arrival in *Gaul*. For, tho' the *Ancient Germans* were wont to take but one Wife; yet their Princes, especially if any Benefit could thereby accrue to the State, made no Scruple

(4.) THIS Circumstance seems almost incredible. CÆSAR L. I. c. 52. relates it, in the following Words. At Germani celeriter, ex consuetudine sua, phalange facta impetus gladiatorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent & scuta manibus revellerent, & desuper vulnerarent.

(5.) IN some ancient Editions we find it, in CÆSAR L. I. c. 53. Neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum, millia passuum ex eo loco circiter QUINQUE pervenerunt: From whence B. RHENANUS would have it believed, that the Battle was fought not far from Basel. He says, L. I. Rer. Germa-

nicar. cap. de Maxima Sequanorum: Cæsar, in Sequanis cum Ariovisto confluxit, quæ pugna ad D. Apollinaris facta putatur. Is locus milliario Germanico a Rheno & Basilea distat. But, as CELLARIUS, in his Dissertation de bello Jul. Cæsaris adversus Ariovistum, §. 17. has already shewn, that this Number, in Cæsar, is not to be depended on, and, in the latter Editions is read QUINGUAGINTA, so we are at an Uncertainty, with Regard to the Place; Only it seems to have been more to the North, than Rhénanus supposes; because the Leuci and Lingones were obliged to furnish Cæsar with Provisions.

of taking more. (6.) In the Pursuit, *Cæsar* had the good Fortune to free his Friend *M. Valerius Procillus*, a Man of great Renown among the *Gauls*, from the Danger he was threatned with, by the *Germans*. Knowing him to adhere faithfully to *Rome*, *Cæsar* had sent him to *Ariovistus*, after the Interview, as his Ambassador; because, as he had, by a long Use, attain'd to a Knowledge of the *Gallick* Tongue, he might confer with him, without an Interpreter. (7.) *Ariovistus*, taking him for a Spy, had put him in Irons; and, three Times, had caused the Lot to be cast over him, whether he should be immediately condemned to the Flames, or the Sentence be deferr'd; which had as often fallen in his Favour. (8.) We find nothing farther in History, concerning *Ariovistus*; only, by a Passage in *Cæsar*, we may conclude, he died soon after. (9.) As for the Nations which served him, in this War; we find, that the *Marcomanni* went afterwards, under the Conduct of *Maroboduus* into *Bojohemum*. The *Tribochi*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*, either maintained their Ground, on the *Gallick* Shoar, notwithstanding the Defeat they had suffered; or, together with the *Ubii*, obtained it again from the *Romans* soon after: For, (10.) we find they always inhabited *Upper Germany*, (11.) and submitted to the

(6.) TACITUS de M. G. c. 8. Prope foli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

(7.) CÆSAR L. I. c. 47. Commodissimum visum est, C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valerii Cabari filium, summa virtute & humanitate adolescentem, cujus pater a C. Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, & propter fidem, & propter linguæ Gallicæ scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus, longinqua consuetudine utebatur, & quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere. By which Passage, we see pretty plainly, how far the Celtick Tongue differed from the German, which was spoken by Ariovistus.

(8.) Ib. c. 53.

(9.) CÆSAR L. V. c. 29. Ubi Titurius Sabinus: Magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem, & superiores Romanorum victorias. PH. CLUVERIUS L. III. Germ. ant. c. 3. chooses rather to read *sortem*; but all the ancient Codices are against him, as is likewise the Greek Version, which gives it, Θάνατον.

(10.) THEY may, perhaps, have been among the Suevi deditii, which Tiberius carried over the Rhine. See B. III. §. XVIII. Not. 2.

(11.) TACITUS de M. G. c. 28. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Tribocci, Nemetes add. PLINII Hist. Nat. L. IV. c. 17. CÆSAR himself places the Tribocci, after the Defeat of Ariovistus, among those Nations, who dwelt in Gaul, on the Banks of the Rhine. L. IV. de B. G. c. 10. Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, & longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Triboccorum, Trevirorum citatus fertur. The Confines of these Nations are not so exactly determined; but it may suffice for us, to know, where their chief Towns were situated. The Capital of the Tribochi stood where now Straßburg stands. Civitas Nemetum, or Noviomagus, is our Spire: And Civitas Vangionum, or Borbetomagus, (forte pro Vorbetomagus) what we now call Worms.

Roman Yoke. The *Suevi*, on the other Hand, who were assembled upon the *Rhine*, retired, upon the first Notice of the Defeat of *Ariovistus*; but the *Ubii*, who, at that Time, dwelt near that River, and had before been treated by them in an Hostile Manner, took Advantage of their Consternation, and cut off many of them, in their Flight. (12.) *Cæsar*, tho' the Season was not so far advanced, put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, among the *Sequani*, and himself went over the *Alps*. *

Cæsar van-
quishes Gal-
lia Belgica.
P. Cornelio
Lentulo, Cæ-
cilio Metello
Coss.

§. VII. THE Year following *Cæsar* had a bloody Campaign, in *Belgick Gaul*, a brief Account of which will properly find Place here; not only, because the *Belgæ*, at least those who dwelt about the *Mosel*, the *Mæse*, and the *Scheld*, (1.) were of *German* Extraction, as has already been observed above, and Part of their Dominions were afterwards incorporated with the *German* Empire; but, likewise, because *Cæsar*, on this Occasion, had more than once to do with the *German* Nations, who were seated on the opposite Banks of the *Rhine*. The *Belgæ* were not too well satisfied with the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, and, besides, were privately stir'd up by the *Celtæ*, who began to think the *Roman* Army, which had taken Winter-Quarters in their Country, as troublesome Guests as the *Germans*, under *Ariovistus*. The *Bellovaci*, a renowned People among the *Belgæ*, together with the *Nervii*, *Attrebates*, *Ambiani*, *Morini*, *Menapii*, *Caletes*, *Velocasses*, and *Veromandui*, entered therefore, into a Mutual League, and drew over to their Party, not only the *Atuatici*, a Remnant of the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, (2.) but the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Caresi*, and *Pæmani*. These were all *Germans*, who had, not long before, seated themselves in *Gaul*, where they had acquired the Names of *Germans*, which, afterwards (as has already been observed) (3.) became a general Appellation for all the *Teutsche* (*Dutch*) or *German* Nations. As great as was the Hatred, which the *Belgæ*, at first, conceived for these New-Comers, so strictly were they now united, by their common Danger. *Cæsar* hastened back to his Army, as soon as the Grass was in the Field. The *Rhemi*, who, of all the *Belgæ*, lived the nearest to *Belgick Gaul*, and would not be a Party in the Mutual League, declared for the *Romans*; and *Cæsar* marched to meet the *Belgæ*. He came up with

(12.) IDEM L. I. c. 54. Quos Ubii, qui proxime Rhenum incolunt, perterritos infecto magnum ex his numerum occiderunt.

(13.) c. 48. to the End of the Book.

(14.) SO TACITUS de M. G. c. 28. of the Treviri: Circa affecta-

tionem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, per quam a similitudine & inertia Gallorum separentur.

(2.) SEE B. I. §. X.

(3.) SEE B. I. §. VI.

them on the Banks of the River *Aisne* (or *Axona*) and encamp'd opposite to the *Confederate* Army, expecting they would give him Battle: But he had entrench'd himself so advantageously, that the *Belgæ* would not venture upon the Attack; And, besides, receiving Advice, that the *Ædui* had invaded the *Bellovaci*, they resolved to separate, and see what Course the *Romans* would then take. *Cæsar*, who was a perfect Master of the Art to make his Enemies destroy one another, had, in his Service, besides the *Rhemi*, a Body of *Trevirian* Horse, esteemed the most valiant of all *Gaul*. (4.) He, likewise, found means, as it generally happens in Leagues of many Nations, to disunite the *Confederates*, and attacking them singly, the *Soissons*, *Bellovaci* and *Ambiani*, submitted voluntarily; But the *Nervii*, *Atrebates* and *Veromandui* waited for *Cæsar* on the *Sambre*, † where they had very near revenged the lost Freedom of their Country-men; Nor did hardly any of the Victories, which *Cæsar* won in *Gaul* cost him dearer than this. They were, however, obliged to bend their Neck to the Yoke; (*) and he made *Comius*, a Person on whose Fidelity and Capacity he had great Dependance, King of the *Atrebatæ*. (5.)

§. VI. I. *The Atuatici* were on their March to aid the *Atrebates*, but when they had intelligence of their Defeat, they retired to their Capital, which was so fortified by Nature and Art, (1.) that they believed themselves secure in it; And, therefore, when the *Romans* who were much less in Stature than they, undertook to besiege the Place, they

† *Sabis Fl.*

Cæsar takes the Metropolis of the Atuatici.

(4) CÆSAR L. II. c. 24. takes Notice of them, in his Description of the Battle with the *Nervii*; Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites *Treviri*, quorum inter *Gallos* virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa a civitate missi, ad Cæsarem venerant, quum multitudine hostium castra nostra compleri, legiones premi & pæne circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores *Numidas*, diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt. Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos, civitati renunciaverunt.

(*) CÆSAR L. II. throughout.

(5) CÆSAR L. IV. c. 21. Et cum his una *Comium*, quem ipse *Atrebatibus* superatis, Regem ibi constituerat, ejus et virtutem & consilium probabat, & quem sibi

fidelem arbitrabatur, cuiusque autoritas in his egionibus magna habebatur, mittit.

§. VIII. I. CÆSAR L. II. c. 24. Cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis, sua omnia in unum opidum, egregie natura munitum, contulerunt. Quod, cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus, altissimas rupes, despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus, in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur. The Learned differ about the Situation of this Place. Cluverius, whom most give Credit to, places it in the County of *Namur*, and seems to think, that the Oppidum, here mentioned by *Cæsar*, stood, where now the Citadel of *Namur* is: Yet to this might be objected, that *Cæsar* makes no Mention of the River, which greatly contributes to the strength of the Fort.

turned them into Ridicule. *Cæsar*, on this Occasion, observes, that the *Gauls*, in general, and particularly the *Germans*, had at first no great Opinion of the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers, since they esteemed it proportionable to their Stature: (2.) But when the *Atuatici* experienc'd Dexterity to be preferable to Strength, and saw the *Romans* approaching, with their Machines, especially their Turrets, for the Siege, astonished at the Sight, they sued for Peace. *Cæsar* refused to grant them any other Terms but the delivering up of their Arms, which the Situation they were in, oblig'd them to submit to. These Arms they immediately threw over their Walls, into the Ditch, and opened their Gates to the *Romans*; but whatever Weapons they possibly could, they hid; and when *Cæsar*, in the Evening, order'd his Soldiers to return to their Camp, lest, contrary to his Promise, they should molest the Citizens, they armed themselves with the Weapons that were concealed, and in the Night fell unexpectedly upon the *Roman* Camp. The Sentinels soon alarmed the Soldiers, insomuch, that the *Atuatici* met with a far greater Resistance, than they imagin'd. *Cæsar* himself owns, that they fought like Lions; for they saw certain Death, or, what was more dreadful to them, Slavery, before their Eyes: But the *Romans* had too great Advantages over them, and repulsed them, with the Loss of 4000 Men. The Place was now wholly at the Mercy of the Conqueror. *Cæsar* sold it, with all that was therein; and they who made the Purchase afterwards confess'd, that the Slaves they made were in Number 53,000. *Cæsar* seems here to intimate, that the whole Nation was then extirpated (*); but we shall, in succeeding Times, find them making Head, with their former Power, against the *Romans*; which may serve, among many other Instances, to prove, that the Advantages gain'd over the *Germans*, by the *Roman* Armies, were not always so great, as they made them. *P. Crassus* had, in the mean while, extended the Fame of the *Roman* Arms, and caus'd it to reach on the opposite Side of the *Rhine*, by subduing those Nations in *Belgick Gaul*, who dwelt on the Sea-Coast, and were wholly unprepared for any sudden Invasion. *Cæsar* boasts of having had Ambassadors sent to him, by some *German* Nations, beyond that River, to treat with him about their Subjection; but that he commanded them to come again the next Summer: But the Actions of the *Germans*, in the ensuing Year, shew very few Traces of any such Treaties, unless the *Ubii* may perhaps have enter'd into Engagements of that kind. He assigned his Soldiers their Winter Quarters in the Countries that were in the Possession of the *Carnutes*, *Andes*, and *Senones*, and hastened himself to *Italy*, in Order to go from thence to *Illyricum*.

(2.) CÆSAR L. II. c. 30. Plerisque hominibus Gallis, præ magnitudine corporum suorum, brevis nostræ contemtu est.

(*) Idem, L. II. c. 29-34.

§. IX. BY the Way he appointed another Expedition against the *Nantuates*, *Veragri*, and *Seduni*, who were all *Gallick* Nations, that dwelt on the Confines of the *Allobroges*, along the *Rhone*, and from the Source of the *Rhine*, (1.) to the very Top of the *Alps*. *Cæsar* intended, by this means, to clear the Way for a Commerce with *Italy*, and sent *Servius Galba*, with the twelfth Legion, and a Part of the Cavalry, upon them. *Galba* was at first successful : quarter'd two Cohorts among the *Nantuates*, and, with the Rest, went himself into Winter-quarters among the *Veragri* (2.) But the *Gauls*, unwilling to be in Subjection to the *Romans*, gave him so much Uneasiness, that after a bloody Conflict, he was forc'd to quit their Country, and, at last, retire into the Province of the *Allobroges*, where he resided the Remainder of the Winter-Season. *

Galba's Attempt to subdue the People, who dwelt about the Source of the Rhine.

§. X. CÆSAR and his Lieutenants were employed, the following Year, in subduing several Nations of *Celtick* and *Aquitannick* Gaul, and, at the End of the Summer, he went towards the Coasts of the Northern Sea, where the *Morini* and *Menapii* were the only People, who hitherto had not sent any Ambassy to him. The *Morini* dwelt on the present Coasts of *Boulogne*, as far as where *Dunkirk* now is, and reached towards the South, almost as far as that whole Tract of Land, which the *Dio-cesses* of *St. Omer* and *Ipres* possess in *Flanders* (1.) Next to them dwelt the *Menapii*, about the Mouths of the *Maes* and *Rhine*, who border'd, towards the Continent, on the *Atuatici* and *Eburones* (2.) Neither the *Morini* nor the *Menapii* thought it advisable to hazard a Battle : since their Forests and Morasses were sufficient Barriers to them ; and especially the Country of the *Menapii*, by Reason of their many Waters, was impassable to any foreign Army. *Cæsar* begun indeed to cut down the Woods, but the Harvest-Rains falling, frustrated like-

Cæsar's fruitless Expedition against the Morini and Menapii.

In the Consul-ate of C. Cornelius Lentulus, and L. Marcius Philippus.

§. IX. (1.) The *Nantuates* dwelt about the *Rhine*. CÆSAR L. IV. c. 10. *Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, & longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Triboccorum, Trevirorum citatus fertur.*

(2.) Idem L. III. c. 1. In vicum *Vera-grorum*, qui appellatur *Ostodurus*. It is supposed to be the present *Martigny*, by the *Germans* call'd *Martinach*, in the Country of *Valais*.

* Idem, L. c.

§. X. (1.) Hence the ancient Counts of *Flanders* were sometimes call'd *Comites Morinorum*.

(2.) This last appears from CÆSAR L. V. c. 1. *Usipites Germani, & item Tench-teri, magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, quo Rhenus influit. He describes it more exactly in the fourth Chapter. Ad Rhenam pervenerunt, quas regiones Menapii incolebant, & ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, ædificia, vicisque habebant. In the time of Tacitus they dwelt on the left Side of the Maes. The Castellum Menapiorum is thought to be the present Kessel, between Maastricht and Grave. The Acta publ. of the Carolingi yet mention the pagus Mempiscus.*

wise this Undertaking, and oblig'd him to put his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters. (3.)

Who gave
Occasion to
the War
which Cæsar
made with
the Germans
on the East-
Side of the
Rhine? His
Description
of the Man-
ners and
Customs of
the Suevi
and Ubi.

§. XI. CÆSAR was the next Summer drawn into a War with some German Nations; which was occasion'd by the Suevi, the most powerful among them. We are informed by Tacitus, that under this Denomination the Senones, Longobards, Marcomanni, and many other Nations, were comprehended. They are described by Cæsar (1.) as an uncivilized People, who seldom remained long in a Place, and neither cultivated their own Grounds, nor regarded any other Conveniencies of Life. He adds to this, that their Cloaths were only Skins of Beasts, which, moreover, cover'd but a small Part of their Bodies; that their only Wealth consisted in Cattle, and that they were Strangers to Commerce, excepting, that they gave a free Access to some foreign Traders, to whom they sold or barter'd away the Booty they made; that they suffer'd no Wine to be brought amongst them, and that Hunting was their chief Diversion: But that they still wanted the best Part of terrestrial Happiness, Contentment. Their Manner of Living was agreeable to their strong Constitutions; insomuch, that most of them were tall and robust; but this their native Roughness occasion'd their Minds being left unpolished; since they esteemed nothing more beautiful, than bodily Strength, and hence we need not wonder to find their Inclinations wholly bent on War. They were, in particular, well skill'd in the Management of Horses (2.), and annually muster'd 100,000 Men, whence we may easily conceive what bad Neighbours they must have

(3) CÆSAR L. III. c. ult. Reliquis dein-
ceps diebus Cæsar silvas cædere instituit, &
nequis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus
ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam
materiam, quæ erat cæsa, conversam ab ho-
stem collocabat, & pro vallo ad utrumque
latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate, mag-
no spatio, paucis diebus, confecto, quum jam
pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris
tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejus-
modi tempestates sunt consecutæ, uti opus
necessario intermitteretur, & continuatione
imbrium, diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent.

§. XI. (1) CÆSAR L. IV. c. 1. Suevorum
gens est longe maxima, & bellicosissima Ger-
manorum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere
dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula millia
armatorum, bellandi causa suis ex finibus
educunt, reliqui domi manent: pro se, atque
illis, colunt. Hi rursus invicem anno post in
armis sunt; illi domi remanent. Sic neque

agricultura, neque ratio, neque usus belli in-
termittitur; sed privati ac separati agri apud
eos nihil est: neque longius anno remanere
uno in loco, incolendi causa, licet. Neque
multum frumento, sed maximam partem lac-
te atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in
venationibus, c. q. f.

(2) Idem L. IV. c. 2. Quin etiam jumentis,
quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque
impenso parat pretio, Germani importatis non
utuntur; sed quæ sunt apud eos nata, parva at-
que deformia, hæc quotidiana exercitatione,
summi ut sint laboris, efficiunt. Equestribus
proeliis sæpe ex equis desiliunt, ac pedibus
proeliantur, equosque eodem remanere vestigi-
o assuefaciunt, ad quos se celeriter, quum u-
sus est, recipiunt neque eorum moribus turpius
quidquam, aut inertius habetur, quum ephip-
piis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephip-
piatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire so-
lent. In the Battle of Ariovistus with the Ro-
mans, we find an Instance of this manner of fighting.

been

been. One side of their Country was bounded by the *Ubii*, who extended from thence to the *Rhine*. These were, indeed, by Means of their Commerce and Intercourse with the neighbouring *Gauls*, become more polite than the *Suevi*, but were not powerful enough to resist them, and therefore obliged to be their Tributaries.

§. XII. THE *Usipetes* and *Tencteri*, having, with much ado, maintain'd their Ground against the *Suevi* many Years, were at last obliged to abandon their Country, and ventur'd, at this Time, after they had wander'd three Years about *Germany*, to seek a new Habitation in *Gaul*. They invaded, near the Mouth of the *Rhine*, the Country of the *Menapii*, who dwelt on both Sides of that River; (1.) and having overcome those, who inhabited the Banks of the *Rhine*, on the right Side, made use of their Vessels, to pass to the other Side of the River, whence they likewise drove away the other Part of that Nation, and maintain'd themselves, during the Winter, out of their Stores. *Cæsar* was in *Italy* to manage an Affair, the Event of which might either establish or deprive him of the Fruits of all his former Victories. *Lucius Demitius*, who aim'd at the Consulate for the following Year, had publickly threaten'd, he would, at that Time, divest *Cæsar* of the Command of the Army: The latter therefore, enter'd into Engagements with *Crassus* and *Pompey*, that, at the impending Change in the Administration, he would promote their Interest to obtain the Consulate, and that they should then renew his Commission in the Army for five Years (2.) This News no sooner reach'd his Ears, than he hastened from *Italy* to the Army, fearing the *Gauls* would, according to their natural Propensity to Change, make Use of these warlike *Germans* to enter upon various Enterprizes. Some *Gallick* Nations had indeed sent to the *Usipetes* and *Tencteri*, and invited them farther into the Country, whereupon they had, at *Cæsar's* Arrival in *Gaul*, actually reach'd (3.) the Dominions of the *Eburones* and *Concrusi*. (3.)

§. XIII. CÆSAR summon'd the Princes of the *Gallick* Nations, conceal'd his Suspicions, and declared his Resolution, to repel the *Germans*; to which they were obliged to contribute their Share of Cavalry and Provisions. On his March, he was met by an Ambassy from the *Tencteri* and *Usipetes*, which remonstrated, that Necessity alone had drove them over the *Rhine*; that, if *Cæsar* would allot them a Tract of Land to live in, or leave them in Possession of what they had taken, they were ready to serve him, upon all Occasions; but if not, they hoped

§. XII. (1.) CÆSAR L. IV. c. 1. Non longe a mari, quo Rhenus influit. This Invasion is probably about the Island of the Batavi.

(2.) SÆTONIUS in Iulio, c. 24.

(*) Idem L. IV. c. 1-7.

(3) Qui erant Trevirorum clientes. CÆSAR L. IV. c. 6.

by Force to maintain it. *Cæsar* answer'd, he should, by no Means, suffer them to remain in *Gaul*; that he intended to procure them a Reception amongst the *Ubii*, by means of some Deputies of that Nation, who were then in his Camp, and that they might then join their Forces in Defence of themselves against the *Suevi*. The *Germans* had just before sent a great Part of their Cavalry over the *Maes*, into the Country of the *Ambivariti* in quest of Booty, and would gladly have first waited for their Return. They therefore renewed their Intreaties to *Cæsar* to grant them a Truce, till they could themselves treat with the *Ubii*, about the Proposal he made. But *Cæsar* was, in the mean while, drawn very near to them, and allow'd them only a Day's time to consider. 800 *German* Horse happen'd, on the same Day, to have the Advantage of attacking 5000 of the *Roman* Cavalry, who expected no Acts of Hostility, and without any Regard to the Truce, fell upon them and put them to Flight. (1) Their Chiefs came, the next Day, to *Cæsar's* Camp, and begg'd that he would not impute the Rashness of some young Men, who had the Day before inconsiderately attack'd the *Romans*, to the whole Body of the People, but rather allow them the Cessation of Arms they had requested. *Cæsar*, who look'd upon all their Excuses as artful and fraudulent, thought he had a Right to imprison them, notwithstanding their publick Character. (2.) Upon this he directly marched to the *German* Camp, which was but 8 Miles distant from him. They little expected so sudden an Attack, and, besides, in the Absence of their principal Leaders, were ignorant how or in what Manner to act. Those who at first offer'd to resist were instantly cut in pieces. Their Wives and Children endeavour'd to save themselves by Flight, but were most of them put to the Sword, by some Horse whom *Cæsar* had sent in Pursuit of them. The *Romans* were as little indulgent to those, who could make no Resistance, as the *Germans* themselves: And the Cries of the unfortunate Women and Infants, together with the advancing of the Enemy upon them, struck the *Usipetes* and *Tencteri* with such a Pannick that the

§. XIII. (1.) *CÆSAR* L. IV. c. 12. Impetu facto celeriter turbaverunt; rursus, resistentibus nostris, consuetudine sua ad pedes desilierunt, suffossisque equis compluribusque nostris dejectis, reliquos in fugam conjecerunt.

(2.) *Dio* L. 39. p. 113. A. B. says, that some young *Germans* did indeed make an irregular Attack on the *Romans*, and this is observed as a Proof of *CÆSAR's* having related his Wars himself, that he might the better gloss over his Actions

with the Appearance of Justice. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of CÆSAR*, L. c. p. 718. E. says, that the Matter was otherwise represented by many at *Rome*. He particularly relates of *Cato*:

Canusius, *Catonem*, narrat, decernente victoriae causa supplicationem Senatu pro sententia dixisse, *Caesarem* barbaris dedendum ad expiandum a violato jure gentium civitatem, & ad piaculum in autorem vertendum, *SUETONIUS* in *Julio* cap. 21.

whole

whole Multitude fled. The *Romans* pursued them to the *Maes*, (3.) where those, who had escaped the Sword, threw themselves into the River; and some sav'd their Lives by Swimming, but the greatest Part perished (*.)

§. XIV. THIS Success excited *Cæsar* to greater Enterprizes. He re-^{Cæsar builds a Bridge over the Rhine, and ravages the Country of the Sicambri.}solved to hinder the *Germans* from crossing the *Rhine*, and let them see, that the *Romans* were able to make War with them in their own Country. The *Ubii*, with whom he had enter'd into an Alliance, earnestly intreated him to assist them against the *Suevi*, or at least to appear on the other Side of the *Rhine*; since they esteemed the Reputation of being ally'd to the *Romans*, alone a sufficient Protection: For *Aricvistus's* Overthrow had extended the Fame of the *Roman* Arms even to the remotest Confines of *Germany*. But *Cæsar* found a Pretence still more plausible. The Cavalry of the *Tencteri* and *Usipetes*, who were not in the Battle, having been appriz'd of the Overthrow of their Countrymen, had found a Way over the *Rhine* and fled to the *Sicambri*. *Cæsar* sent Ambassadors to the *Sicambri*, to demand their delivering his Enemies. They little thought, that he was near enough to invade them, and answer'd, that he ought at least, to fix the *Rhine* for the Boundary of his Empire; and that, since he thought it unjust, and a Provocation for a War, if the *Germans* cross'd the *Rhine*, he could claim no Right of persecuting them on their Side of the River. *Cæsar* was in Hopes of an answer like this, to afford him a Pretence to a War. The *Ulii* offer'd their Boats to waft him over, but *Cæsar* thought it would be more Honour to the *Romans* to lay a Bridge over the River, (1.) which probably had never been attempted before. The surprize of the *Germans*, who had hitherto been accustomed to cross the Stream on Floats, Canoes, or other slight Vessels, at the Sight of this Undertaking, and the Idea they must have formed of the *Roman* Power and Dexterity, when they saw it finished in 10 Days, can hardly be imagin'd. *Cæsar*, having left a strong Guard on both Sides, march'd directly towards the *Sicambri*. This was the first Time, the *Romans* set Foot on the *German* Territories, which they afterwards so often stain'd with their own Blood, or that of the Inhabitants. The *Sicambri* no sooner saw that a Bridge was building, than they fled, with all their Effects, into the Forests, and exhorted the remaining *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* to do the same. *Cæsar* set Fire to their Houses, cut down their

(3.) CÆSAR, L. IV. c. 15. Quum ad confluentem Mosæ & Rheni pervenissent. c. V. p. 27.

Ibid. Cluverius in Ant. German. L. IV. c. 14. reads it ad confluentem. Mosellæ & (*.) CÆSAR L. IV. c. 7-16.

§. XIV. 1. CÆSAR describes this Building, L. IV. c. 17.

Corn, and thereupon returned to the *Ubii*. Here he was informed, that when the *Suevi* were appriz'd of this Bridge, they had conceal'd their Wives and Children in the thickest Woods, but order'd their Men to assemble and meet him on his Arrival in their Country. As *Cæsar* had not enter'd *Germany* with a Design to engage in a War, he had already fully gained his Point: For he had convinced the *Germans*, that he dar'd to attack them in their own Dominions, and had particularly shewn the *Ubii*, how advantageous an Alliance with the *Romans* was, while the *Sicambri*, on the other Hand, had experienc'd the Danger of refusing them any thing. He therefore led his Army back over the *Rhine*, after it had been 18 Days in *Germany*, and broke down the Bridge behind him. (2.) Towards the Conclusion of this Year, he invaded *Britain*, pretending that the Inhabitants had assisted the *Gauls* in their Attempts upon the *Romans*, and thereby drawn their Enmity on themselves; but his real Design was, not only to become more popular among the *Romans*, by such uncommon Attempts, but likewise to render himself more necessary. And the Benefit he received from this Expedition, had it been no more than the Knowledge of the Country, by which he might regulate his future Proceedings, was more advantageous, than any Conquest he could have made in the Forests of *Germany*. These Excursions were indeed disapprov'd of by several great Men in *Rome*, who publicly said, that he ought to be deliver'd into the Hands of the Barbarians, with whom he had needlessly involv'd the *Romans* in dangerous Wars: (3.) But his Success soon stopp'd the Mouths of these Slanderers: And in this very Year he was honour'd with a 20 Days Festival, when his Enemies were oblig'd, with others, to return Thanks to the Gods for Victories, for which they had perhaps never invok'd them. (*)

Proils occasioned by the *Treviri*.
In the Consulate of Domitius Aenobarbus & Claudius Pulcher.

§. XV. THE ensuing Year, the *Treviri* occasioned a Commotion in *Gaul* against the *Romans*. They were a powerful Nation, which had formerly removed from *Germany* into *Gaul*, (1.) and had extended themselves, among the *Belgæ*, from the *Rhine*, to the Confines of the *Rhemi*. Their Cavalry was thought to excell any in *Gaul*. They had sometime before shaken off the *Roman* Yoke, (2.) and it was reported, they had sought to draw over the *Germans*, beyond the *Rhine*, into *Gaul*. *Cæsar* went again, the Year following, to *Britain*, but stopp'd on the Borders of the *Treviri*, to be better inform'd of the true State of Things. The

(2.) Idem. 19. 20.

(3.) See the XIII. §. n. 3.

(*) *CÆSAR* L. IV. c. 16. to the End.

§. XV. (1) See the VII. §. Nota 1.

(2.) *CÆSAR* L. V. c. 2. Neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio pariebant,

Germanosque transrhenanos sollicitare decibantur. The *Trevirian* Cavalry, which I before observed to have been employ'd in *Cæsar's* Service, must have been sent him by some private Men, or else the good Understanding with that Nation might have ceased afterwards.

Minds

Minds of the People were divided, some adhered to their Prince *Induciomarus*, others were *Cingetorix*, his Son in Law's, Party. The Ty of Confanguinity was as little capable of supporting a Friendship between these two Princes, as it was afterwards of preventing a War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. *Cingetorix*, who hitherto was not a Match for his Father in Law, had no sooner heard of *Cæsar*'s Arrival, than he went, with his Adherents, to meet him. *Induciomarus*, on the other Hand, made at first all possible Preparations to oppose the *Romans*. He immediately assembled all that were able to bear Arms: And the old Men and Children were conceal'd in the *Arduennian* Forest, which, beginning at the *Rhine*, extended thro' the Midst of the Country of the *Treviri*, as far as the Borders of the *Rhemi*. But, when several of the Heads of his Faction, either terrified by the *Romans*, or entic'd by *Cingetorix*, went over to the *Roman* Camp, he fear'd an universal Defection, and sued for Peace. *Cæsar* readily consented to it, as he intended to go to *Britain* that Summer, and was consequently willing to be as expeditious here as possible. *Induciomarus* therefore went himself to his Camp, but was forced to deliver 200 Hostages, and among them his Son and several other Relations. *Cæsar*, on the other Side, suffer'd him to retain his former Dignity and Power: And then hereconciled the Chiefs of the opposite Party to *Cingetorix*, not only to reward his Fidelity to the *Romans*, but also to weaken *Induciomarus*'s Power, without any Shew of Animosity. The latter did indeed stifle his Resentment, but endeavour'd, during the Summer-Season, to ripen the Minds of the *Gauls* for a Revolt. (*)

§. XVI. CÆSAR was successful in *Britain*, and returned in Au-^{A Roman Ar-} tumn, about the Equinox, to *Gaul*. He held the usual Convention of ^{my decoy'd} the *Gallick* Nations at *Samarobriva*, and thereupon dispersed his Men ^{into an Am-} into Winter-quarters; this Year not having been so fertile to support ^{bush and de-} them longer in the Field. This seem'd to favour the *Gauls* in the ^{feated, by} Execution of their Designs. The *Eburones*, who were the most pow- ^{Ambiorix, a} erful of those *German* Nations, who last cross'd the *Rhine*, made the ^{Prince of the} first Attack. They dwelt beyond the *Menapii*, chiefly between the ^{Eburones.} *Rhine* and the *Maes*, (1.) but had extended their Dominions beyond the *Maes*, where they border'd on the *Atuatici*. Their Country therefore included a Part of the present Bishoprick of *Liege*, the Duchies of *Limburg* and *Juliers*, with a part of *Guelders*, and of the Electorate of *Cologne*. They were governed by two Princes, one of whom, call'd *Cativulus*, was superannuated, and therefore the Administration lay chiefly on *Ambiorix*, the other Prince. *Cæsar* had assign'd *Atuatica*,

(*) CÆSAR L. V. c. 2. 3.

§ XVI. 1. CÆSAR L. V. c. 24. Quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam & Rhenum.

in the Country of the *Eburones*, for Winter-quarters, to the Troops of *Q. Titurius Sabinus* and *Aurunculeius Cotta*, which consisted of a Legion and five Cohorts. The two Princes received them on their Frontiers, (2.) and even procured for them the Provisions requisite. But *Induciomarus's* Intrigues had, in the Space of fifteen Days, so great an Effect, that the *Eburones* suddenly attack'd their Quarters, but met with a vigorous Resistance from the *Romans*. When *Ambiorix* found it a difficult Undertaking to overpower them in their Camp, he thought of a Stratagem to entice them out of it. He demanded a Conference with the *Roman* Generals, which when they complied with, he remonstrated to their Deputies, that the *Romans* might easily imagine, the *Eburones*, and himself least of all, could not have dared to attack them of their own Motives, since he was indebted to *Cæsar* for having freed him from the Tribute, which he was before forced to pay to his Neighbours the *Atuatii*: But that the *Gauls* had all agreed to make a general Attack, on one Day, on the *Roman* Winter-Quarters; from which the *Eburones* could not be alone excluded. (3.) That he had therefore attempted what his Country required of him, but that he was now willing to act consistently with the Duty he owed to *Cæsar*, and the Hospitality which he had till then exercis'd with *Titurius*; (4.) and advis'd the General to retire with his Men, either to *Cicero's* Quarters, among the *Nervii*, or to that of *Labienus's* among the *Rhemi*, on the Borders of the *Treviri*: especially since a whole Swarm of *Germans* had cross'd the *Rhine*, and were expected in two Days: He assured them besides, that they should meet with no Obstructions on their March thro' his Country. The *Roman* Generals were divided in their Opinions, how far this Advice could be safely follow'd. *Q. Titurius Sabinus* at last insisted upon accepting it. They therefore began their March towards *Cicero's* Camp the following Day: But the *Eburones* lay in Ambush for them

(2) CÆSAR L. V. c. 26. Diebus circiter XV, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige & Cativulco: qui cum ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottæque præsto fuissent, frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari, Treviri, nunciis impuls, suos concitaverunt, subitoque oppressis lignatoribus, magna manu castra oppugnatum venerunt. Quum celeriter nostri arma cepissent, vallumque ascendissent; atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus missis, equestri proelio superiores fuissent; desperata re hostes suos

ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodirent: habere sese, quæ de re communi dicere vellent, quibus controversias minui posse sperarent.

(3) CÆSAR L. V. c. 27. Non facile Gallos, Gallis negare potuisse. The *Eburones* are here termed Galli by Cæsar, tho' he himself affirms them to have been Germans, because they lived in one Community with the Gallick Nations.

(4) Ib. pro Beneficiis Cæsarem monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio.

in a Valley about eleven *Roman* Miles distant from their former Camp ; and, being Masters of the Eminencies on both Sides, there revenged the Massacre of their own Countrymen. Most of the *Romans*, and, both their Generals, lost, their Lives. (5.) Those who surviv'd returned to their former Camp, where they defended themselves valiantly 'till Night, and then, seeing a further Resistance, to so unequal a Number, impracticable, killed themselves. Some few, who fled directly, at the Beginning of the Engagement, arrived at *Labienus's* Camp, whom this Relation render'd more cautious.

§. XVII. AMBIORIX knew how to make an Advantage of the Victory he had gained. He hastened, with his Cavalry, to his Neighbours, the *Atuatii*, and from them to the *Nervii*, and excited them, by his good Fortune, to rid themselves of their unbidden Guests. The latter summon'd the *Centrones*, *Grudii*, *Levaci*, *Pleumatii* and *Gorduni*, who were all their Subjects, to appear in Arms, and with united Force set upon *Q. Cicero*, who was as yet ignorant of the Fate of *Titurius* and *Cotta*, and had not fortified his Camp. Some of the Chiefs of the *Nervii*, who had some Knowledge of him, desired an Interview, and endeavour'd to terrify him in the Manner *Ambiorix* had *Titurius*. They promised him, at the same Time, a free Passage, and pretended, that they had nothing to object against the *Romans*, but the Inconvenience of their taking Winter Quarters with them : But *Cicero*, who, in the mean while, got Intelligence of the Overthrow of the other two Generals, answer'd them with the usual *Roman* Magnanimity, and was resolved to see the Event. The *Gauls* hereupon invested the *Roman* Camp in Form, applied their Turrets, and made use of Sickles and Shields, which were made in Imitation of those of the *Romans*, as well as their want of Experience and proper Tools would admit of. (1.) On the seventh Day, they threw red hot Bullets and Darts into the Camp, by which they set Fire to the *Roman* Huts, that like those of the *Gauls* were thatch'd, with great Ease, being favor'd by a high Wind. In the mean while, they

(5) CÆSAR L. V. c. 35. Describes the Battles, and, among other Circumstances, says : Contra legatus, omnes cohortes, ordinesque exhortatus, in adversum os funda vulneratur.

§. XVII. 1. CÆSAR L. V. c. 42. Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii, vallo pedum XI. & fossa pedum XV. hiberna cingunt. Hæc superiorum annorum consuetudine a nostris cognoverant ; & quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos, ab his docebantur. Sed nulla bis

ferramentorum copia, quæ esset ad hunc usum idonea : gladius cespitem circumcidere, manibus, sagulisque terram exhaurire cogebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognoscere potuit. Nam minus horis tribus milium passuum XV. in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt, reliquisque diebus turre ad altitudinem vallî, falces testudinesque, quasi iidem captivi docuerant, parare, ac facere coeperunt.

G 2

advanc'd,

advanc'd, with their Turrets, Shields and Ladders. The *Romans* defended themselves with great Bravery, but were, at Length, most of them wounded, and must all have inevitably perish'd, had not *Cicero* found Means of acquainting *Cæsar* with his Condition. (*)

Cæsar relieves
Cicero.

§. XVIII. *CÆSAR*, who as soon as he heard of the Overthrow of *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, had let his Hair and Beard grow, that by his melancholy Aspect he might enflame the Soldiers to a hearty Revenge, could not at first bring together more than two Legions; for *Labienus* excused himself on account of *Induciomarus's* Motions. *Cæsar* left all his Ammunition, Hostages, Treasure and Provisions at *Samarobryva* (1), and march'd, with his two Legions, to meet the *Nervii*. These came out to meet him, according to his own Computation, to the Number of 60,000, and *Cæsar* had both the Courage and Fortune to fight his Way thro' so unequal a Number, with his 7000 Men. (2) By this Victory, he not only relieved *Cicero*, but likewise gave an Opportunity to *Labienus* to act against *Induciomarus*, who was, as it were, in Order of Battle; and the Nations in *Armorica*, who were on their March to fall upon *L. Roscius*, on hearing this News, instantly retired. (3.) *Cæsar* sent *Fabius* back to his Winter-Quarters among the *Morini*, and resolved upon staying himself, with three Legions, during the Winter-season at *Samarobryva*, because all the *Gauls*, excepting the *Ædui* and *Rhemi*, who continued loyal to the *Romans*, (4) were factious, and waited only for a fresh Opportunity.

Labienus
routs *Inducio-*
marus, Prince
of the *Tre-*
viri.

§. XIX. THIS Opportunity soon offer'd among the *Treviri*. *Induciomarus* had no sooner heard of *Cicero's* Deliverance, than he retreated, and endeavour'd to draw those *German Nations*, who dwelt on the other Side of the *Rhine*, over to his Party, in which he was unsuccessful. (1.) The other *Gallick Nations* urged him, in the mean

* *CÆSAR* L. V. c. 38-44.

§. XVIII. 1. *CÆSAR* L. V. c. 47. Hora-
circiter III. ab antecursoribus de *Craffi* ad-
ventu certior est factus: eo die millia pas-
suum XX. progreditur. *Craffum* *Samarobry-*
væ præficit, Legionemque ei attribuit, quod
ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum,
litteras publicas, frumentumque omne, quod
eo tolerandæ hiemis causa devexerat, relin-
quebat.

(2) *IDEM* L. V. c. 48-51.

(3) *IDEM* c. 52. 53.

(4) *CÆSAR* L. c. c. 53. *Cæsar* *Fabium*
cum legione in sua remittit hiberna. Ipse
cum III. Legionibus circum *Samarobryvam*

*trinis hibernis hiemare constituit; & quod
tanti motus Gallia exstiterant, totam hie-
mem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit.*

§. XIX (1) *CÆSAR* L. V. c. 55. *Treviri* arque
Induciomarus totius hiemis nullum tempus
intermiserunt, quin trans *Rhenum* legatos
mitterent, civitates sollicitarent; pecunias
pollicerentur: magna parte exercitus nostri
interfecta, multo minorem superesse dicerent
partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati *German-*
orum persuaderi potuit, ut *Rhenum* transi-
rent, quum se bis expertos dicerent, *Ario-*
visti bello & Tenchterorum transitu, non esse
fortunam amplius tentaturos.

while,

while, daily, to put himself at the Head of those who were desirous of freeing their Country from the *Roman* Yoke. The good Opinion they expressed of him, so flatter'd his Hopes, that he at last gave Ear to their Entreaties, especially as *Amliorix* had, on the one Hand, already actually brought the *Nervii* and *Atuatini* into Arms; and, the *Senones* and *Carnutes*, on the other, seem'd only to wait for an Opportunity: *Induciomarus* assembled all that were able to bear Arms; (2) and, in a publick Convention, declared *Cingetorix*, and his Adherents, Enemies to the State. He acquainted the whole Army, that the *Senones* and *Carnutes* had implored his Assistance, which he intended to grant them, and by the Way to pillage the Country of the *Rhemi*, but first to attack the *Roman* General in his Winter-Quarters. *Cingetorix* informed *Labienus* of these Proceedings. His Camp was so advantageously situated and fortified, that he thought himself in no Danger from the *Treviri*. *Induciomarus* endeavour'd, for several Days, by his frequent Bravadoes, to decoy him out of it. The *Roman* General, left him to judge what he would of his Fears, till he had privately received a large Reinforcement of Horse from the *Rhemi*: And then, *Induciomarus* having again provoked the *Romans*, with opprobrious Language, and being securely, and in an irregular Manner, retreating towards the Evening, *Labienus* caus'd all his Cavalry to make an unexpected Sally upon him, and, lest *Induciomarus* should escape, he charged them, not to engage any other Person, till they had secured him dead or alive. They so punctually observed this Order, that they seized him as he was crossing a River, (3.) and his Head became now a Signal to the Soldiers to exert the utmost Fury of insulting Conquerours. (*)

(2) CÆSAR L. V. c. 56. *Armatus concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli, quo lege communi, omnes puberes armati convenire coguntur: & qui ex iis novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis, omnibus cruciatibus affectus, necatur. Livius L. XXI. c. 20. In his (scil Gallis) est nova terribilisque species visa, quod armati, (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt.*

(3) LAUR BEGRVS has in his *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*, p. 309. explain'd a Coin of this *Induciomarus*, which is still preserved in the Royal Cabinet at Berlin. On one side of it is a Man's Head, with a Royal Circle, and, on the other,

a Bull with this Inscription, GERMANUS; and under it INDUT IIII; which he reads INDUTIOMARUS IIIVIRENSIS (*Trevirensis* or *Trevir*.) He mentions, in the same Passage, p. 305 another Coin with the Name of COMMIVS, and interprets it of Comius, Prince of the *Atrebates*, whom *Dio Cassius* likewise calls *Commius*. This is perhaps the most probable Conjecture we may venture at in the Explanation of two, otherwise wholly unintelligible Coins; which however I leave to the Judgment of those, who have an Opportunity of comparing it with the Coins themselves.

* CÆSAR, L. VI. c. 55-58.

§. XX. THE

*Cæsar makes
an Incurſion
into the
Country of
the Nervii :*

§. XX. THE *Treviri* continued their Allegiance to the House of *Induciomarus*, and renew'd their Preparations againſt the *Romans*. (1.) They ſent to the *German Nations*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and ſtrove to bring them over to their Party. Thoſe, who dwelt neareſt to that River, and had two Years before experienced the Power of the *Romans*, in *Cæſar's* Bridge over the *Rhine*, reſuſed their Concurrence : But ſome Nations among the *Suevi* entered into the Confederacy. The *Treviri* gave them Security for the Reward promiſed them, renewed their Treaty with *Ambiorix*, and prepar'd for an early Campaign. (2.) The *Nervii*, *Atuatici* and *Menapii* were in Arms, on the other Side, and had engaged the Reſt of the *German*s, who dwelt on the left Side of the *Rhine*. (3.) The *Senones* and *Carnutes*, in *Celtick Gaul*, gave manifeſt Tokens of their being tir'd with the *Roman Yoke*. *Cæſar* remained in *Gaul* during the Winter, and *Pompey* (4) left him as many of thoſe Troops, which he had rais'd the Year before, as repair'd the Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd. With theſe he fell upon the *Nervii*, before the Winter was at an End, laid a Part of their Country waſte, and deliver'd the Cattle and Priſoners a Prey to his Soldiers. He thereupon iſſued Writs in the Spring for the uſual Convention in *Gaul* : at which the *Treviri*, *Senones* and *Carnutes* not appearing, *Cæſar* took it for an open Rupture ; and, therefore, felt unexpected upon the *Senones*, who thereby found themſelves under a Neceſſity of ſuing for Pardon ; which *Cæſar*, at the Interceſſion of the *Ædui*, granted them. And the *Carnutes* were ſoon after reconciled to him by the Mediation of the *Rhemi*. (*)

*And ſubdues
the Menapii.*

§. XXI. WHEN *Cæſar* found himſelf thus ſecur'd, on this Side, he reſolved to humble *Ambiorix*, and firſt to deprive him of the Aſſiſtance he expected from the *Menapii* and *German Nations*. He ſent all his Ammunition, with two Legions, to *Labienus*, and himſelf, with five Legions, march'd againſt the *Menapii*, who hoped for more Safety in their Foreſts and Marſhes than they in Reality found. *Cæſar* attack'd them on three Sides at once, and the Celerity of the *Romans*, in laying Bridges over the Rivers and Morasses, laid the whole

§. XX. (1) CÆSAR L. VI. c. 2. Adejus propinquos a Treviris imperium deſertur.

(2) Ib. Illi finitimos Germanos ſollicitare & pecuniam polliceri non deſiſtunt, quum ab proximis impetrare non poſſent, ultiores tentant : inventis nonnullis, civitates jurejurando inter ſe confirmanſ obſidibusque de

pecunia cavent : Ambiorigem ſibi ſocietate & ſœdere conjungunt.

(3) Adjunctis Cifſrenanſ omnibus.

(4) CÆSAR L. VI. c. 1. Quoniam ipſe ad urbem cum imperio reipublicæ cauſſa maneret.

* I D E M. L. VI. c. 2. 5.

§. XXI. * L. VI. c. 5. 6.

Country open to them, which they wasted and plunder'd, 'till the *Menapii* sued for Peace, and this *Cæsar* granted, on Condition of their abandoning *Ambiorix*. *Comis*, whom he had made Prince of the *Atrebates*, remain'd there with the Cavalry, to observe their Motions, and he himself went to *Labienus*, where he found as good News as he brought. (*)

§. XXII. FOR the *Treviri* had ventur'd a second Time to approach *Labienus*, and had encamp'd opposite to him at the Distance of fifteen Roman Miles. *Labienus* was desirous of bringing them to an Engagement, before the *Germans*, from the other Side of the *Rhine*, could come to their Assistance; but, not daring to cross the River between the two Camps, (1) pretended to fly, and thereby decoy'd the *Treviri* to leave their advantageous Camp and pass the River, in Pursuit of the *Romans*. *Labienus* turned upon them unexpectedly, and found them in such Disorder, that they scarce stood the first Attack, and afterwards dispersed, most of them, into the neighbouring Forests. The News of this Defeat so terrified the *Germans*, who had already some of them pass'd the *Rhine*, that they hasten'd their return home. The Chiefs of the House of *Induciomarus*, who had hitherto promoted the War, were glad, with them, to escape the Hands of the Conqueror, whereupon he became, in a few Days, Master of the whole Nation, and advanc'd *Cingetorix*, who had, from the Beginning, been firmly attach'd to the *Romans*, to the Dignity of a Prince and General in his own Country. (*)

§. XXIII. CÆSAR could now more easily execute his Intention of passing the *Rhine*, and depriving *Ambiorix* of all the Assistance he hop'd for, from that Side of the River. He made the Succours the *Germans* had sent the *Treviri* a Pretext for this War; built a second Bridge over the *Rhine*, somewhat above the Place where the first was laid, and left a sufficient Guard among the *Treviri* to cover the Bridge, and keep the People in Aw. The *Ubii* received him, on that Side, with all possible Tokens of Friendship, and plainly cleared themselves of the Imputation of having assisted the *Treviri*. The *Suevi* were, upon narrow Enquiry, found to have sent them Auxili-

Labienus defeats the Treviri a second Time.

Cæsar passes the Rhine again.

§. XXII. (1) CÆSAR L. VI. c. 7. Difficili transitu flumen, ripisque præruptis.

* IDEM L. VI. c. 7. 8.

§. XXIII. (1) CÆSAR L. VI. c. 10. Silvam esse ibi infinatæ magnitudinis, quæ appellatur Bacenis: hanc longe introrsus pertinere, & pro nativo muro objectam, Cheruscis a Suevis, Suevosque a Cheruscis, injuriis

incurſionibusque prohibere, ad ejus initium silvæ, Suevos adventum Romanorum expectare constituisse.

* IDEM L. VI. c. 9. 10. CÆSAR here takes Occasion to treat of the then State and Manners of the Gauls and Germans, from the 11 to the 28 Chapter.

liaries:

liaries : *Cæsar* therefore prepar'd to invade their Dominions. They were no sooner informed of *Cæsar's* Design, than they removed farther into the Country, to an impassable Forest, which separated them from the *Cherusci*, and there determin'd to wait his coming. But *Cæsar* thought it not adviseable, to venture so far, especially as he foresaw, that the Land of the *Suevi* being badly cultivated, he must needs be destitute of Provisions. He therefore return'd ; but to keep the *Germans* under, he broke down only that Part of the Bridge, which join'd the *Ubian* shoar, for about 200 Paces, and the Rest he secured and guarded sufficiently.

Pursues the
Prince of
the *Eburones*,
and delivers
his Country
a Prey to his
Neighbours.

§. XXIV. WHEN Harvest approach'd, the Hostilities with *Ambiorix* began. *Cæsar* detach'd *L. Minucius Basilus*, with the Cavalry, thro' the *Arduennian* Forest, and he fell so unexpectedly upon the *Eburones*, that *Ambiorix* himself, who then resided in that Neighbourhood, very narrowly escap'd : He retired to the Banks of the *Scheld* where the Extent of that Forest separated the *Nervii* from the *Eburones*. He himself infused an universal Terror in his Subjects, and sent them the melancholy Order, to provide every Man for his own Safety. *Cativolcus*, who governed the Rest of the *Eburones*, was, by his great Age, render'd incapable of doing any thing. He cursed the Projects and Temerity of *Ambiorix*, which now involved him, and the whole Nation, in this Misery, and, in Despair, killed himself. The People sought most of them their Safety in the thickest of the *Arduennian* Forest, and among the Marshes. Those who dwelt near the Sea-Coast fled to some neighbouring Isles, which were raised by the Tides and Surges of the Sea : And many took Refuge where-ever their first Fears directed them, since any Event was thought more supportable than to fall into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, who follow'd with his Legions, therefore found the Country desolate. The *Segni* and *Condrusii*, who dwelt between the *Eburones* and the *Treviri*, sent Ambassadors to him, and begg'd he would not impute the Guilt of their Countrymen, to which they had been no Way accessary, to them. (1.) *Cæsar* left all his Ammunition at *Atuatica*, which was almost in the Center of the Country, and where *Titurius* and *Aurunculeius* had, not long before, held their Winter-Quarters : But the Army he divided into three Bodies. *T. Labienus* was order'd to ravage the Country, that separated the *Eburones* from the *Menapii*, towards the Sea, and *C. Trebonius* to plunder that Part where they joined the *Atuatici* on the *Sambre*. Each had

§ XXVI. (1) CÆSAR L. VI. c. 32. Ne se in hostium numero duceret, Neve Omnium Germanorum, Qui essent Citra Rhenum, causam esse unam judicaret

three Legions, and he himself march'd, with the third Body, towards the *Scheld*, in Pursuit of *Ambiorix*: (2) But finding it impracticable to penetrate the vast Forest of *Ardennes*, in which the Enemy lay conceal'd on every Hill, and in every Dale; or where-ever a Morass or unpassable Thicket could give them shelter; and as his Soldiers, being ignorant of the Paths, must have been dispersed and ventur'd themselves singly: For these Reasons, to save his Men, and leave the Pursuit of the Enemy to the Hazard of others, he caus'd it to be proclaim'd every where, that the *Eburones*, with all they possess'd, should be deliver'd a Prey to their Neighbours. Several of the neighbouring *Gauls*, who were better acquainted with the Country than the *Romans*, hereupon pursued the *Eburones*, in all their lurking Holes, and assisted the *Romans* in destroying a Nation, whose Protection they had but just before craved against these very Invaders. *

§. XXV. THE Fame of these Ravages was near having an Effect different from what the *Romans* expected, especially as it spread beyond the *Rhine*. The *Sicambri* wanted to partake of the Booty, and cross'd that River, with 2000 Horse, about 30 Roman Miles below the Bridge; where, many of the *Eburones* who had escaped the *Romans*, with the Cattle they had saved, fell into their Hands. This Success tempted them to penetrate farther into those Parts; especially as they had, in their own uncultivated Country, been accustomed to Forests and Marshes. In their March, one of the Prisoners blamed them for employing their Time upon the poor Remains of the *Eburones*, and not rather invading *Atuatica*, which was but three Hours March from them, where all the Treasure of the *Roman* Army was guarded but by a small Number of Men, scarce sufficient to defend the Walls. The *Sicambri* were easily persuaded, and, appointing the Proposer to be their Guide, fell suddenly upon *Q. Tull. Cicero*, who lay in Garison, with a Legion of *Romans*, at *Atuatica*. *Cicero* happen'd that very Day to send five Cohorts, and a large Number of Foot-Soldiers behind them, to forage in the Neighbouring Grounds, and was hardly able to defend the Gates of the Place, which was otherwise well

(2) CÆSAR. L. VI. c. 33. Ipse cum reliquis tribus ad flumen Scaldim, quod infuit in Mosam, extremasque *Ardennæ* partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum *Ambiorigem* audiebat. Some have, instead of *Scaldim*, in this Passage read *Sabin*. But

Cluverius and *Gerardus Noviomagus* have proved, that *Scaldim* ought to be retained. The Country about the *Sambre* fell to the Share of *Trebonius*.

* CÆSAR. L. VI. c. 29-34.

fortified, 'till the Return of these Cohorts, who valiantly forcing their Passage thro' the *Germans*, the latter found themselves incapable of attacking the Place, after this their first Attempt had fail'd; and being probably informed, by their Prisoners, that *Cæsar* was hourly expected, they return'd with their first Booty, which they had left in the Forest, to their own Country, with the secret Satisfaction of having been almost of the greatest Service to the very *Eburones*, against whom their Design was formed. *

Cæsar extirpates the whole Nation of the Eburones.

§. XXVI. THE *Romans*, who imagin'd *Cæsar* must have been unfortunate, since the *Germans* ventur'd to attack their Camp, could hardly believe their Eyes, when they immediately afterwards saw his safe Arrival with the Army. He soon made a fresh Incurſion into the Country of the *Eburones*, and caused all the remaining Villages and Edifices to be set on Fire. Their Corn had been mostly consum'd by such a Number of Men and Cattle, and what remained in the Field was spoil'd by the Inclemency of the Weather; so that those, who had conceal'd themselves, could not but perish by Hunger. *Ambiorix*, with three more, escap'd, notwithstanding the Reward *Cæsar* had put upon his Head, and tho' he had often been discover'd, and near being taken; a manifest Indication of the Difficulties the *Romans* must have had, to subdue a People, whose Princes chose rather to undergo any other Misery, than Servitude. *Cæsar* march'd with his Army to *Rheims*, whither he had summon'd a general Convention of the several Nations of *Gaul*, and so disposed of the Troops, that two Legions lay in Winter-Quarters on the *Trevirian*, two on the *Lingonian*, and the other six on the *Senonian* Borders. *

Some of the German Colonies serve *Cæsar* against the Gauls, and others the Gauls against *Cæsar*.

§. XXVII. THE Factions which then broke out at *Rome*, against *Cæsar*, caused Commotions throughout *Gaul*, (1) insomuch, that all the Nations of that Region, the *Rhemi*, *Lingones* and *Treviri* excepted, conspired against the *Romans*. The two former continued loyal to *Cæsar*, but the latter had a private Intelligence with the *Germans*. (2) Even *Comius*, the Prince of the *Atrebatæ*, to whom *Cæsar*, for his eminent Services, had also subjected the *Morini*, (3) en-

§. XXV. * I D E M VI. c. 35-42.

§. XXVI. * CÆSAR L. VI. c. 43. 44.

§. XXVII. (1) CÆSAR L. VII. i. *throughout*.

(2) CÆSAR L. VII. c. 63. Ab hoc concilio Rhemi, Lingones, Treviri, abfuerunt, illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur: Treviri quod aberant longius, & ab Germanis premebantur: quæ fuit causa,

quare toto absent bello, & neutris auxilia mitterent.

(3) I D E M. c. 76. Hujus opera Comii, ita ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Cæsar: pro quibus meritis civitatem ejus immunem esse jufferat, juraque legesque reddiderat, atque ipsi Morinos attribuerat.

ter'd into this Confederacy; so that he was, this whole Year, in a dangerous Situation. In these Emergencies, *Cæsar* sought the Assistance of the *Germans*. He borrow'd of the *Ubi*, and the neighbouring Nations, who were in good Intelligence with the *Romans*, a large Body of Horse, and Foot-Soldiers lightly armed, to intermix with the Cavalry. But as they were but badly mounted, he distributed some of his own Horses among them, (4) and they proved highly serviceable to him, (5) especially at the Siege of *Usseldun*. (6) The *Gauls* had, on the other Hand, likewise *German* Auxiliaries, and we find that *Comius*, (7) as well as the *Treviri*, (8) made use of *German* Troops, who never refused their Assistance to any, that would employ it against the *Romans*. They were thus subservient to both, and as on these Occasions they became better acquainted with *Gaul*, and learned the *Roman* Military Art, it is no Wonder that they daily aimed at establishing themselves more firmly in that Country.

§. XXVIII. WHEN *Pompey*, towards the Conclusion of the following Year, had secretly, and *C. Martellus* openly, declared against *Cæsar*, he left *C. Trebonius* with four Legions in *Belgia*, and *C. Fabius*, with four Legions in the Country of the *Ædui*, who were the most renowned among the *Celtick* Nations, and hastned to *Italy*. Upon this the Civil War broke out the ensuing Year, which obliged him to defer the Triumph he had merited in *Gaul*, 'till, at the same Time, he could triumph four successive Days (1) over *Egypt*, *Parthia* and *Nymiaia*, and indeed over the Liberties of his own Country. The first of these Days was set a-part for the *Gallick* Triumph, and

The Conclusion of the Gallick War.

A Figure representing the Rhine, carried in Triumph at Rome.

(4) *Idem* c. 65. *Cæsar* quod hostes equitatu superiores esse intelligebat, & interclusis omnibus itineribus, nulla re ex provincia atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis pacaverat: equitesque ab his accersit, & levis armaturæ pedites, qui inter eos præliari consueverant. Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum, reliquisque, sed & equitibus Romanis, atque evocatis, equos sumit, Germanisque distribuit.

(5) *Idem* L. VIII. c. 36. Quod ubi accidit, Germani equites, signis legionis visis, vehementissime præliantur. Confectim omnes cohortes undique impetum faciunt: omnibus aut interfectis, aut captis, magna

præda potiuntur. Capitur ipse eo prælio Drapes.

(6) *Uxellodunum*, in finibus *Cadurcorum*, hodie *Lopuch. d' Usseldun*. Confer. *Valesius in notitia Gallie*.

(8) *Idem* L. VIII. c. 21. *Comius*, *Atrebas*, ad eos profugit Germanos, a quibus ad id bellum auxilia mutuatus erat.

(8) *Idem* L. VIII. c. 45. *Labienus* interim in *Treviris* equestre prælium secundum facit: compluribusque *Treviris* interfectis, & Germanis, qui nulli adversus Romanos auxilia denegabant, principes eorum, vivos, in suam redegit potestatem.

§. XXVIII. (1). Of *Cæsar's* Triumph see *Dio*. L. XLII. p. 23.

among other Figures of Pageantry, the *Rhine* was represented, (2) which *Rome* afterwards oftner triumph'd over than conquer'd.

*Cæsar retains
Germans in
his Service,
after the Con-
clusion of
the Gallick
War.*

§. XXIX. WE have no very exact Account of what happened during *Cæsar's* Dictatorship, and afterwards till his Death, in *Gaul*, and on that Occasion, among the neighbouring *Germans*. It may be ascribed as well to *Cæsar's* good Fortune, as his prudent Ordinances, that the *Gauls* did not revolt during the Civil War. To these Ordinances, we may add his Policy in establishing *Roman Colonies* in *Gaul*, of which some Foot-steps are yet visible; and retaining several thousand *Gauls* constantly in his Service, during the Wars with *Pompey* and his Adherents; (1) for which he summon'd the chief and most renowned Men from most of their Cities, that they might be, as it were, Hostages to him, at the same Time. Beside, among these *Gallick Nations*, many *Germans* were likewise retain'd in his Service, as well of those who were settled in *Gaul*, as from the other Side of the *Rhine*. The *German Squadrons* contributed, in an especial Manner to the Victory at *Pharſalia*, (2) and some of them partook pro-

(2) FLORUS, L. IV. c. 2.

§ XXIX. (1). LUCANUS in *Pharf.* L. I. v.

419. Reckons also the *Nemetes*, the *Eburones*, *Vangiones*, *Treviri*, *Batavi*, and others:

Tūc RURA NEMOSSI

Qui tenet, & ripas Aturi, qua litore curvo
Molliter admissum claudit Tarbellicus
æquor,

Signa movet, gaudetque amoto Santonus
hoste,

Et Biturix: longisque leves Sueffones in
armis.

Optimus excusso Levius, Rhemusque la-
certo,

Optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana fræ-
nis,

Et docilis rector monstrati Belga Covini.

Arvernique, ausi Latio se fingere fratres

Sanguine ab Iliaco populi; nimiumque
rebellis

Nervius: ET CÆSI POLLUTUS
SANGUINE COTTÆ

Et quite laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,

VANGIONES: BATAVIQUE truces,
quos ære recurvo

Stridentes acuere tubæ. - - -

Tu quoque lætatus converti prælia TRE-
VIR That the Words, & cæsi pollutus sanguine
Cottæ are to be understood of the *Eburones*, is

plain by what is above observed §. 16. The Words *Rura Nemosi* are more easily applied to the *Nemetes*, if with *Bucherius*, in his *Belgium Romanum* L. IV. c. 2. we read: *Rura Nemetis*. *Florus* L. IV. c. 2. reckons to *Cæsar's Army Galicos Germanicosque delectus*, and *APPIANUS* bello civili, L. II. p. 468, mentions in particular, that the *Germans*, after taking of the City of *Gomphi*, in *Theſſalia*, and the Hunger and Thirst they had undergone near *Dyrzachium*, made so free afterwards with their Refreshments, that their Drunkenness served for Sport to the whole Army. Quibus dictis mox petiit *Apolloniam*, indeque in *Theſſalium*, clam noctu, profectus est, ubi *Gomphos*, modicum oppidum, quod sibi portas clauferat, oppugnavit, diripiendumque præbuit militibus. Ibi famelici se explebant affatim, & vino ingurgitabant, insigni Germanorum ebrietate, & ridenda cæteris.

(2) FLORUS L. IV. c. 2. Nam cum diu æquo Marte certaretur, jussuque *Pompeii* fusus a cornu erupisset equitatus, repente hinc (sc. a *Cæsare*) signo dato, Germanorum cohortes, tantum in effusos equites fecere impetum, ut illi esse pedites, hi venire in equis viderentur. Hanc stragem fugientis equitatus, levioris armaturæ ruina comitata est.

bably

bably afterwards of those Rewards, which *Cæsar* was pleased to honour the *Gauls* with (3). *Cæsar's* Deputies, and the Legions, which were left for a constant Guard, not only kept the *Germans* on the other Side of the *Rhine* in Aw; but likewise curb'd the turbulent Dispositions of the *Gauls*: As, in particular, *Decimus Brutus* is recorded for having defeated the *Bellovaci*, when they attempted a Rebellion. (4)

§. XXX. As *Cæsar's* Ambition was insatiable, so likewise his Valour was more and more excited by his extraordinary Success, to interrupt his greater Enterprizes. He was upon the Point of marching against the *Parthians*; and, depending on the good Fortune which had always attended him, he proposed, after having subdued them, to march thro' the *Hyrceanian* Forest, and along the *Caspian* Sea, to *Scythia*, and, by the Conquest of those Nations, to open a new Way for the *Roman* Eagle into *Germany*. (1) But the Execution of all these, and other his great Designs, was prevented by his being made a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of *Liberty*.

§. XXXI. CÆSAR having, when he enter'd the *Teutonic* Dominions, given a brief Account of the Country and its Inhabitants, the like may not be amiss here; as the *Germans* will appear with great Lustre in the following Books, and the Sequel will shew how the Difficulties they were involv'd in increas'd their Skill in War, and Politicks; how their Manners and Customs were changed; and how, at last, Religion and the Sciences took Place among them. Ancient *Germany* is generally described as a raw, uncultivated Region, (1) full of Bogs and Forests: But when they had afterwards learned to cut down the Woods, to keep the Rivers within their Banks, and to draw out the Waters that had overflowed; and when the Country begun to be cultivated with greater Care, the former

(3) SÆTOR. *Jul. c. 24.* Ad legiones, quas a rep. acceperat, alias privato sumptu addidit: unam ex transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico, alaunda enim appellabatur: quam disciplina, cultuque Romano institutam, & ornatam, postea universam, civitate donavit. &c. 80. Civitate donatos, & quosdam, e semibarbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam.

(4) LIVIUS *Epit. 144.* Brutus, Cæsaris lectus, Bellovacos rebellantes cepit.

§. XXX. (1) PLUTARCHI *in Vit. Cæs. T. I. Gr. p. 735 B.* Parabat, & instituebat Partios bello petere. His subjugatis per Hyrcaniam, secundum Mare Caspium, & Cau-

casum ambire Pontum, atque ita Scythiam invadere, incursumque, quæ Germaniæ circumjecta sunt, ac Germania ipsa, per Galliam regredi in Italiam.

§. XXXI. (1) TACITUS *de M. G. c. 2.* Informis terris, aspera cœlo, tristis cultu, aspectuque. c. 5. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differat, in universum tamen, aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda: humidior, (al. humilior) qua Gallias, ventosior, (al. verticosior) qua Noricum, ac Pannoniam adspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera: ne armentis quidem suus honor, aut gloria frontis, &c.

State

State of it appear'd to have been rather owing to the Negligence of the Inhabitants, than any Deficiency of the Country itself. Hence it is a difficult Matter, to know *Germany* at present, by the Descriptions *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* have given us of it; when we see how its Buildings are encreas'd; how well all foreign Plants thrive in the *German* Climate; how the Hills open and discover their inward Riches, and, how some of them, produce Plenty of Corn and Wine on their Surface.

Description
of the Inha-
bitants.

§. XXXII. THE Nature of the Inhabitants was much the same. They are described, by the Ancients, as a People who all resembled one another, and were distinguished from other Nations by a large Stature, fair Complexion, blue Eyes, and light yellow Hair. (1) To their bodily Strength, the Customs of the Country, their being inured to Hardship, coarse Diet, (2) nourishing Liquors, (3) and constant Exercise, were highly conducive. (4) Their vital Spirits were wholly employed upon the Formation of their Bodies, and were neither exhausted by much Learning or Contemplation, (5) nor enervated by early Amours, or any of those Effeminacies, which afterwards crept in under the Denomination of Gallantry. As these People always kept to themselves, and never intermarried with Foreigners, these Qualities were transmitted pure and uncorrupted to their Posterity. (6)

Their Ge-
nius.

§. XXXIII. THEIR Genius discovered itself in an Inclination to War, which rendered them, in some Measure, ferocious, and next to that in an extraordinary Fidelity. This they not only valued themselves upon, (1) but it was likewise allowed them by their very Enemies. Hence *Augustus*, *Caligula*, and other *Roman* Emperors, always kept a Body of *German* Life-Guards: (2) They wanted how-

§. XXXII. (1) *TACITUS de M. G. 4.* Habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces & caerulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora, & tantum ad impetum valida.

(2) *Idem ib. c. 23.* Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fœra, aut lac concretum.

(3) *Ib.* Potui humor, ex hordeo, aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini, corruptus.

(4) *See Conringii diff. de habitus antiqui, & novi corporum Germanorum, causis.*

(5) *CÆS. L. III. c. 1. de Suevis.* Non multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte, atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt

in venationibus, quæ res, & cibi genere, & quotidiana exercitatione, & libertate vitæ (quod a pueris nullo officio, aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant) & vires alit, & immani corporum magnitudine, efficit.

(6) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 4.* Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos, nullis aliis nationum connubiis infectos, propriam, & sinceram, & tantum sui similem gentem, extitisse arbitrantur. *Idem Hist. IV. c. 65.* Deductos olim Italos, secum per connubia sociatos.

§. XXXIII. 1. *See below. L. IV. §. 32.*

(2) *See below. L. III. §. 4. & L. IV. c. 21.*

ever,

ever, neither Cunning in War, nor Stratagems against their Enemies; and their Rebellions and Civil Broils, which proceeded rather from a too great Desire of Freedom, than any Instability of Mind; hurried them sometimes even to Treachery and Murder. Their Friendship and mutual Intercourse was a Composition more of Sincerity and Hospitality, than Gallantry, Wit or Humour; and their Houses were open for the Reception of almost every Stranger, whom they entertained to the utmost of their Ability. (3) The *Greeks* and *Romans* accuse them of too great a Propensity to Drunkenness. Their Climate and Manner of Living did indeed enable them to bear more Liquor than other Nations in warmer Countries; however they themselves were frequently sensible that they carried this Vice to an Excess. They did not dwell in Cities, to which they, even in latter Times, could not well accustom themselves; but were dispersed, here and there, as every one thought it most conducive to his Safety and Convenience. The bare Necessaries of Life were the Bounds of their Desires; and even their Cloathing at first, was no more than just what Nature required. (4) Most of them made Use of the Skins of those Beasts, which served them for Sustenance, to cover their Nakedness, and excepting the Distinction which arose from the Qualities of them, they knew as little of any Luxury in Attire, as in the Furniture and Utenils of their Houses. (5) What little they did use they got by Barter, 'till they learned of the *Romans* and *Gauls*, the Use of Money; (6) and then they chiefly valued those ancient Coins, which

(3) *TACITUS d. M. G. c. 2.* Convictibus, & hospitibus, non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur: pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii, & comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt; nec interit, pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum, ignotumque, quantum at jus hospitii nemo discernit. Abscunt, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris: & poscendi invicem eadem facilitas.

(4) *Idem c. 17.* Tegumen omnibus sagum, stola, aut si desit, spina confertum. Cætera intecti.

(5) *Idem ibid.* Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ & Parthi, sed stricta, & singulos artus exprobrante. Gerunt & ferarum pelles, proximi rursus negligenter, ultiores exquisitis, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feræ, & detracta velamina spargunt

maculis, pellibusque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus, atque ignotum mare gignit, &c.

(6) *Idem. c. V.* Argentum & aurum propitii, ac irati Dii, negaverint, dubito, Nec tamen adfirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum, aurumve gignere. Quis enim scrutatus est? possessione, & usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre, apud illos argentea vasa, legatis & principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quæ humo fiuntur: quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum & argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostræ pecuniæ agnoscunt, atque eligunt: interiores simplicius & antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem, & diu notam, serratos, bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis, quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectatione animi, sed, quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est, promiscua, & vilia, mercantibus.

were

were stamped during the Times of the *Roman* Liberty, and particularly those, whose Rims were cut or mill'd, that they might not be cheated with Copper or Iron plated over with Silver. They, in Time, learned how to draw Money enough from the *Romans* to serve all *Germany*. Their cold Climate would not admit of so early a Love of Women, (7) as was usual among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and it was a Rule with them not to marry young. (8) But then the Flame of Love, when kindled, was, with them, the more pure and constant. They took but one Wife, and were so chaste in their Conjugal Affections, that *Tacitus*, in this Respect, plainly prefers their Manners to those of the *Romans*. (9) The Women shared with their Husbands the Care of bringing up their Children, and the Oeconomy of their Families; (10) nay even the Hardships of War; (11) and attended them in the Camp, not only to take Care of them, when wounded, but to encourage and assist them. Servitude was not so great a Burden with them, as among the *Romans*; (12) some Footsteps of it are still remaining here and there, especially where Vassalage is in Use.

(7) *Idem. c. 20.* Sera juvenum Venus, eoque in exhausta pubertas, nec virgines festinantur: eadem juvenia, similis proceritas, pares, validique miscuntur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt.

(8) *CÆSAR. L. VI. c. 21.* Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem, hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant, intra annum vero XX feminæ notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus.

(9) *Idem. c. 18.* Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui, non libidine, sed, ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem, non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus, offert. Interfunt parentes & propinqui; ac munera probant. Munera, non ad delicias muliebres quæsitæ, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves, & frænatum equum, & scutum, cum framea, gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur. Atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid marito affert. Hæc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana sacra, hos conjugales Deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtu-

tum cogitationes, extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se, laborum, periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio passuram, ausuramque. Hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum.

(10.) See not. 12.

(11) *TACITUS cap. 7.* Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exfugere plagas, pavent. Cibosque & hortamina pugnantibus gestant. Memorix proditur, quasdam acies, inclinatas jam, & labantes, a feminis restitutas &c.

(12) *Idem, c. 25.* Servis, non in nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono injungit: & servus hætenus paret. Cætera domus officia, uxor, ac liberi, exsequuntur. Verberare servum, ac vinculis & opere coercere, rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina & severitate, sed impetu, & ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune. V. *POTGIESER de statu & conditione servorum ap Germ.*

§. XXXIV. We find among the *Germans* evident Marks of those ^{Their Polit-} Degrees, by which Men, from a natural Resemblance one to another,^{cy.} were induc'd to form civil Society. The Necessity of having a General to lead them to the War, and a supreme Magistrate, to maintain Order, in Time of Peace, taught them to obey Kings and Princes: (1) But the *Germans* were not all united in one common State; almost every Nation was independent, and each had its own Form of Government. Liberty, the Happiness of a rational Creature, which was always, even when most depress'd, esteemed the Property of the *Germans*, (2) shone thro' all their Actions. Hence the People were entrusted with the Administration of the most weighty Affairs, even in their Monarchies (3). Banquets were held at all their Conventions, as they believed that they cemented a mutual Confidence, and gave Rise to wholesome Counsels (4). Their Princes and Kings had, excepting their Hereditary Estates, no Revenues, but a Part of the Fines, and what the People voluntarily added in Cattle and the Fruits of the Earth (5). Their Expences, on the other Hand, were not great. All their Subjects followed them to the Field, and their Nobles thought it an Honour to make up their Court and Retinue. They had the Liberty of their Prince's Table, and were frequently presented by him with a Horse, or some of his Arms (6). The Rest of the People were distinguished into several Classes or Ranks; as Nobles, Free-born, freed Men, and Bonds-Men. But those were most esteemed, whether Commons, Nobles or Princes, who had distinguished themselves by any great and laudable Exploit (7).

§. XXXIV. (1) *TACITUS* c. 12. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis & principes, qui jura per pagos, vicosque reddunt. c. 7. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute, sumunt.

(2) *LUCANUS* *terms Liberty*, *Pharf. L. VII. v.* 430. Germanum, Scythicumque bonum. *Tacitus de G. M. c. 37.* Regno Arfacis acrior est Germanorum libertas.

(3) *Idem. c. 11.* De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur.

(4) *Id. c. 22.* Sed & de reconciliandis invicem inimicis, & jungendis affinitatibus, adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique, ac bello, plerumque in conviviis consultant: tanquam

nullo magis tempore, aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalcescat. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris, licentia loci. Ergo detecta, & nuda omnium mens, postera die retractatur: & salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

(5) *Idem c. 15.* Mos est civitatibus, ultro, ac viritim, conferre principibus, vel armamentorum, vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum, etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a singulis, sed publice mittuntur. Electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torquesque. Jam & pecuniam accipere docuimus.

(6) *Idem c. 13. 14.*

(7) *Idem. c. 11.*

Their Reli-
gion, Com-
memoration
of Heroes,
Augury,

§. XXXV. THEIR Religion seems to have retained more of the Simplicity of the first natural Worship, and perhaps of that Idea of a Creator, which is inseparable from human Nature, than of the Superstition of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They knew the Folly of believing the Deity could be confin'd to an Image, and of adoring the Work of their own Hands. They worship'd the Supreme Being in the quiet Retirements of their Forests, without either Image or Temple (1). The Adoration, which some of them paid to the Sun, Moon, Earth and Water, as so many Deities (2), is to be imputed to an Error, whereby the Creator and the Creatures were confounded together, and which laid the first Foundation for Idolatry, before the Separation at *Babel*. Hence some Religious Ceremonies of the *Germans* agree with others of the most distant Nations, and particularly the Worship of the Goddess *Herttha*, among the *Suevi*, which exactly corresponded with that paid to the Earth, by the *Romans*, under the Appellation of *Magna Deorum Mater*. They celebrated, next to the Deity, the Memory of their Heroes and Heroins, in Honour of whose famous Actions, they sung certain Songs (3), which gave Occasion to their being, in Time, revered as Gods. The Poetical Narrations, which are yet preserv'd, in some Traditions of the *Northern Nations*, as those of *Odinus*, and the Goddess *Fria*, are very different from the Mythology of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They discover at the same Time the different Inclinations of the People: The *Germans* chiefly praised their Heroes for their Exploits, applicable either to their Strength or Courage; whereas the *Romans* attributed to their Deities all their own Imperfections. The *Roman Writers* honour'd these *German Heroes* with the Names of those Gods of theirs, whom they were thought to resemble (4), by which that Part of the *German Antiquity* is render'd very intricate. We find indeed, among the *Germans*, some Footsteps of a foreign Worship: Such was, among the *Suevi*, the Adoration of the Goddess

§. XXXV. (1) TACITUS *d. M. G. c. 9.* Ceterum, nec cohibere parentibus Deos, neque in ullum humani oris speciem adfinire, ex magnitudine celestium arbitrantur. --- Lucos ac nemora consecrant, Deorumque nominibus appellant, secretum illud, quod soli reverentia vident.

(2) CÆSAR *l. VI. c. 21.* Deorum numero eos solos duxerunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus aperte juvantur. Solem, & Vulcanum, & Lunam.

(3) TACITUS *d. M. G. 2.* Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos me-

morie, & appellam genus est) Tuitionem Deum, terra editam, &c. *l. III. c. 18.* Fuisse apud eos, &c. creant, & memorant, primumque omnium arborum, &c. nam, cum in prælia canunt, &c. of *Arminius's* page, Ann. II. c. 88. Canitur adhuc barbaris apud gentes.

(4) TACITUS *d. M. G. c. 42.* Apud Narualos, antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur. Præsidet Sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed Deos, interpretatione Romana, Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium. Ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur.

Iſis (5), tho' it don't appear, on what Occaſion, ſhe firſt became known to them. When they begun to be acquainted with the *Romans*, ſome of them borrow'd their Ceremonies, as is below exemplified in *Sigismund*, a Prince of the *Cheruſci*, who was *Sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum* (6): And in *Serapis*, a Prince of the *Alamanni*, who assumed this Name in *Gaul*, together with the *Egyptian* Superſtition (7). They believed, moreover, two material Truths, on which a great Part of internal Religion is grounded, a Divine Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul (8): But it is to be lamented that Superſtition was the Occaſion of their Abufe of both. Their Deſire of fore-knowing the Will of Heaven gave Riſe to all kind of Predictions, or they borrow'd them from other Nations. They were directed, in their moſt weighty Concerns, by the Change of the Moon (9). They invented an Art of foretelling Events by Twigs of Trees, in which they placed as much Confidence as *Miners* in *Germany* do, to this Day, in their *Baguette Divinatoire* (10); Horſes were eſteemed as myſterious (11) with them as with the *Persians* of old. Others ſought for the Truth of their Predictions in Water (12). Nay even the Lives and Blood of Men, have with them, as well as other Heathens, been made Inſtruments of their Augury (13). On the other Hand, the lively Idea

I 2

they

(5) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 9.* Pars Suevorum & Iſidi ſacrificat. Unde cauſſa, & origo peregrino, ſacro, parum comperi, niſi quod ſignum ipſum, in modum Liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. *conf. tamen CL. Dirmarus ad h. l.*

(6) See below the 4 Book, §. 3.

(7) *AM. MARCELL. L. XVI. c. 12.*

(8) *LUCANUS in Pharfal. L. I. v. 457.*

Certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos
Felices errore ſuo; quos, ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget, lethi metus. Inde
ruendi

In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque
capaces

Mortis: & ignavum, redituræ parcere
litæ.

(9) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 11.* Cœunt, niſi quid fortuitum & ſubitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur, nam agendis rebus hoc auſpiciſſimum initium credunt.

(10) *Idem c. 10.* Sortium conſuetudo ſimplex: virgam, frugiferæ arbori decifam, in

furculos amputant, eoſque, notis quibuſdam diſcretos, ſuper candidam veſtem, temere ac fortuito, ſpargunt. Mox, ſi publice conſultatur, ſacerdos civitatis; ſi privatim, ipſe pater familiæ, precatus Deos, cœlumque ſuſpiciens, ter ſingulos tollit, ſublatoſ, ſecundum impreſſam ante notam, interpretatur.

(11) *TACITUS Ib.* Proprium gentis, equorum quoque præſagia, ac monitus, experiri. Publice aluntur, iſdem nemoribus, ac lucis, candidi, & nullo mortali opere contacti, quos preſſos ſacro curru ſacerdos, ac Rex, vel Princeps civitatis, comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus obſervant. Nec ulli auſpicio major fides, non ſolum apud plebem, ſed apud proceres, apud ſacerdotes. Se enim miniſtros Deorum, illos conſcios putant.

(12) See above Plutarch's *Words of the Female Soothſayers in Arioviſtus's Army*

(13) *TACIT. c. 10.* Eſt & alia obſervatio auſpiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum eſt, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo

they had of the Immortality of the Soul was a Spur to their Temerity in War, and the more as they believed, at the same Time, the surest Way to future Happiness was to dy in the Field of Battle: without thinking it needful to enquire, whether the Motives to their Wars were just or unjust (14).

Sacred
Groves,
Sacrifices,
and Priests.

§. XXXVI. THE external Part of their Religion was void of Pomp, but full of Reverence. Their Devotion was better kept up under the Cover of a dusky unpassable Grove, than by all the Ornaments of Architecture in *Greece* and *Rome*. Many of these Groves are noted in History, and some Remains of them are here and there yet said to be visible. Their Sacrifices were, as well as those of other Nations, and even of the *Romans*, themselves attended with Cruelty, insomuch that they shed Human Blood in them (1); and thus made a Part of their Religion consist in what was condemned by Nature. *Cæsar* says indeed, that they had no *Druids* as the *Celtæ* had (2); But *Tacitus*, who knew the *Germans* much better, makes frequent Mention of their Priests, who perhaps neither bore the same Name, nor follow'd all the Customs, nor even taught the Doctrine of the *Druids*, but were not in less Esteem than they: Since they were not only admitted into the general Conventions (3) of their States, but likewise accompanied them in their Wars (4). I shall below give an Instance, out of the *Burgundian* History, to prove, that their High Priest was even superior to their King. Their Wives applied themselves more particularly to Augury (5); and we find several of them

electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt. Victoria hujus, vel illius, pro præjudicio accipitur. *This was a kind of divine Augury, to whose Decision they submitted all dubious Cases. What is said above. B. I. §. 15. not. 1. of the Divination of the Cimbrians is still more horrid.*

(14) See above B. I. §. 14. not. 1. Of the Marcomanni Appian in *Celticis* says: Immites erant moribus, animisque ferocissimi, & mortis contemptores, persuasione futuri in vitam reditus.

§. XXXVI. (1) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 9. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus, humanis quoque hostiis, litare fas habent. Idem c. 39. de Suevis Semnonibus: Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum, & prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus cœunt, cæsoque publice homine, celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.*

2 CÆSAR L. VI. c. 21. Neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsent, neque sacrificiis student.

(3) *TACITUS de M. G. II. Silentium per Sacerdotes, quibus tum & coercendi jus est, imperatur.*

(4) *Idem. c. 7. Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincere, neque verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum: non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt.*

(5) *To this must be referred that Passage of TACITUS de M. G. c. 8. Inesse etiam sanctum aliquid, & providum, putant, nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. The Female Augurs in Ariovistus's Army, and among the Cimbri, have been already mentioned. conf. Keysser de feminis fatidicis veterum Germanorum.*

in History, who raised themselves to a high Esteem by it. They were chiefly famous among the *Gothick* Nations, by the Name of *Alrunes*. Their Esteem for Religion encreas'd after they became acquainted with the Truths of the Gospel, and they could the more easily accustom themselves to see their Bishops at the Assemblies of their States, and even in their Camps (a Thing by no Means consistent with their Office) since they had before allowed the same Freedom to their Priests in Paganism.

§. XXXVII. THE principal Views of the *Germans* were placed in Their State War, except of some few who had Cunning enough to raise their of War. Fortunes in Time of Peace (1): Their Education (2), the whole Course of their Lives, and even their Religion, tended that Way. Whole Nations looked upon it as the only Means of acquiring Fame (3), and kept up the Opinion among the People, that nothing could be a greater Disgrace, than to be esteemed a Coward. Some even kept their Families from Husbandry, to make them more expert and ardent in War (4): For all who could bear Arms were obliged to go to the Field: And

§ XXXVII. (1) TACITUS *de M. G. c.* 35. *De Chaucis*: Populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri, sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti, secretique, nulla provocant bella. Nullis raptibus aut latrociniiis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis, ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequantur.

(2) CÆSAR *L. VI. c.* 21. A parvulis labori ac duritiæ student. Some have even asserted, that the Germans who dwell near the Rhine dipp'd their Children, soon after their Birth, into that River, to make them hardy. Which they prove by a Passage in Aristotle *de Republ. L. VII. Opp. T. II. p.* 447. Prodest & statim, ab ineunte ætate, pueros frigoribus assuescere, hoc enim, & ad bonam valetudinem, & ad actiones bellicas, utilissimum est. Quo circa multi barbari hunc morem retinent, alii, ut pueros, simul atque nati sunt, in frigidum flumen immergant, alii, ut brevi integumento vestiant, quod Galli faciunt, &c. But the custom of dipping Children into the Rhine seems rather to have been a kind of the usual Trials by Water. Claudian in *Ruf.* at least hints at that v. 109.

Inde truces flavo comitantur vertice Galli,
Quos Rhodanus velox, Araris quos tardior ambit,

Et quos nascentes explorat gurgite Rhenus.

as does that Passage in Nonnus *XLVI. v.* 54. sq. Barbaras leges ferentem judico beatam terram Celtarum, ubi recens natorum infantium purum partum docens Rhenus, incerti judex partus, sanguinis ignoti adulterinum genus novit arguere.

(3) CÆSAR *L. VI. c.* 23. Civitatibus maxima laus est, quam latissimas circum se, vastatis finibus, solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere, neque quemquam prope se audere consistere. Simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinæ incursionis timore sublato.

(4) *Idem L. VI. c.* 22. Neque quisquam agri modum certum, aut fines proprios habet, sed magistratus, ac principes, in annos singulos, gentibus, cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum eis, & quo loco visum est, attribuunt agri, atque anno post, alio transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas afferunt causas, ne assidua consuetudine capti, studium belli gerendi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant, potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant, ne accuratius, ad frigora atque æstus vitandos, ædificent, ne qua oriatur pecuniæ cupiditas, qua ex re factiones, dissensionisque nascuntur: ut animi æquitare plebem contineant, quum suas quisque opes cum potentissimus æquari videat

hence

hence it was that they were enabled to raise so many and such numerous Armies (5). But, when the State was not engaged in War, the most able Soldiers went into foreign Service: not singly, or according to their own private Inclination; but in whole Bodies, and under the Command of certain Generals; that their Country might partake of the Honour of their Exploits, and at the same Time be furnish'd with more experienced Commanders (6). Or else they detach'd Colonies, who were forced to fight their Way thro', and seek new Habitations (7). But as to the State of their Militia, their greatest Strength consisted in Foot-Soldiers: Their Cavalry was not so numerous, but well-disciplined (8); tho' their Horses were not so good as those of the *Romans* (9). They neither used Saddles nor Stirrups (10), and were accustomed, when

(5) *Conf. Essay on the Countries, Religion, &c. of the Nations, by which the Roman Empire was pull'd down. p. 13--16.*

(6) *Which was likewise observed by those who were allied to the Romans, when they furnish'd them with Auxiliaries. Tacitus says L. IV. Hist. c. 12. Batavos in Britanniam transmississe cohortes, quas vetere instituto, nobilissimi popularium rexerint.*

(7) *CÆSAR de B. G. L. VI. c. 23. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines, cujusque civitatis fiunt: atque ea juventutis exercendæ, ac desidæ minuendæ causâ, fieri prædicant. Atque, ubi quis ex principibus in concilio se dixit ducem fore, ut qui sequi velint, profiteantur, consurgunt ii, qui & causam & hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur, atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur; omniumque rerum iis postea fides abrogatur.*

(8) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 6. Equi non forma, non velocitate, conspicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur. In rectum, aut uno flexu, dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum æstimanti, plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti præliantur, apta, & congruente, ad equestrem pugnam, velocitate peditum, quos, ex omni juventute delectos, ante aciem locant. Cæsar describes this their Manner of fighting more plainly, de B. G. L. I. c. 48. Ariovistus, his omnibus diebus; exercitum castris continuit, equestri prælio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc era pugnae, quo se*

Germani exercuerant. Equitum millia erant VI. totidem numero pedites velocissimi, ac fortissimi; quos ex omni copia singuli singulos, suæ salutis causâ delegerant. Cum his in prælio versabantur: ad hos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant: si qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderant, circumstitebant; si quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut, jubis equorum sublevati, cursum adæquarent. The Tenchteri were always famous for being excellent Troopers, as is attested by Tacitus l. c. cap. 32. Tenchteri super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt. Nec major apud Catos peditum laus, quam Tenchteris Equitum, sic instituere majores, posteris imitantur. Hilus infantium, hæc juvenum æmulatio, perseverant senes. Inter familiam, & Penates, & jura successionum, equi traduntur. Excipit Filius, non ut cætera maximus natus, sed prout ferox bello, & melior.

(9) *Conf. not. præcedens. Cæsar says of the German Horses. L. IV. c. 2. Quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque impenso parat pretio, Germani importatis, non utuntur; sed quæ sunt apud eos nata, prava atque deformia, hæc quotidiana exercitatione, summi ut sint laboris, efficiunt.*

(10) *CÆSAR L. IV. c. 2. Neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam, aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent.*

necessary,

necessary, to dismount and fight on Foot (11). *Cæsar* had *German* Cavalry in most of his Wars, and often boasts of the Services they did him (12). Their Order of Battle consisted commonly of several Bodies; in which those of the same Family or District were placed together. It was nevertheless sometimes observed, and especially of the *Cimbri*, that all their Infantry was formed into one square Battalion. Their Wives and Children they placed behind a Fence made of their Waggon. Their Arms were not to compare with those of the *Romans*. Each Trooper had his Shield and Spear; the Infantry had, besides these, as Occasion requir'd, Darts, Bows and Slings (13). They very seldom had recourse to their Pikes and Swords (14). Coats of Mail, Armour, and even Helmets were very rare: But those who had them, used to put the Horns or Heads of wild Beasts upon them; whence those frightful Figures which *Plutarch* observed among the *Cimbrian* Cavalry, and which are met with upon the Seals and Arms of ancient Times: By which we may see the Care they had of their Shields, which they only distinguished by different Colours. The Shield was esteemed so sacred among them, that it was thought the greatest Disgrace to lose it in Battle, insomuch that no one could appear at their religious Duties, or in their general Assemblies, without it. Their Arms were their favourite Furniture; they were seldom seen without them, and the young Men rejoiced at nothing so much, as the Day on which they were allowed to be qualified to bear Arms (15). No Oaths were so sacred with them, as those they swore by their Swords (16), and hardly any Thing that was solemn was perform'd by them, in which their Arms had not some Part. The *Gauls*, and their other Neighbours, were not

(11) *I. d.* Equestribus præiis sæpe ex equis desilunt, ac pedibus præstantur, quosque eodem remanere vestigio assuefaciunt; ad quos se celeriter, cum usus posuit, recipiunt.

(12) *CÆSAR de B. G. L. VII. c. 12. add. A. HIRNUS de Alex. c. 29.*

(13) *TACITUS de M. G. c. 6.* Rari gladiis, aut maioribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas, vel sporum vocabulo frameas, gerunt, angusto & brevi ferro; sed ita acuti, & ad usum hastæ, ut eadem telo, prout ratio pefert, vel pugnare, vel crasius pugnant. Et eques quidem scuto, frangeque contentus est. Pedites omnibus utuntur, pluraque singuli, atque quædam omnibus, nulli aut singulo leves. Scuta autem ætæriora. Scuta tantum levisstima, quibus distinguunt. Paucis lorice, aut aliove cultu, aut galea.

(14) *Of the Swords of the Cimbri see the I. Book, §. XIV. not. 1.*

(15) *TACITUS c. 13.* Nihil autem, neque publicæ, neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus scuto frameaque juvenem ornant. Hæc apud illos toga, hic primus juventutis honos: antehac domus pars videntur, mox reipublicæ.

(16) *AMMIANUS MARCELL. L. XVII. c. 12.* Eductis mucronibus, quos pronuminibus colunt, juraverunt, se permansuros in fide. *Conf. HERTIUS in notis, et. Germ. popul. P. I. c. 3. §. 15.*

a Match

a Match for the *Germans*: But the *Romans*, who had so long exercised the Art of War, excelled them in Discipline and Ammunition; Which Advantages were chiefly visible in Sieges and pitch'd Battles. Hence their native Valour is the more apparent, as they defended themselves against such powerful Enemies, and at last subdued them, by their own Arts.

Their Laws. §. XXXVIII. As ferocious, however, as they were in War, no less careful were they in the Administration of Justice, the principal Ty of social Life. Their Laws were instituted according to the Circumstances and Necessity of every Nation, and were preserv'd rather by Custom, than Records. We may partly form an Idea of them, from those that are still extant, since the *Germans* were so fond of their Customs, that many of them were observed, even after the Use of the *Roman* Laws was introduced. The Office of a Judge was esteemed so honourable among them, that Men of the highest Rank were promoted to it (1). Their Princes are sometimes called Judges, and Kings have in Person sat as Judges, even in the Times of the *Franks*. But as, at that Time, Experience was almost their only Master, on which Account all Men advanc'd in Years were highly rever'd (2), those were generally chose for Judges, whose grey Hairs were, in a Manner, Tokens of their Experience and Discretion (3). The Judges had several Assessors appointed them, with whom they might advise; whence the Origin of the Office of *Scabinus* or Sheriff; Their Punishments were adapted to the different Purposes of the Common-Wealth (4): Hence they were severe in some Cases, and used the more Lenity in others; insomuch that even Murder was not Capital (5). But we must impute it to their Love of short Processes, and want of Practice in the Law, that, in Accusations

§. XXXVIII, (1) TACIT. *c.* 12. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis & principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium, simul & auctoritas, adsunt. *Conf. Hertius P. I. c. IV. §. 7.*

(2) CÆSAR *de B. G. c.* 13. Germani frequentes, omnibus principibus, majoribusque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt.

(3) Hence is likewise derived the Title of Grave or Graff, (*a Count.*) vid *Hertii* not. *vet. Germ. popul. P. I. c. 4. §. 7.*

(4) TACIT. *de M. G. c.* 12. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto. Proditores & transfugas arboribus suspendunt. Ignavos & im-

belles, & corpore infames, cœno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi, &c.

(5) TACIT. *de M. G. c.* 21. Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant. Luitur enim homicidium certo armentorum, ac pecorum, numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem.

and

and other dubious Cases, they rather left the Affair to the Decision of their supposed Divine Auguries, than made Enquiries, and weighed the Probabilities of Things; which occasioned them even to admit of single Combat, as a kind of Divine Judgment (6), and to retain it several Hundred Years (7).

§. XXXIX. THEIR Manufactures were not arrived at any Degree of Perfection. That of Linnen was perhaps the only one, which they were famous for (1). Those Arts, which required any Dexterity of Hand, were in ancient Times almost unknown to them, unless those who dwelt on the Sea-Coast acquired a greater Readiness by building Ships and Navigation. They were yet greater Strangers to the Sciences, and it is even dubious, whether they knew the Use of Letters (2). Their Skill in Physick consisted in common Remedies, which by Experience, they had found useful; and their Astronomy in the Observation of the Change of the Moon (3); excepting what *Iornandes* says to the Honour of the *Goths* (4). Of all the Arts, Poetry and Musick were most in Esteem with them: They had a particular Set of Men, who Sung the famous Deeds of their Heroes: (5.) But *Apollo Hyperboreus* was

Their Arts
and Scien-
ces.

VOL. I.

K

obliged

(6) For which Reason, when *Quintilius Varus* attempted to introduce the Use of the Roman Laws among them. *Paterc. L. II. c. 188.* they dissimbling returned him Thanks, quod solita armis discerni, jure terminarentur.

(7) In vetere lege Alemannorum tit. 44. §. 1. Liceat illi alii, cui crimen imposuit, cum spada se idoneare contra illum alium.

§. XXXIX. (1) *Plinius Hist. Nat. L. XIX. c. 1.* Cadurci, Caleti, Ruteni, Biturgies, ultimique hominum existimati Morini, imo vero Galliae universae, vela texunt. Iam quidem & transrhenani hostes: nec pulchriorem aliam vestem eorum feminae novere.

(2) *TACIT. de M. G. c. 18.* Litterarum secreta viri pariter, ac feminae, ignorant.

(3) *Idem. Ibid. c. 2.* Coeunt certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspiciatissimum initium credunt.

(4) *JORNANDES de reb. Get. c. 11.* *Speaks of a Grecian Philosopher, who taught the Goths the Sciences, call'd Diceneus.* Qui cernens, eorum animos sibi in omnibus obsequere; & naturale eos habere ingenium, omnem pene philosophiam eos instruxit, erat enim hujus rei magister peritus. Nam Ethicam eos erudit, ut barbaricos mores ab eis compelleret; Physicam tradidit, naturamque

propriis legibus vivere fecit, quas usque nunc conscriptas Bellagines nuncupant: Logicam instruens, eos rationis, supra cæteras gentes, fecit expertos. Practicam ostendens, in bonis actibus conversari suavit: Theoricam demonstrans, signorum duodecim, & per ea planetarum cursus, omnemque Astronomiam contemplari edocuit, & quomodo lunaris orbis augmentum sustinet, aut patitur detrimentum, edixit, solisque globus igneus quantum terrenum orbem in mensura excedat, ostendit: aut quibus nominibus, vel quibus signis, in cæli polo vergentes, aut revergentes CCCXLIII. stellæ, abortu in occasum, præcipientes ruant, exposuit. Qualis erat, rogo, voluntas, ut viri fortissimi, quando ab armis quatrimum usque vacassent, doctrinis philosophicis imbuebantur? videres unum cæli positionem, alium herbarum frugumque explorare naturas: istum lunæ commoda, incommodaque, illum solis laborem attendere, & quomodo rotatu cæli raptus, retro reduci ad partem occidentalem, qui ad orientalem plagam ire festinarit, ratione accepta, quiescere.

(5) *Conf. infra. §. 25. not. 3.* *TACIT. de M. G. c. 5.* Sunt his hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatus quem Barditum vocant, accendunt annos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso

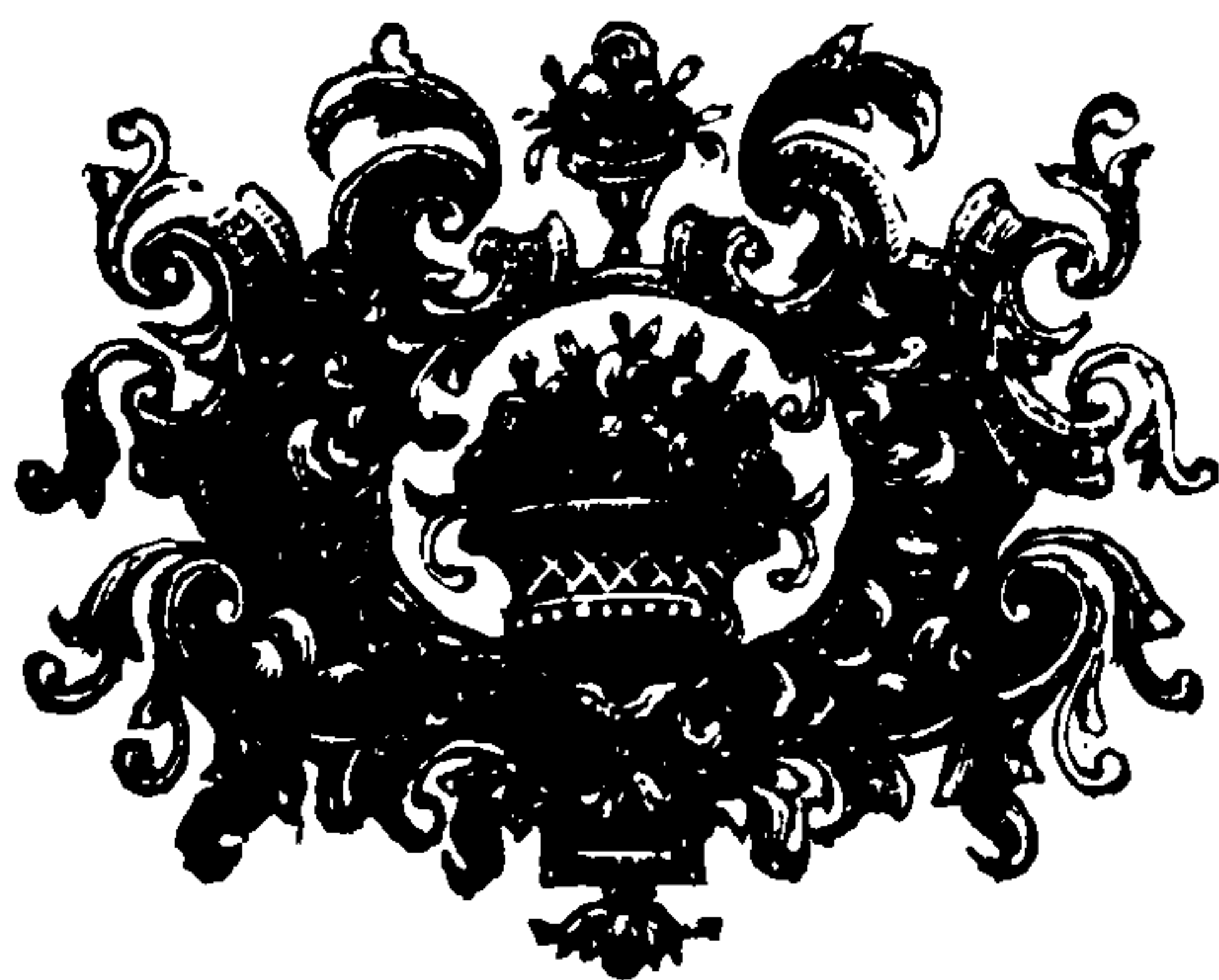
obliged to put up with a Rustick Song (6.) Their other Musick, excepting what they used in Wars, was probably as simple as their Sports and Diversions (7). As the *Romans* begun first to delight in the Liberal Arts, when they had learned them of conquer'd *Greece*, so did the *Germans*, when they became Masters of the *Roman* Provinces, receive those Studies, which they there found, tho' in great Decay, and not only continu'd, but likewise, by many excellent Discoveries, so improv'd them, that the World is convinced, their Talent lay not only in Imitation, but likewise, in Invention.

ipso cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantue, prout sonuit acies. Nec non voces illæ, quam virtutis concentus, videntur. Affectatur præcipue asperitas soni, & fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior, gravior, & vox percussi intumescat.

(6) JULIANUS in *Misop.* p. 337. Enimvero barbaros eos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, vidi, rustica carmina, verbis facta similibus clangorum, quos aspere clamantes aves edunt, studiose amplecti, & carminibus delectari.

(7). TACITUS de M. G. c. 24. Genus spectaculorum unum, atque in omni cœtu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se, atque infestas frameas, saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit,

ars decorum, non in quæstum tamen, aut mercedem. Quamvis audacis lasciviæ pretium est volutas spectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi, perdendique temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo, ac novissimo jactu, de libertate, de corpore, contendant. They are known to have likewise diverted themselves with running, swimming, and other bodily Exercises, nay some Nations seem, at least, to have had a kind of Equestrian Sports, like the Tournaments, which were afterwards so much in Vogue. We may in particular suppose it of the Tencteri, according to what Tacitus says of their Love of Horses and Exercises of that Kind.



T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K I I I.

The H I S T O R Y of the G E R M A N S to the Overthrow
of Q U I N T I L I U S V A R U S.

S E C T. I.

GAUL falls to the Share of Cæsar Octavianus. Agrippa leads the Ubii over the Rhine. II. C. Carinas drives the Suevi, who passed the Rhine, back again out of Gaul. III. Nonius Gallus is successful against the Treviri. IV. Augustus divides

the Provinces with the Senat, and, among others, reserves Gaul for himself. V. The Partition of Gallia Belgica into Belgica and Germania, and of the latter into Prima and Secunda. Of the People who inhabited both. VI. Melo, a Prince of the Sicambri, is unsuccessful in his Attempts against the Romans. VII. Agrippa and Tiberius are sent to keep the Germans in Awe. VIII. The Roman General, M. Lollius, defeated by the Sicambri. Augustus lays hold of this Pretext to go himself into Gaul. IX. Makes Peace with the Sicambri, and plants Roman Colonies in that Country. X. Noricum becomes a Roman Province. The Confines and chief Cities of that Country. XI. Rætia and Vindelicia likewise conquered by the Romans. Their Division, Confines and chief Cities. XII. The Gauls erect an Altar at Lyons, in Honour to Augustus. Of the Altar raised by the Ubii. XIII. Drusus passeth the Rhine. XIV. The Roman Fleet convey'd by Means of the Fossa Drusi, a new Canal made for that End, from the Rhine, thro' the Issel, into the Zuyder-Zee, (or South-Sea) in Holland, and from thence, by the North-Sea, into the Ems. The Origin of the City of Emden. XV.

Drusus passes the Rhine, a second Time, to attack the Cherusci, Sicambri and Suevi. They surround him; he is obliged to fight his Way thro' them, and builds two Castles in Germany. XVI. Drusus's Expedition against the Chatti. XVII. He advances as far as the Elb. His Death. Medals struck in Memory of his Victories in Germany. Whether his Monuments on the Rhine do yet subsist? The Fortresses built by him to keep the Germans in Subjection. XVIII. Tiberius commands on the Rhine. The Sicambri are obliged to submit to the German Yoke: And most of them carried Captive over the Rhine. The Tencteri and Usipites take Possession of their Country. XIX. Maroboduus leads the Marcomanni into Bojohemum, (or Bohemia.) The Origin of the Alemanni. XX. Tiberius goes, a second time, into Germany. XXI. The Attuarii, Bructeri, &c. foment a new War. XXII. Tiberius's third Expedition into Germany. He passes the Weser. Several German Princes serve the Romans. XXIII. The Chauci submit to the Romans. Tiberius invades the Longobards. A Roman Fleet appears on the Elb. XXIV. The Extent of the Marcoman Dominions. Tiberius marches to attack Maroboduus: But makes Peace with him. XXV. The Behaviour of Quintilius Varus among the Germans. XXVI. Arminius entirely defeats the Army under his Command. XXVII. What Advantage the Germans made of this Victory. XXVIII. The Consternation which the Overthrow of Varus caused at Rome. XXIX. Tiberius goes into Germany; but returns without attempting any thing. XXX. Germanicus takes the Command against the Germans. The Death of Augustus.

Gaul falls to the share of Cæsar Octavianus. M. Agrippa leads the Ubi over the Rhine.

§. I. **T**HE Publick was no sooner acquainted with Cæsar's Death, than they were apprehensive of a Rebellion in Gaul (1): But L. Munacius Plancus kept it in Submission (2), and at Length declared himself for Anthony and Cæsar Octavianus, in Opposition to the Senate, after which Time Gaul remained in the Hands of the Triumviri,

§. I. (1) CIERONIS Epist. ad Attic. L. XIV. ep. 1. & 4. sqq.

(2) See his Epistles to Cicero, inter Epistolas ad famil. L. X. ep. 4. & 8. The Germans were likewise peaceable after Cæsar's Death, which the 9. Ep. of Tully's 14th Book to Atticus plainly evinces. Idem Balbus meliora de Gallia: XI. die litteras habebat: Germanos, illasque nationes, re audita de Cæsare, legatos misisse ad Aurelium, qui est propositus ab Hir- tio, se, quod imperatum esset, esse facturos. Quid quaris? Omnia plena pacis, aliter, ac mihi Calvena dixerat. Munatius Plancus seems however to have had some Differences with the

Raeti by the following Inscription in Gruterus CCCCXXXIX. 8. by which he appears to have triumph'd over them.

L. MUNATIUS. L. F. L. N. L. PRON. PLANCUS. COS. ACENS. IMP. ITER. VII. VIR. EPUL. TRIUMP. EX. RAETIS. AED. DEM. SATURNI FECIT. DE. MANIBIS. AGROS. DIVISIT. IN. ITALIA. BENEVENTI. IN. GALLIA. COLONIAS. DEDUXIT. LUGDUNUM ET RAURICAM.

and

and first fell to the Share of *Anthony*, but afterwards to that of *Cæsar Octavianus*, who gained immense Advantages by it. He appointed *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, to be his Vicegerent, whom the Concerns of this Province obliged to traverse the *Rhine*, which no Roman General had attempted after *Cæsar* (3). The History of the German Nations is particularly memorable on this Occasion. The *Ubii*, ^{A. V. 713.} who could no longer resist the *Suevi*, were carried over the *Rhine*, (4) by *Agrippa*, to defend the Banks on that Side. *Agrippina*, Grand Daughter to *Agrippa*, and Wife to the Emperor *Claudius*, who was born at the Place, where they built their City, * sent a Roman * ^{Oppidum Ubiorum.} Colony thither, from whence this famous City was, by the Inhabitants, called *Cologn*, which Name it retains to this Day.

§. II. WHEN, afterwards, Differences arose between *Cæsar Octavianus* and *Anthony*, and they both prepared for a War, which was happily ended by the Battle of *Actium*, the *Morini* and other *Belgæ* ^{C. Carinas drives the Suevi out of Gaul.} endeavour'd to cast off the Roman Yoke; and the *Suevi*, who, after the Departure of the *Ubii* met with no Opposition, attempted, (probably by the Instigation of the *Belgæ*, who undertook nothing ^{A. V. 725.} without the Assistance of the *Germans*;) to cross the *Rhine*. But <sup>In the Consul-
fulate of C.
Sofius, Cn.
Domit.</sup> they met with an immediate and vigorous Repulse from *C. Carinas*; and the Share he had in *Octavianus's* Triumph shews the Importance of this Exploit (1).

(3) DIO L. 48. p. 388. ad. a. u. c. 716. Agrippam item contra Gallos eos, qui res novas moliti erant, bellum gessisse, cujus causa secundus ipse Romanorum, Rhenum transferit. BUCHERIUS in Belgio Romano c. 9. §. 5. p. 22. proves this Expedition to have been in the Year of Rome 715.

(4) STRABO L. IV. 194. Trans fluvium ad ista loca habitabant Ubii, quos non invitos Agrippa intra Rhenum traduxit. Supra totam hanc *Rheni* ^{ulteriorem}) ripam degunt *Suevi*, Germanica natio, a quibus alii pulsi, in regionem interiorem Rheno nunc confugerunt. TACIT. Annal. L. XII. c. 27. observes that Agrippa led them over: Sed Agrippina, quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamque deduci impetrat; cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius. Ac forte acciderat, ut eam gentem, Rhenum transgressam. AVUS AGRIPPA in fidem acciperet. Hence it is, that they assum'd the Name of Agrippinenses. Idem d. M. G. c. 28. Libentius Agrippinenses, conditoris sui nomine, vocantur. The

Government of Gaul was indeed once more in Agrippa's Hands; but it is most probable that he carried the *Ubii* over the first Time.

§. II. (1) DIO ad A. U. DCCXXV. p. 459. primo die, 8. idus Sextilis, Cæsar triumphum egit de Parmoniis, Dalmatis, Lapydis, eorumque finitimis, simul de nonnullis Galliae, Germaniaeque populis. Nam C. Carinas Morinos, aliosque rebellionis eorum socios, domuerat. Suevosque, Rhenum magno numero transgressos, profligaverat. Itaque & ipse, (quamvis pater ejus a Sylla interfectus, & ipse cum aliis proscriptis, sui similibus, magistratum gerere prohibitus fuerat) triumphum duxit, & Cæsar: quoniam victoria ad summæ rei præfectum, imperatorem, referri solebat. We meet with an elegant Description of this Triumph in Virgil. *Æneid.* L. VIII. v. 722.

-- Incedunt victæ longo ordine gentes, Quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis, & armis.
-- Sic Nomadum genus. -- -- --
-- -- -- Tigris ibat jam mollior armis
Extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque.

§. III. OCTA-

Nonius Gallus
is successful
against the
Treviri.

§. III. OCTAVIANUS CÆSAR, having gain'd the Victory over *Anthony*, and held his Triumph, shut the Temple of *Janus*, tho' the *Treviri*, and other *Germans* in Alliance with them, were, at that Time, in Arms; who, however, were subdued by *Nonius Gallus* (1).

Augustus di-
vides the
Provinces
with the Se-
nat, and,
among
others, re-
serves *Gaul*
for himself.

§. IV. BESIDES the Sovereign Power, with which *Octavianus* was entrusted, he was, at that Time, distinguished by the perpetual Title of *Imperator* (1), and, two years afterwards, the Administration was confirm'd to him with the Name of *Augustus*. The *Romans*, among other Tokens of the Regard they had for him, honour'd him with a Life-Guard, and we find that he afterwards had a *German* Guard of his own (2). With what Dexterity *Augustus* managed the Government, which he had acquired by so much Bloodshed; and how readily he allow'd the *Romans* some Shadow of their former Constitution, if he could but keep in Possession of the Substance, is too well known to need a Repetition. This he observed more particularly in his Disposition of the Provinces. The Direction of those that were in a quiet peaceable State he left to the Senat and People; but those on the Frontiers, that required a standing Army, to keep the turbulent Inhabitants in Aw, he retain'd to himself. By this Artifice he made himself Master of the whole Military State, and the most powerful Provinces. Among these was *Gaul* (3) and the *German* Nations that inhabited it, who, with their Countrymen, that dwelt on the other Side of the *Rhine*, were, under this Reign, involv'd in many bloody Actions.

The Partiti-
on of *Belgick*
Gaul, into
Belgica,
and *Germa-*
nia, and of
the latter
into *Prima*,
and *Secunda*.

§. V. AUGUSTUS open'd the Temple of *Janus*, the same Year, and departed afterwards into *Gaul*, designing to go from thence into *Britain*, and there to execute his Predecessor's Designs. But this Voyage was prevented by an Ambassy from *Britain* to sue for Peace. He granted their Petition, and staid at *Narbonne*, where he made several new Regu-

§. III. (1) L. LI. p. 457. E. Tametsi tum quoque in armis essent Treviri, Germanis sibi adjunctis, & Cantabri, Vaccæi, Asturesque. Verum Cantabros Statilius, Taurus, Germanos, Gallosque, Nonius Gallus domuit.

§. IV. (1) Dio L. LII. p. 473. E. Imperatoris primum nomen accepit: non quale propter victoriam tribui more vetusto solebat: id enim sæpius, & ante, & post reportavit, sed quo summa imperii demonstratur: quod patri quoque ejus Julio, filiis, ac nepotibus decretum fuerat.

(2) Suetonius in Aug. c. 79. Certum numerum militum, partim in urbis, partim in sui custodiam, allegit, dimissa Calaguritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium; item Germanorum, quam usque ad Varianam cladem, inter armigeros secum habuerat.

(3) Dio L. LIII. p. 503. D. Senatui, populoque, obtigerunt Africa, Numidia, Asia, Græcia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicilia, Creta, Libya, Cyrenaica, Bithynia, Sardinia, Bætica. Cæsari autem Hispania reliqua, Gallia Omnis, &c.

lations in *Gaul*, divided the Provinces in a different Manner, and taxed the People (1). *Gallia Aquitania* was divided into *Prima*, *Secunda* and *Tertia*: *Celtica* was divided into *Lugdunensis* and *Rothomagensis*, the former from its Metropolis *Lugdunum*, the latter from *Rothomagus*. But we are chiefly concerned in the Division of *Gallia Belgica*, because the *German* Nations, who last pass'd the *Rhine*, either before or after *Julius Cæsar's* Time, were included in it. That Part which was inhabited by the *Nervii*, *Atrebates*, and other ancient *Belgians*, was particularly denoted by the Name of *Belgica*; the other Part, that was in the Possession of the *German* Nations, received the Appellation of *Germania*, from the Name of *Germani*, which the *Germans* first assumed here, as I have before observed (2). *Germany* was, besides this, divided according to the Situation of the River, into the Upper and Lower, and the former, as it lay nearer to the *Alps*, call'd *Germania Prima*, the latter *Germania Secunda*. In *Germania Prima* dwelt the *Tribocci*, in the present *Alsatia*, and likewise the *Nemetes* and *Vangiones*, who lived in the Cities of *Worms*, *Spire*, and *Mentz* (3). We are still in Doubt, whether, according to the Opinion of some Historians (4), the *Treviri*, who border'd on the *Rhine*, and boasted of a *German* Extraction, were included in this *Germania Prima*; and it is much more probable, that they, with some other Nations, who obtain'd their Liberty (5), were excluded from this Division. But in succeeding Times, we find the *Treviri* were the principal Nation of *Belgica Prima*. *Germania Secunda* reached as far as the *Maes* and lower *Rhine*, and was separated from *Belgica* by the *Demer* and *Scheld*, which latter River has always divided the Sees of *Liege* and *Cambray*. In this Part of *Germany* dwelt the *Ubi*, whose Metropolis was the present City of *Cologne*; and the *Tungri*, by which Name I mean those *German* Nations, whom *Cæsar* calls *Eburones* and *Condrusi*. Their Capital was *Atuatica*, which from them has since obtained the Appellation of *Tongres*. Their Magistrates were call'd *Præsides*, and they were oblig'd to submit to

§. V. (1) *Livius epit.* 34. Cum Augustus Narbonæ conventum ageret, census a tribus Gallis, quas Cæsar pater vicerat, actus ad. Dio L. L III. p. 512. A. Augustus his peractis, cum exercitu ab urbe profectus est, ut in Britanniam bellum transferret: verum postquam in Galliam venit, quum Britanni oratores, petit umpac em, ad eum misissent, componendis Gallicis rebus, quæ, quia

subactis illis statim bella civilia subsequerant, etiamnum fluctuabant, Gallorumque agendo censu; vitæque & republ. formanda, aliquid temporis extraxit.

(2) See the I. Book, §. 6.

(3) See the II Book. §. 6. not. 11.

(4) ÆGIDIUS BUEHERIUS. l. c. L. I. 12. §. 10.

(5) See the following Note.

the

the *Roman* Laws, excepting some few, who retain'd their Liberty ; (6) (7) tho' by Degrees, the *Roman* Customs wholly took Place among them. *Germany* was, in *Augustus's* Time, generally guarded by eight Legions (8), and the Soldiers, according to the *Roman* Discipline, were, when they were not in the Field, employed in making Fortifications, and other necessary Works, of which we have very few or perhaps no Remains, but those excellent Roads from one Town to another, of which *Bucherius* says they made eight in *Belgica*, (9) all beginning at *Bavais*, the Capital of the *Nervii*.

Melo, Prince of the *Sicambri*, is defeated by the *Romans*.

§. VI. AUGUSTUS went from *Gaul* to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, to quell some Commotions, that had been raised by the *Cantabri* and *Astures*. The *Sicambri*, who dwelt on the Banks of the *Rhine*, opposite to the *Ubii*, along the Rivers *Siege*, *Roer* and *Lippe*, and who had drawn the rest of the *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* over to their Party, took the Advantage of his Absence, to molest the *Roman* Provinces. They were headed by *Melo*, Prince of the *Sicambri* (1), who was routed by *M. Vinicius*, and the Victory was thought so glorious, that *Augustus* was thereupon, the eighth Time, proclaimed *Imperator* (2). For

(6) *Pliny*, in his *Nat. H. B. IV* calls the *Nervii*, *Suessiones*, *Sylvanectes*, *Leuci*, *Treviri*, *Liberæ Civitates*, but the *Lingones* and *Remi* he terms *Fœderata*.

(7) *Conf. BUCHERIUS L. C. §. 17.*

(8) *Idem. L. C. c. 12. §. 18. p. 31* Sed minime silendum, hoc quoque tempore, si non ante, binis istis, cis *Rhenum*, *Germaniis*, octo legiones ab *Augusto* impositas ; firmum contra *transrhenanorum* irruptiones, *Gallorumque* rebelliones, imperii præsidium.

(9) *Idem. p. 31. §. 19.* Vias quoque militares hac ordinatione, sequentibusve, ab eodem *Augusto*, sicut & paullo ante a *M. Agrippa*, ac deinceps ab aliis, per *Galliam* duci cœptas, nullus dubito. Hoc enim anno, priusquam ex *Italia* in *Gallias* adveniret, vias extra urbem ipse aliique reficiendas curaverant. Quanto magis in *Galliis*, ubi tanto pauciores ? Eas etiamnum in *Belgica* nostra superstites, & labore *Herculeo* rectissima procedentes, non sine admiratione videmus & calcamus ; a cujusvis gentis capite, ad quodvis aliud, sine ullo deviandi metu, ducentes. *Bavaco* quidem octo emanant : quarum una *Coloniâ* *Agrippinam*, per *Tungros* ; altera per *Mosæ* superiora, propter *Dionantum*, & per *Ardennam*, *Augustam* usque *Trevirorum* : Tertia *Durocor-*

torum Remorum : Quarta *Augustam Veromanduorum* : Quinta per *Cameracum*, læva quidem *Bapalmæ*, & *Samarobriam* *Ambianorum*, hodie *Amiens* ; dextera *Nemetacum* *Atrebatum*, *Tarvanam* *Morinorum*, & *Bononiam* ad mare : Sexta *Viroviacum*, hodie *Vervik* ad *Lisam* ; Castellum *Morinorum*, *Cassel* ; *Marcis* ad litus *Saxonicum*, hodie *Flandricum*, *Mardyk* ; Septima *Gandavum* in *Menapios* : an & inde ad *Oceanum* ? Octava denique per *Enghien*, *Keyster*, *Asche*, in *Brabantiam*, *Rheno* *Trajectum*, hodie *Ultrajectum*, tendebat.

§. VI. (1) *STRABO L. VII. p. 291.* Belli initium fecere *Sicambri*, *Melone* Duce, *Rheno* vicini : atque huic, alii post alios, successerunt, potiti imperio, eoque deturbati postea.

(2) *DIO L. LIII. p. 514. E.* Fere hoc ipso tempore, *M. Vinicius* *Germanos* quosdam ultus est : qui homines *Romanos*, regionem ipsorum, commercii gratia, ingressos, obtruncaverant. Ex qua ipse victoria nomen *Imperatoris* *Augusto* concessit, cui & triumphus, propter hanc, aliasque res tum gestas, decreti sunt, quas reculasit. The last may be known by *Cassiodorus's* *Chronology* : *C. Augusto* *Cæsare VIII. (æge IX.)* & *M. Silano* *Coss. Cantabros, Germanos, Salassos, Cæsares* pardon a t.

tho'

tho' he and his Successors constantly placed this Title before their Names, a Custom was nevertheless retain'd of honouring them with it a-new, and expressing the Number of Times, when any signal Victory was gained. The Senat, hearing of *Augustus's* Expedition against the *Cantabri* and *Astures*, and that of his Deputies against the *Salassii*, a Nation living on the *Alps*, and likewise against the *Getæ* and *Sarmatæ*, offer'd to meet and conduct him into the City in Triumph. But *Augustus*, satisfied with being thought to have merited so great an Honour, refus'd to accept of it, which occasion'd the Senat, whose eager Desire of exalting him seem'd to contend with his Modesty, to set up a Triumphal Arch to his Memory on the *Alps* (3). *Augustus* hereupon shut the Temple of *Janus* a second Time, and put off his intended Expedition against the *Britons*, (there being no Apprehensions from that Quarter;) especially as he found, upon Computation, that the Customs rais'd by permitting a free Commerce, between them and the *Gauls*, amounted to a greater Sum, than the Taxes would, if that Island was reduced to a Province, by Reason of the great Expence of keeping an Army there (4). He esteem'd it in general more advantageous to put his new acquired Provinces upon a good Footing, than to project fresh Conquests, whereby the Strength of the State might be too much divided.

§. VII. AUGUSTUS was no sooner set out on his Journey to the East, to regulate the Affairs of his Provinces there, than civil Discords arose among the *Gauls*, and the *Germans* once more pass'd the *Rhine*, probably by the Instigation of these their Neighbours. *Augustus*, therefore, at his Return, sent *Agrippa*, his Daughter *Julia's* Husband, a second Time into *Gaul*. *Agrippa's* Endeavour to stifle these Broils might have been effectual, had not a Revolt among the *Cantabri* requir'd his Presence in *Spain* the next Year (1). As *Gaul* was a Province

Agrippa and *Tiberius* are sent to keep the *Germans* in Aw.

(3) DIO l. c. p. 515. A. Quos cum recusasset, arcus triumphalis, cum tropæo, in alpibus ei positus est: dataque potestas omnibus Kal. Januar. coronæ & vestis triumphalis gestandæ. Et *Augustus* quidem istis bellis ea gessit; & simul *Jani* templum, quod propter bella fuerat reſeratum, clauſit. de arcu conf. SÆTONIUS in *Aug.* c. 26. PLINIUS H. N. L. III. c. 20 adde GRUTERUM pag. 226. n. 7.

(4) STRABO L. II. p. 115. Nam *Britanniam*, quum occupare possent *Romani*, spreverunt, quum viderent, neque ullum ab iis metum esse (non enim tantum iis est virium,

ut in nostras ditiones impressionem faciant) neque tantum utilitatis, si occurrerent. Videtur enim nunc plus percipi ex vectigalibus quam tributum pendere posset, detracto in militem, præsidio insulæ futurum, & stipendium exacturum, sumtu: multumque videbatur incommodi, ab aliis insulam circumjacentibus, oblatum iri.

§. VII. (1) DIO L. LIV. p. 528. D. Tumultuabantur enim invicem *Galli*, & a *Keltis* (qui, stilo *Dionis*, transrhenani sunt *Germani*) infestabantur. Bis motibus sedatis, in *Hispaniam*, adversus *Cantabros* deficientes, transit.

of Importance (2), and a powerful Army was kept up there, *Augustus* was unwilling to entrust the Direction of it to any Person but of his own Family; he therefore sent his eldest Son in Law *Tiberius* thither, who was then 24 Years of Age, and was the Year before honoured with the Prætorship. He pursued what *Agrippa* had begun, and was, in or about the Year following, succeeded by *M. Lollius*.

The Roman General, *M. Lollius*, routed by the *Sicambri*.

§. VIII. *LOLLIUS* felt the Effects of those Feuds, which *Agrippa* and *Tiberius* had in vain endeavour'd to mitigate. The *Sicambri*, *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* imprison'd some Roman Officers, who came to collect Tribute among them, and fastened them to the Cross (1). This served instead of a Declaration of War, after which, passing the *Rhine*, they ravag'd *Germania Secunda*, and were so successful against the Romans, that the fifth Legion lost their Eagle (2), which they always esteemed a very great Disgrace. *M. Lollius* sent a Detachment of Cavalry against them, who were by a Stratagem overpower'd and routed. They pursued the Fugitives as far as *Lollius's* Headquarters, and put him to Flight (3). The Disgrace affected the Romans more than the Loss (4), and both served *Augustus*, A.I.V. 738 †, for a Pretence to go to *Gaul*. But as he left his Wife *Livia* at *Rome*, and took with him *Terentia*, a Lady of great Beauty, and Wife to *Mæcenas*, this War was suspected to serve him only for a Cloak, and Love was thought the chief Motive to this Journey. The passionate Regard *Augustus* had for *Terentia* did, indeed, come up to the Esteem he shew'd for, and the Confidence he placed in, her Husband. *Mæcenas*, on the other Hand, was fond of his Wife, but obliged to stifle a Resentment which might have ruin'd his Fortune: But *Livia*, *Augustus's* Wife was not so passive, and *Augustus*, tho' at the Height of

† In the Consulate of *L. Domitius Ænobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

(2) *SUETONIUS in Tiber. 9.* Et barbarorum incursionibus, & Principum discordia, inquietam

§ VIII. (1) *DIO L. LIII. p. 534. sq. E.* Cæterum maximum ea tempestate bellum, quod ipsum adeo Augustum urbe extraxit, contra Celtas fuit. Sicambri, Usipetæ, & Tencteri, primum quidem Romanorum quendam, in territorio suo deprehensos, in crucem affixerant. *ACRON. ad od. HORATII L. III. c. 2.* relates the Circumstances, that the Sicambri, crucified twenty Officers, who were sent to pay Money: Whether they demanded the usual Tribute, or a new imposition, is uncertain, but the latter is most probable, from the Poet's words L. III. c. 97. of Lollius Germani clades sub legato,

M. Lollio, homine in omnia, pecuniæ, quam recti faciendi cupidior, & inter vitiorum dissimulationem, viciosissimo. Amissaque Legionis V. aquila revocavit, ab urbe in Gallias, Cæsarem.

(2) *VELLTIUS l. c. in not. 1.*

(3) *DIO, in the last quoted Place, proceeds thus.* Mox equitatum Romanorum, contra se missum, per insidias circumvenerant. Et a fugientibus, usque ad Lollium præfectum, præter opinionem suam pertracti, hunc quoque vicerant.

(4) *SUETONIUS in Aug. 23.* Graves ignominias, cladesque datus omnino, nec alibi, quam in Germania accepit, Lollianam, & Varianam. Sed Lollianam majoris infamiæ, quam detrimenti.

his

his Power, strove as carefully to avoid the Obloquy of his Subjects, as if he was then to raise his Fortune, by a good Behaviour. But whatever Foundation this Report may have had, it is nevertheless certain, that this Journey prov'd highly beneficial to the State.

§. IX. THE *Sicambri* no sooner heard of *Augustus's* Arrival, than they retreated and sued for Peace, which, upon giving a certain Number of Hostages, they obtained (1): But as *Augustus* could not trust the *Germans*, and the Avarice of the *Procurator Lucinius* had caus'd a general Discontent in *Gaul*, he remained there that and the following Year, to make better Regulations in the State of the Provinces; to enter into a firm Alliance with those Nations who were free, and to make all necessary Preparations against those *Germans*, who dwelt on the other Side of the *Rhine*. Among other Means he made Use of to establish Peace in *Roman Gaul*, one was that of establishing Colonies here and there (2), and *Bucherius* is of Opinion, that as *Triers*, in *Gaul* †, so likewise the present *Spire* and *Worms*, in *Germany*, † *Augusta* at that Time, received their Appellations of *Augusta Nemetum*, and *Au-* *Trevirorum*. *gusta Vangionum*, from the Name of *Augustus*. This Conjecture is, at least, supported by the Authority of *Tacitus*, who says, that whenever *Augustus* was in *Gaul*, he visited *Germany* (3). The new establish'd Colonies were, in a Manner, Images of the City of *Rome*, and obtain'd Part of the Privileges of *Roman Citizens* (4). They not only protected the *Romans*, against foreign Irruptions, but serv'd also to make the *Roman Customs* and *Manners* known and agreeable to their Friends and Allies. *Strabo* says, in the Times of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, most of the *Gauls* had embraced the Language and *Manners*, and some even the Civil Government of the *Romans* (5). And, therefore, we have the less Reason to wonder if we find some among the *Gauls*, and especially the *Treviri*, honour'd by the *Romans* with the greatest Employments, and even in the Administration of the Government of those Provinces. (6).

§. IX. (1) *Dio* p. 525. B. Barbari enim, quum Lollium arma parare, Augustum exercitum adducere, audirent; in suam terram regressi, obsidibus datis, pacem acceperunt.

(2) Of this Time, says *Dio* p. 527. D. Multas *Augustus* in *Galliam*, multas in *Hispaniam* colonias, deduxit.

(3) *TACIT. Ann. L. I. c. 46.* Augustum, assa etiam ætate, toties in *Germaniam* com-

meare potuisse. *Tiberium* vigentem annis, sedere in *Senatu*, verba patrum cavillantem.

(4) *PAULUS* l. 8. D. de *Censibus*, *Coloniæ Agrippinæ* juris *Italicæ* fuisse notat.

(5) *STRABO* l. IV. p. 186. Plerique jam omnes *Romanam* formam, linguamque, & vitæ rationem, quidam etiam civitatem adepti.

6, This is plain from *Tacitus*. H. l. IV. c. 55. See below the Fourth Book. § 43.

Noricum becomes a Roman Province: About the Year 720.

§. X. THE Roman Empire was, about the same Time, enlarged by the Addition of two new Provinces, which serv'd afterwards, a long Time, for a Theater of War to the Romans and Germans, till, at last, it fell to the Share of the latter, and is to this Day, no inconsiderable Part of the German Empire. The Inhabitants of *Pannonia*, whom *Augustus* had before subdued (1), rebelled, and prevail'd upon their Neighbours, the *Norici*, to join with them in making an Invasion into *Istria*. But they were repulsed by *Silius* and his Deputies (2), and by this Means *Noricum* became a Province (3). The Romans gave the Name of *Noricum* to that Country, which reached from the *Noric Alps* as far as the *Danube*. It borders on the *Montes Cetici* towards *Pannonia*, and on the River *Inn* towards *Rætia*. It was formerly govern'd by its own Kings (4), one of whom is mentioned above, in the History of *Arivistus* (5). The Romans found their Iron Mines very serviceable in their Wars. This Province was afterwards, probably under *Dioclesian*, divided into *Noricum Ripense* and *Mediterraneum*. The Capital of the former seems to have been *Laureacum*, which, together with *Ovilia*, were Colonies established there by the Emperor M. *Aurelius Antoninus*. *Lentia* was the present *Lintz*. *Juvavia*, the present *Saltzburg*, seems to have been the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum*. Among others of its Cities, mention'd by Roman Writers, *Celeja*, now call'd *Cilley*, is still remaining.

Rætia and *Vindelicia* become Provinces. A. V. C. 739.

§. XI. SOON after, whilst *Augustus* was in *Gaul*, *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, his Sons in Law, were successful against the *Ræti* and *Vindelicii*, who attempted to pass the *Alps* near *Trent*, and make an Irruption into *Italy*. They were first defeated by *Drusus* near *Trent*. But as they committed Acts of Hostility, at the same Time, on the other Side, in *Gaul*, *Augustus* sent *Tiberius* upon them, from thence. *Tiberius* fitted out a Fleet, on the *Rhine*, in *Helvetia*, and sailing thro' the *Lake of Constance*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Vin-*

§. X. (1) *PANNONIA* reached from *Dalmatia*, as far as the *Danube*, and was situate towards the West, on the Borders of *Noricum*, from which it was separated by the *Mons Ceticus*, and towards the East it border'd on *Moësia*. The Province was afterwards divided; and the Mouth of the River *Raab* made the Separation. The Western Part was call'd *Pannonia Superior*, and the Eastern *Pannonia Inferior*.

(2) *DIO* l. LII. p. 534. *D. Pannonii, cum Noricis, in Histriam incursiones fece-*

runt, & a Silio, ejusque legatis, incommodis affecti, rursus pacem acceperunt, Noricisque etiam causam servitutis præbuerunt.

(3) *Idem. l. c. PATERCULUS* attributes it to *Tiberius*. L. II. c. 39.

(4) *PATERCULUS* L. II. c. 109. *Ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orsus est;*

(5) See the second Book. §. 6.

delicii,

delicii ; And they found it no hard Matter to subdue them, by Degrees, dispersed, as they were, in small Bodies ; whereupon their Country became a Province (1). But, as it was imagined so warlike a Nation might soon attempt to cast off their Yoke, all the young Men were carried away, and only a sufficient Number of Inhabitants was left to cultivate the Ground (2). The Province of *Rætia* was before divided into two Parts ; one, call'd *Rætia Proper*, was situate nearest the *Alps*, and extended itself, at the Foot of them, along the *Rhine*, the *Inn* and the *Adige*, which likewise, in after Times, was called *Rætia Prima* ; the most memorable of whose ancient Inhabitants were the *Breuni* and *Brixentes* (3). The other was call'd *Vindelicia*, or, as it was Part of *Rætia*, *Rætia Secunda*. It extended from *Rætia Prima* to the *Danube*, and was

§. XI. (1) *Dio L. LIV. p. 536. B. sq.* Eo tempore a Druso & Tiberio hæ res sunt gestæ. Ræti, inter Noricum & Galliam, ad Alpes Italiæ finitimas, quas Tridentinas nominant, sedes suas habent. Hi vicinam Galliam frequenter populati, etiam ex Italiæ finibus prædas egerunt, Romanosque, & eorum socios, iter per ipsorum terras facientes, infestaverant. Id quidem consuetudinem receptum erat, ut in eos, qui nullo ipsis essent fœdere juncti, ita statuerent. Sed præter hoc, omnes masculos, quos comprehensissent, etiam in utero adhuc matrum (id enim quibusdam divinationibus investigabant) morantes necabant. Ea propter Augustus principio Drusum contra eos cum exercitu misit, isque Rætos apud Alpes Tridentinas obviam sibi factos prælio congressus, haud magno certamine fudit : ejusque victoriæ ergo prætorios honores adeptus est. Deinde, cum ab Italia rejecti Ræti, nihilominus Galliam urgerent, Tiberium quoque contra eos misit. Proinde Drusus, ac Tiberius, simul multis locis in Rætiâ irrum-pentes, legatorum opera, ac ipse etiam Tiberius per lacum navigiis subvectus, exter-ruerunt ea re barbaros dissipatosque aggressi, haud difficulter, multis exiguis præliis, dispersas eorum copias, deleverunt : relinquos-que, infirmiores exinde, ac animis collapsos, in suam potestatem redegerunt. Horace has perpetuæ the Memory of this Siege. *IV. Od. 4* de laudibus Drusi. v. 15 - 20

Videre Rætis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici ; quibus
Mos unde deductus, per omne

Tempus Amazonia securi
Dextras obarmet, quærere distuli :
Nec scire fas est omnia : sed diu
Lateque victrices catervæ
Consiliis juvenis repressæ.
Idem L. IV. Od. XIV. v. 5. sq.
O, qua sol habitabilis
Inlustrat oras, maxime principum,
Quem legis expertes Latinæ
Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte posses, milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, & arces,
Alpibus impositas tremendis,
Dejecit acer, plus vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commisit, immanisque Rætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis :

(2) *Dio p. 536. E.* Quia vero populosa erat gens Rætorum, videbanturque bellum denuo tentaturi, maximam ejus & ætate validissimam partem inde abduxerunt : iis relictis, qui & colendæ regioni sufficerent, & ab bellandum non satis virium haberent.

(3) *The former dwelt near the Brenner Mountains, and the latter gave Name to a Town still called Brixen. We have many more Towns remaining, which were known in the Roman Times ; as on the Rhine, Chur or Coire, the present Capital of the Country of the Grisons, and Chiavenna, not far distant from the Lake of Como. On the Adige is Botzen, Trent, and even the Cistle of Tyrol. The Capital seems to have been Veldidena, whose Appellation is still retained by a Village called Wilten, since the present Inspruck rais'd itself out of the other's Ruins.*
bounded,

bounded, on the Left, by the *Rhine*, and by the *Inn*, on the Right. Several fine Cities were afterwards built there, some of which are still remaining, or have left their Names to those that were built in the Room of them. *Regina Castra*, for Instance, stood where *Ratisbon*, now is, and *Batava Castra*, in the same Situation with *Passau*. The Capital of this Country was the yet famous City of *Augsburg*, *Augusta Vindelicorum*, which *Tacitus* so early distinguished by the Epithet of *Splenditissima Colonia* (4).

§. XII. AUGUSTUS returned to *Rome*, where *Varus* exhibited the Theatrical Entertainments he had vowed to the Gods, upon *Augustus's* happy Return. *Horace* composed an Ode on this Occasion, in which he mentions the *Sicambri* not much to their Advantage (1). *Augustus* was so well beloved by the *Gauls*, that they offer'd him a Kind of Divine Worship at *Lions*, and consecrated an Altar to him, on which were engraven the Names of sixty Nations (2). *Drusus* afterwards dedicated another Altar of that Kind to him, near *Langres*. But it is Matter of Doubt, whether the Altar erected by the *Ubii* was to the Memory of *Augustus* or *Drusus*.

§. XIII. AUGUSTUS left *Drusus*, his younger Son in Law, in the *Rhin-Gaul*, who raised a Tax, that would have seemed more oppressive to the Inhabitants, had not his affable Deportment, in some Measure, allay'd their Discontent. This however, or perhaps only a Suspicion of it, gave Occasion to the *Sicambri*, *Tencteri* and *Ulpeter*, once more to cross the *Rhine*, which caused a long and bloody War. *Drusus* was twenty-five Years of Age, a Prince of an uncommon Spirit, and a Capacity sufficient to perform the greatest Actions (1).

(4) *Conf. M. Vellerei res Augustanæ.*

§. XII. (1) *HORATIUS Od. L. IV. v. 33.*

Concines majore poeta plectro
Cæsarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum, merita decorus

Fronde, Sicambros: & v. 41.

Concines lætosque dies, & urbis
Publicum ludum super impetrato
Fortis Augusti reditu, forumque
Litibus orbem.

PROPERTIUS L. IV. eleg. 6. v. 77. Likewise mentions the Victory over the Sicambri.

Ille paludosos memoret servire Sicambros.

(2) *STRABO L. IV. p. 192.* Templum ab omnibus, communi sententia, Gallis decretum Cæsari Augusto, ad hanc urbem, ad concursum fluviorum, est positum. Aram

habet hoc memorabilem, cum inscriptione gentium, LX numero, & imagine singularem, item aliam magnam. *Bucherius* *seems to think, that this happened about the same Time.* l. c. p. 38. §. 5.

§. XIII. (1) *PATERCULUS L. II. c. 97.* says of him: Cura deinde belli, atque onus delegata Druso Claudio, fratri Neronis, adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot & quantas natura mortalis recipit, vel industria perficit. Cujus ingenium, utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus succerit artibus, incerto est: morum certe dulcedo, ac suavitas, & adversus amicos æque, ac par sui, æstimatio, inimitabilis fuisse dicitur.

He was not satisfied with sending the *Germans* back with broken Heads, but form'd the grand Resolution, to attempt the Conquest of *Germany*. *Augustus*, who was not very eager of extending his Dominions, gave Ear to the Proposal, either out of a Desire to accomplish what *Julius Cæsar* had begun (2), or a Love of *Drusus*, who, indeed, pass'd for his Son in Law, but was generally thought to be the first Fruits of his Passion for *Livia* (3). *Drusus*, hereupon, pass'd the River above the Island of *Batavia*, and first fell upon the *Ufipetes* (4); he afterwards cross'd the *Lippe*, and ravag'd the whole Country of the *Tencteri*. *Florus* and *Orosius* (5), who undoubtedly had their Information from those Books of *Livy*, which are lost, say, he even visited the *Catti* and *Marcomanni* (6), which latter then dwelt beyond the *Mayn*, in the present *Franconia* and *Suabia*.

§. XIV. IN the mean Time, a Fleet was equip'd on the *Rhine*,^{The Roman Fleet sails thro' the North-Sea into the Ems.} that transported him to *Friesland*, which then extended from that Arm of the *Rhine*, which runs through *Leyden*, as far as the *Ems*, along the *North-Sea*. The *Batavi*, a Colony of the *Catti* (1), who inhabited the upper Part of the Island which is made by both Arms of the *Rhine*, were already in Alliance with the *Romans*, or enter'd into it with *Drusus* on this Occasion. He seems also to have been in Confederacy with the *Frisii*, for they contributed whatever they could to the Com-

(2) FLORUS L. IV. c. ult. Germaniam Augustus utinam vincere tanti non putasset, magis turpiter amissa est, quam gloriose acquisita. Sed quatenus sciebat, patrem suum, Cæsarem, his, trajecto ponte Rheno, quassisse bellum, in illius honorem concupivit facere provinciam.

(3) STRABO L. VI. c. 1.

(4) DIO 54. Atque ipse deinde in Ufipetarum regionem, secundum insulam Batavorum, trigressit. Inde in Sicambriorum terram transgressus, magnam agri partem vastavit.

(5) FLORUS L. IV. c. 12. Missus in Germaniam Drusus, primos domuit Ufipetas, inde Tenchteros percurrit, & Cattos. Orosius L. VI. p. 479. Drusus in Germania, primo Ufipetes, deinde Tenchteros, & Cattos, perdomuit. Marcomannos pene ad internecionem cecidit.

(6) FLORUS c. l. Marcomannorum spoliis insignibus quendam editum tumulum, in tropæi modum, excoluit. Bucherius l. c. p. 58. §. 8. supposes this Tumulus to be the Hill

near the Mayn, on which the present Castle of Wurtzburg is built.

§. XIV. (1) TACIT. de M. G. c. 29. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui, Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni, amnis, colunt. Cattorum quondam populus, ex seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos, & antiquæ societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit. Exempti oneribus & collationibus, & tantum in usura præliorum sepositi, velut tela, atque arma, bellis relervantur. To prove this Extraction of the Batavi, a particular Treatise has been written by Adrianus Leans, entitled Catti Aborigines Batavorum. But the Time when they took Possession of this Island is uncertain. Ia. Gronovius in orat. de tempore immigrationis Batavorum in insulam suam, supposes it to have been not long before Cæsar's Wars in Gaul, and that the Batavi had now made a League with the Romans, that they might the better be revenged of the Catti, who had expelled them.

pletion

pletion of his Design; which was to fall upon some *German* Nations by Sea, whom he could not come at by Land, and to convince them, that the boisterous Waves were as little able to secure them from the *Roman* Power, as the *Rhine* was to be a Barrier to the *Sicambri* and their Neighbours. To execute his Purpose, he open'd a Channel between the *Rhine* and the *Yssel*, from the present *Doesburg* as far as *Ysselort*, to make a Passage for his Fleet into the *South-Sea*, (*Zuyder Zee*.) This Channel from thence received the Name of *Fossa Drusi*, and serves to this Day, as a Monument, to shew, that the *Romans*, to extend their Power, could move the Boundaries which Nature had set to the Land and to the Water. The *Brueteri*, who dwelt above the *Frisii*, on the left Banks of the *Ems*, and bordered landwards, on the one Side, with the *Sicambri*, were the first who felt the Weight of the *Roman* Power. *Drusus* sailed through the *South-Sea*, into the Ocean (2), and made himself Master of those Islands that lay on the Sea-Coast, *North-Eastwards*, among which *Strabo* particularly mentions *Borckum* (3), and 'at Length he turned into the *Ems*. The *Frisii*, who were at Variance with those their Neighbours, and in Alliance with *Drusus*, fell upon them, in the mean while, from the Continent, which prov'd highly advantageous to the *Romans*: For the Ebb came once so suddenly, that their Fleet was almost left on dry Ground, of which Accident, the *Brueteri* would certainly have taken Advantage, had not the *Frisii* given them a Diversion on the other Side. The *Brueteri* were not, however, unexperienc'd in Naval Matters, and *Strabo* even relates an Engagement between their Ships and those of *Drusus* upon the *Ems* (4), tho' the *Romans* got the better. The approaching Winter obliged *Drusus* to hasten his return: But, before his Departure, he built a Fort at the Mouth of the *Ems*, to serve not only for a Terror to the *Brueteri* and *Chauci*, who dwelt

(2) DIO L. LIV. p. 544. *A* Inde secundo Rheno in Oceanum devectus, Frisios subegit, ac per paludem in Chaucorum fines profectus, in periculo fuit, navibus propter defluxum maris in sicco destitutis: tamen Frisiorum opera, qui pedestri milite se ei junxerant, superato discrimine, inde digressus, jam enim hyems appetebat, Romanam pervenit. Tacitus must likewise be understood of this Expedition, when he says of the *Frisii*: de mor. Germ. c. 34. Usque ad Oceanum Rheno præteguntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus, & Romanis classibus navigatos.

(3) STRABO L. VII. p. 291. Hic non gentes modo plurimas subegit, sed & insulas, in legendo litore obvias: inter quas est *Byrchanis*, ab eo tunc expugnata. Pliny likewise mentions it: Insularum, infra Cimbriorum Promontorium, quæ Romanorum armis cognitæ, nobilissima est *Burchana*, fabaria a nostris dicta, a frugis similitudine sponte provenientis.

(4) STRABO L. VII. p. 290. Inter hos & alia sunt navigabilia flumina, de quibus est *Amasia*, in quo *Brueteros* *Drusus* navali prælio vicit.

on the right Side of the *Ems*, about the *Weser*, and as far as the Mouth of the River *Elb*, but also to secure a Harbour for the future Reception of the *Roman* Fleet. Some have suppos'd it to be the first Foundation of the famous City of *Emden* (5), but this we find refuted by *Altingius*, who proves the *Roman* Fort to have been built on the left Side of the *Ems*.

§. XV. DRUSUS, at his Return to *Rome*, was created *Prætor Ur-* Drusus's second Expedition against the Sicambri and Cherusci. In the Consulate of Q. Ælius Tubero, and Paulus Fabius Maximus.
banus: But the peaceable Distribution of Justice, was an Office not suiting his aspiring Genius. He therefore set out again, the Beginning of the ensuing Year, for *Gaul*, and went from thence to *Germany*. He travers'd the *Rhine*, in the same Place he had done the Year before, ravag'd the Country of the *Ufipetes*, laid a Bridge over the *Lippe*, and invaded the Country of the *Sicambri*. These happen'd to be from Home; and had endeavour'd to draw all their Neighbours into a League against the *Romans*, to which the *Tencteri*, *Bructeri*, *Cherusci* and *Suevi* had given their Consent; but the *Catti*, whose Borders were towards the *South*, and who, the Year before, had probably reconciled themselves to the *Romans*, would not join in this War. They were therefore gone on an Expedition against these People, when *Drusus* invaded their Country, and as he met with no Resistance, proceeded farther into the Dominions of the *Cherusci*, and as far as the *Weser* (1); But, fearing, lest he might fall short of Provisions, he would not venture over that River. It just happen'd, that a Swarm of Bees alighted in the *Roman* Camp (2), which he either actually look'd on as a bad Omen, or at least pretended so, that his Soldiers might not think, any thing could have been an Obstruction to his Designs, but the Will of the Gods. But by endeavouring to avoid,

(5) BUCHERIUS *l. c. p. 39. §. 3.* Igitur, quod reliquum erat, quo eos, juxta & Bructeros, frænaret in posterum, castrum in utrumque, ut & Frisiorum confinio, ad ipsum fere Amisæ ostium, munimentum amni cognomine (hodie Embden) erexit.

§. XV. (1) *l. c. p. 544. B.* Initio veris rursus ad Bellum profectus, Rhenum transiit, Ufipetas subjugavit: Lupiæque fluminis ripis, ponte junctis, in Sicambros irrupit, perque eos in Cheruscorum regionem, usque ad Visurgim processit. Id, ut ei liceret, Sicambrorum in Chattos, qui soli finitimorum auxilia negaverant, totius populi viribus facta expeditio effecerat. Quo tempore Drusus, iis imprudentibus, regionem per-

gravit. Visurgim etiam transiturus, ni eum inopia alimentorum, ac hyemis propinquitas, præterea examen apum, in castris visum, deterruissent. Dio does not name the other Neighbours. But Livy's epit. Florus and Orosius, prove them to have been the Tencteri, Cherusci, Chauci, Bructeri and Suevi.

(2) DIO *l. c.* JULIUS OBSEQUENS de prodigiis *L. l. c. 132.* describes it probably from Livy. In Germania, in castris Drusi, examen opum in tabernaculo Hostilii Rutilii, castrorum præfecti, confedit: ita, ut funem prætendentem, præfixamque tentorio lanceam, amplecteretur. Multitudo Romanorum per insidias subacta est. See Schefferus *ad h. l.*

he had almost run Headlong; into the Completion of his Prophecy. The *Cherufci*, *Sicambri* and *Suevi*, had beset all the Passes, and surrounded him, in such Manner, that nothing could have saved him, but the too great Security of his Enemies, whose Thoughts were so bent on dividing their Booty, that they did not think a regular Attack necessary (3); This the *Romans* took Advantage of, and fought their Way thro', tho' with great Loss. In this Campaign, he built two strong Castles, one at the Conflux of the *Else* with the *Lippe* (4), the other on the *Rhine*, in the Dominions of the *Catti* (5). The Senat of *Rome* honour'd him, for this Success, with the Ovation, or lesser Triumph; and would have him accept the Rank and Authority of *Proconsul*, as soon as his *Pratorship* was at an End. His Soldiers had indeed given him the Title of *Imperator*, but *Augustus* opposed it, in Hopes a new Opportunity might offer where this Delay might be an Addition to the Honour.

Drusus's Expedition against the Chatti.

A.V.C. 744.

§. XVI. AUGUSTUS undertook, in the Year 744, another Journey to *Gaul*, accompanied by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*. The latter continued his War with the *Germans*, and particularly against the *Catti*, who now had revolted from the *Romans*, and associated themselves to the *Sicambri* (1). *Tiberius* went to quell a Rebellion in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, and both, having thus met with Success, conducted the Emperor back to *Rome*.

Drusus advances to the Elb.

His Death.

His Memory perpetuated in Germany. In the Consulate of *Nero Claudius*,

Drusus and *T. Quintus Crispinus*.

A.V.C. 745.

§. XVII. THE next Year, *Drusus* was honoured with the Consulate, notwithstanding which, he continued his Wars in *Germany*. He begun with the *Catti*, fell afterwards upon the Frontiers of the *Suevi*, who dwelt along the *Upper Rhine*, from the *Mayn*, to the *Danube*, turned into the Dominions of the *Cherufci*, where he passed the *Wefer*, and continued his March even to the *Elb*. On the Banks of this River, he erected a *Roman Trophy*, as a Monument of this Expedition.

(3) DIO L. C. Ingressas in sociorum terram, in summum devenit periculum, insidiis hostium frequenter læsus, & aliquando in loco angusto, concavoque circumclusus, haud procul absuit, quin cum toto exercitu periret. A qua eum perniciæ nihil aliud eripuit, quam hostium temeritas. Qui, cum contemptis Romanis, quasi jam captis, & uno velut ictu concidendis, nullo ordine eos aggressi essent: victi inde, ferociaque sua fracta, discessere. Ex eo namque barbari, propius adire veriti, eminus tantum hostem infestare. Ita, ut *Drusus*, iis vicissim contemptis, castellum contra eos ad *Lupia*, & *Elisonis*,

fluviorum confluentes, aliudque in *Chattis* ad ipsum *Rhenum* extruxerit.

(4) Castrum *Alisonis* ad *Lupia*, & *Alisonis*, confluentes: Now *Elsen*, in the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*.

(5) BUCHERIUS p. 40. §. 9. In monte *Tauno*, ubi postea *Trajan*i monumentum, *Moguntiam* inter, & amnem *Lonam*.

§. XVI. (1) DIO L. LIV. circ. finem. *Chatti* quippe, relicto eo, quem iis assignarant *Romani*, agro, *Sicambri* se conjungerant. The *Romans* had, perhaps, after having carried the *Ubii* over the *Rhine*, assign'd their Country to the *Catti*.

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tion (1); but little thought it would prove his *Cenotaph*. He had frequently exposed his Person in Battles, and gather'd the Heads of his Enemies himself, that he might one Day offer to *Jupiter* the *Spolia opima* (2): This being esteemed, by the ancient *Roman* Heroes, the greatest Honour a General could arrive to. But he was destined to dy in his Bed. On his Return, his Horse threw him (3), and he received so much Harm, that he expired (4), 30 Days afterwards, in the 30th Year of his Age, in the Arms of *Tiberius* his Brother, who was no sooner acquainted with the Accident, than he hasten'd to him. *Tiberius* conducted the Corpse to *Italy*, with great Solemnity, where *Augustus* met it at *Pavia*, and attended it to *Rome*. *Augustus* himself spoke a Funeral Oration in Praise of the Deceased, in the *Flaminian Circus*, as *Tiberius* did in the *Forum*, and the Senat strove, after his Death, to pay him the Honours he had merited when living. He and his Posterity were distinguished by the perpetual Surname of *Germanicus*, which was afterwards much more enobled by his Son's Success against the *Germans*. *Drusus* had a Triumphal Arch (5) erected to his Memory. in the *Via Appia*, which may yet be seen on those Medals (6) that were struck to his Memory, and a Monument was ordered to be raised to his Glory on the *Rhine* (7). This last Honour was shewn

§. XVII. (1) *DIO L. V. init.* Inde in Chatorum terram irrumpens, obvia quæque, non sine magno labore, subigendo, congressosque proeliis haud incruentis superando, ad Sueviam usque pervenit. Inde converso in Cheruscos itinere, Visurgim transgressus est. Omnia populando ad Albim usque perexit: qui ex Vandalicis montibus profluens, in Oceanum septentrionalem, magnus admodum factus, effluit. Hunc, quum frustra conatus esset transire, tropæis constitutis, recessit.

(2) *SUETONIUS in Claud. c. 1.* Ex hoste, super victorias, opima quoque spolia captasse, summoque sæpius discrimine, duces Germanorum tota acie infectatus.

(3) *LIVIVS (pit. post.)* Ex fractura, equo super crus ejus collapsio, tricesimo, quam id acciderat, die, mortuus. *Strabo L. VII. p. 201.* Est & Sala fluvius, inter quem, & Rhenum, bellum feliciter gerens, *Drusus Germanicus* obiit. *Io. Is. Pontanus in Chorograph. discept. 31.* seems indeed, to think, that this was the *Yssel*. *Valesius* takes it for that *Saal*, which falls into the *Mayn*. But *Cluverius* and *Menso Altingius* have, with much more Probability, prov'd it to be the *Saal*, which

falls into the *Elb.* conf. *Cellarii Orb. Ant. T. I. p. 452.*

(4) *VALERIUS MAXIMUS L. V. c. 5.* Of the Day of his Death; see *Tillemont. in Augusto P. I. p. 40.*

(5) *GRUTERUS* mentions the Remains of a Marble Stone, which belonged to this Arch, upon which, among others, are these Words:

AP. DIVORTIA. RHENI. PERVASI HOSTILES. DEPOPULATOR. AGR--

(6) Some Coins are still extant, which were struck to the Memory of his German Victories, on the Reverse of which are the Words *Rhenus*, or *de Germanis*; some of these were renewed by *Titus Vespasianus* and *Domitian*. His Son *Claudius*, when he was Emperor, had some other Coins struck to preserve the Remembrance of his German Conquests. v. *Mezzab. p. 59, 60.*

(7) *DIO p. 544. A.* Germanici cognomen ei, ac filiis, datum: honoresque statuarum, arcus triumphalis, & Cenotaphii ad iptum Rhenum dati. *Suetonius in Claudio c. 1.* Præterea Senatus, inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum, cum tropæis, via Appia decrevit: & Germanici cognomen ipsi, posterisque ejus.

him by those Legions, which he commanded in *Germany*, and they not only erected this Monument, some Remains of which are yet shewn near *Mentz*, at which the Soldiers were obliged to celebrate annually certain Tournaments (8), but likewise built Altars and dedicated them to his Memory (9). The *German* Nations had other Monuments to preserve his Fame. He had not been satisfied with gaining a Victory, or laying a Country waste, but, when he had done this, endeavour'd to establish his Possessions, by building Forts, to keep the People in Aw. Of this the two Forts, which, as is observ'd above, he built in *Germania Magna*, are Evidences. *Florus* says, that he rais'd such Edifices on the *Maese*, the *Elb*, the *Wefer*, and the *Rhine*; and on the latter alone near fifty. According to this Account, hardly any Forts are mentioned as famous, in ancient History, on the left Side of the *Rhine*, that had not *Drusus* for their Founder (10). In particular, he fortified *Mentz* and *Bonn*, built a Bridge at both Places over the *Rhine*, and for their Security had always a Fleet in

(8) SUE TONIUS in *Claud. c. 1.* Exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps, statim die, quotannis miles decurreret, Galliarumque civitates publice supplicarent. EUTROPIUS says: Monumentum apud Moguntiacum. Upon his Words depends the Conjecture, that it is the particular Stone call'd Eichelstein near *Mentz*. At least that Stone pass'd for *Drusus's* Monument in ancient Times; for *Otto Frisingensis*, who finish'd his Chronicle in the Year 1146, mentions it as such. He says: L. III. c. 4. Monstratur adhuc monumentum Drusi Moguntiae, per modum pyrae. Serarius has confirm'd this Supposition in *rerum Moguntiacarum* L. I. c. 15. ex editione Cl. JOHANNIS p. 65. which Tentzel, in his Monthly Dialogue for August 1698, thinks nevertheless insufficient to prove so dubious a Point. The Figure of the Stone may be seen in JOHANNIS HUFICHII Collectaneis antiquitatum, in urbe atque agro Moguntino, repertarum, which was publish'd at *Mentz*, in the Year 1520, in ædibus Johannis Schoeffer, and in the aforesaid Passages of Serarius and Tentzel. c. I.

(9) In TACITUS, we likewise find some Footsteps, that Altars were erected to his Honour. L. 2. Ann. 7. Tumulum tamen nuper Varianis legionibus structum, & veterem aram, Druso litam, disjecerant. Restituit aram, honorique patris princeps ipse cum Legionibus decurrit. Tho' Freinsheimius, in his Anno-

tations on this Passage, says this is meant of an Altar built by Order of *Drusus*, and at his Expence. We might likewise conjecture, that the Ara Ubiorum was dedicated to him, at which German Princes have performed the Office of Priests. But Bucherius seems to think that it was sacred to the Memory of *Augustus*, in Imitation of the Altar, which was consecrated to him at *Lions*, and in the Domains of *Langres*.

(10) BUCHERIUS L. I. c. 17. §. 12. p. 43. Si 50 castellis, oppidisve Rhenum *Drusus* prætexuit, sane vix ulla ad Rhenum loca, veteribus Romanis scriptoribus celebrata, ab *Drusini* excludi poterunt. Ita *Drusenheim* paulo infra *Argentoratum*, quasi *Drusi* domicilium: ita *tabernæ Rhenanæ*, *Vicus Julius*, *Alba ripa*, adhuc hodie *Altrip*, paullo infra *Spiram*, *Moguntiacum*, *Bingium*, *Vesalia*, *Bodobriga*, *Confluentia*, *Antennacum*, *Rigomagus*, *Ara Ubiorum*, *Novesium*, *Gelduba*, *Alsburgium*, *Vetia*, *Arenacum*, *Vada*, *Grines*, *Trajectus inferior*, *Lugdunum Batavorum*, a *Druso* vel condita, vel auctæ fuerint: ad *Mosam* vero etiam *Trajectus superior*, ponte ibi muniendo. But we might observe, that when both *Germanies* were, several times after that, left desolate by their Inhabitants, these Castles were also destroyed, which must consequently render it very difficult to point out those that were founded by *Drusus*.

Readings

Readiness (11). All these great Advantages proved so much easier to him, as his Prudence, and engaging Deportment, had so gain'd the Affection, of the *Gauls*, that they not only suffer'd him, without Interruption, to carry on his Conquests on the other Side of the *Rhine*, but employed their Lives and Fortunes to destroy those *German* Nations (12), whose Assistance they had formerly so often implored, and so concur'd to their own Ruin, and that of their Friends, by adding to the Encrease of the *Roman* Power (13).

§. XVIII. THE Year following, *Augustus* made another Expedition against the *Germans*, and *Tiberius* succeeded *Drusus* in the Command of the Army. *Tiberius* pass'd the *Rhine*, and the *Germans* sued for Peace, which some of them, at Length, obtained: But the *Sicambri* were forced to give themselves wholly up to *Romans* (1); because they had hitherto, notwithstanding their Sons and Daughters were deliver'd up as Hostages, laid hold of every Opportunity of revolting; *Tiberius* therefore made Use of the same Means, which had already been applied to the *Ræti*, and sent this Year many Thousands of them over the *Rhine*, to be there dispersed in the *Roman* Dominions (2). This so sensibly affected some of the Chiefs of this Nation, that

Tiberius takes the Command of the Army on the Rhine. The Sicambri are forc'd to submit.

(11) FLORUS L. IV. c. ult. Præterea in tutelam provinciarum, præsidia, atque custodias, ubique disposuit: per Mosam flumen, per Albim, per Visurgim. Nam per Rheni ripam quinquaginta amplius castella direxit. Bonnam, & Moguntiacum, pontibus junxit, fossibusque firmavit. GOLZIUS gives an Account of a Coin of Augustus, with this Inscription.

COL. IVLIA BONNA,

which BUCHERIUS L. I. c. 17. §. 4. interprets of the City of Bonn.

(12) This, for Instance, did the Nervii, in the Engagement of 41, against the Germans, particularly excell. LIVII epit. 139. alias 141. Bellum contra transrhenanas gentes a Druso gestum refertur. In quo inter primores pugnaverunt Seneſcius, & Aneſcius, tribuni civitatis Nerviorum.

(13) Hence, the Provincials said afterwards according to TACITUS, A. L. III. c. 40. Nil validum in exercitibus Romanis, nisi quod externum.

§. XVIII (1) DIO p. 551. E. Post hæc Augustus, quum principatum deposuisset, hoc enim præ se ferebat, decennio altero, in-

vitum iterum suscepit, & in Germanos bellum molitus, ipse domi (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ) substitit. Tiberius autem Rhenum transit. Eorum vim metuentes barbari omnes, exceptis Cantabris, legatos miserunt, pacem petentes. The Cantabris are here mistaken for the Sicambri. Tiberius writes to Germanicus Tacitus. Ann. L. II. c. 26. Se novies a D. Augusto in Germaniam missum, plura consilio, quam vi perfecisse. Sic Sigambros in deditionem acceptos, sic Suevos, Regemque Maroboduum, pace obstrictum. HORACE hints at this Peace L. IV. od. pen.

Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri

Compositis venerantur armis.

(2) SUTTON. in Augusto c. 21. Suevos ac Sigambros, dedentes se, traduxit in Galliam, atque, in proximis Rheno agris, collocavit. Idem in Tiberio c. 9. Bello hoc Germanico patrato, XLII. (alii XCM) deditionum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni, in sedibus assignatis collocavit. BUCHERIUS L. c. c. 20. §. 5. p. 49. thinks to find Traces of those Suevi, who were at that Time dispersed, in Flanders, about Courtray. But we are still in Doubt, whether, according to Casaubon and Gruterus, we are not to read Ubii, in SUTTONIUS

that they chose rather to dy by their own Hands, than to live in that doleful State (3): And thus the whole Nation of the *Sicambri* became extinct (4). We find nothing what came of *Melo*, the first Author of this War, or his Brother *Baitoritus*; but a Son of the latter, named *Theodorix*, was, 24 Years after, led by *Germanicus* in a Triumph (5). The *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* seem afterwards to have extended their Dominions, and to have inhabited, together with their own, the Country of the *Sicambri*, whose Name remained so famous, that the new Inhabitants of that Province are, by *Martial*, *Claudian*, *Sidonius*, &c. called *Sicambri*. *Tiberius* return'd with *Augustus* to *Rome*, the next Autumn: And *Augustus*, on Account of this fortunate Expedition, took once more the Title of *Imperator*, and likewise honour'd *Tiberius* with the same. He nominated him, besides, *Consul* for the ensuing Year, left him the Honour of a separate Triumph, and shut the Temple of *Janus* a third Time (6).

Maroboduus
leads the
Marcomanni
into *Bojohemum*. The
Original of
the *Alamanni*.

§. XIX. THE unhappy Fate of the *Sicambri* serv'd as a Warning to the other *German* Nations, to remove into the inward Parts of *Germany* (1). And it was very probable, that about this Time happened the famous Migration of the *Marcomanni*, and other Nations of *Suevia* (2). *Maraboduus*, their Leader, was descended from a noble Family among the *Marcomanni*; he came to *Rome*, on what Occasion is unknown, in his younger Years, where the Emperor shew'd him peculiar Favours. An excellent Judgment, improved by an exact Observation of the *Roman* State, taught him how to institute and support a Government: But Ambition excited in him a Desire of putting those Rules in Practice, in his own Country; and a vigorous Constitution, which enabled him to undergo any military Fatigues, made the Dan-

in Aug. c. 21. instead of *Suevi*. In *Augustus's* Life he speaks of the *Ubii* and *Sicambri* promiscuously. In the Life of *Tiberius* he only speaks of the latter.

(3) Of this we are to understand the Passage of *Dio* p. 552. A. l. ult. Nam licet *Sigambri* quoque ipsi legatos miserunt, pacem petentes, nihil tamen profecerunt. Prorsus ut & ipsorum plerique iique præstantiores, interierint. Illos quippe, simul collectos, *Augustus*, cum in quasdam urbes disposuisset, ipse id ægerrime ferentes, manus sibi violentas intulerunt. Many Observations may be made on this Passage, of which see *BUCHERIUS*. L. I. c. 18. §. 3. p. 44.

(4) *TACITUS* Ann. L. XII. c. 39. Ut quondam *Sigambri* excisi, & in *Gallias* tra-

jecti, florent, ita *Silurum* nomen penitus extinguendum. add. *STRABO* l. mox citando.

(5) See *BUCHERIUS* L. I. c. 20. §. 3.

(6) Which *BUCHERIUS* endeavours to prove L. I. c. 18, & 19.

§. XIX. (1) *STRABO* L. VII. p. 290. Prima *Germaniæ* regio ad *Rhenum*, a fontibus ejus, usque ad ostia: atque hic fluminis tractus, latus est *Germaniæ* occiduum. Hujus partis populos *Romani* partim in *Galliam* traduxerunt: reliqui migraverunt in penitiores *Germaniæ* partes, ut *Marfi*.

(2) *BUCHERIUS* has made it very probable, that the Migration of *Maroboduus* was about this Time. l. c. L. I. c. 25. p. 50.

gers as well as the Labour easy to him. Fortune was so favourable to him, that, on his Return, the *Marcomanni* made him their Chief (3). But as he considered, that no great Undertaking could succeed, in the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, he led the *Marcomanni*, together with the *Harudi*, and *Sedusii*, at least the youngest and most valiant among them, into the Country that had hitherto been inhabited by the *Boji*, and from them received the Appellation of *Bojohemum* (4). He expell'd the *Boji*, of whom we find no Account afterwards, and so extended his Power, that it soon raised a Jealousy in the *Romans* themselves (5). The greatest Part of the District along the *Rhine*, to the River *Mayn*, being thus become almost uninhabited, a mixt People came from the neighbouring *Gaul*, most of whom were probably *Helvetii* and *Sequani*, whose Borders were thereabouts, with many others of different Nations of *Germany*, and settled themselves there (6). These became afterwards one Nation, and were known by the Name of *Alamanni*, with which, however, that of the *Suevi* continued in Vogue.

§. XX. TIBERIUS had another Triumph, the Beginning of the ^{Tiberius goes} ensuing Year, and then went again to *Germany*, to put a final Stop ^{a second time into} *Germany*.

(3) STRABO l. c. In quem locum (*scil. Bojohemum*) is cum alios plures transtulit, tum Marcomannos, gentiles suos. Is enim Roma reversus, (ubi juvenis fuit, & ab Augusto beneficiis affectus) e privato statu ad occupandam dominationem se contulit, ac, præter Marcomannos, sibi etiam subjecit Luros, magnam gentem, Zumos, Butones, Mugilones, Sibinos, & de ipsis Suevis magnam nationem Semnonas. CLUVERIUS has made a very good Emendation of this Passage, and reads it: Lugios, magnam gentem, & Lemovios, Gutones, Burgundiones, Sibinos. PATERCULUS gives a beautiful Character of him. L. II. c. 105. Maroboduus, genere nobilis, corpore prævalens, animo ferox, natione magis, quam ratione barbarus, non tumultuarium, neque fortuitum, neque mobilem & ex voluntate parentum constantem inter suos occupavit principatum; sed certum imperium, vimque regiam complexus animo, statuit advocata procul a Romanis gente sua, eo progredi, ubi, cum propter potentiora arma refugisset, sua faceret potentissima, &c.

comannorum gloria, viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsas olim Bojis, virtute parta.

(5) I shall below consider whether the Bavarians are descended from them.

(6) TACIT. de M. G. c. 29. Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quanquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque considerint, eos, qui decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, & inopia audax, dubiæ possessionis locum, occupavere, Mox limite aucto, promotisque præfidiis, sinus imperii, & pars Provinciæ habentur, ultra hos Chatti, &c. The Derivation of the Name of Alamanni has been formerly taken from thence. AGATHIAS SCHOLASTICUS writes lib. 1. histor. Alemanni, si Asinio Quadrato fides, viro Italo, & Germanicarum rerum exacto scriptori conveniunt, ex variis nationibus collecti, id ipsum apud eos significante vocabulo. Some have derived Alamanni from Alle, all, or Allerley Manner, all sorts of Men: v. HERTIUS Not. vet. Germ. pop. S. III. c. 1: §. 2. Wachter in his Origines Alamannicæ deduces it from the Word Al-myn, which, in the Ancient Language of Gaul, signifies a Foreigner.

to those Commotions, which still appeared dangerous (1): But no Matters of Moment were transacted this Year; for the Example of the *Sicambri*, which had very much intimidated the *Germans*, was too fresh in their Memory. *Tiberius* was, nevertheless, no sooner retired to the Island of *Rhodes* the following Year, than the *Germans* began to rebel (2).

The *Bruēteri* foment a new War.

§. XXI. IN the Year 754, *Germany* was again in Arms. As *Tiberius*, to whom the Conduct of this War was afterwards entrusted, acted chiefly against the *Caninafates*, *Attuarii* and *Bruēteri*, these, together with their Neighbours, seem to have been the Authors of it. *M. Vinicius* first commanded against them (1): And *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Grandfather to *Nero*, the Emperor, seems likewise to have been employed in this War. It is certain at least, that those successful Battles, which he is said to have fought against the *Germans*, cannot be ascribed to a more probable Time, especially as the Theatre of these Wars agree (2).

Tiberius's third Expedition into *Germany*.

§. XXII. BUT *Augustus*, in the Year 757, sent *Tiberius*, whom he had just before, upon the Death of both his Nephews, *Caius* and *Lucius*, adopted his Son, to carry on the War in *Germany*. *Vellejus Paterculus*, who serv'd him, at that Time, as *Præfectus Equitum*, says, that the *Caninafates*, the *Attuarii*, and *Bruēteri* were subdued in this War, and that *Tiberius* thereupon pass'd over the *Weser*, and made Peace

§. XX. (1) DIO c. l. p. 553. *Tiberius* Kalend. Januarii, quibus consulatum inivit cum Cn. Pisone, in Octavii curiam (hæc enim erat extra Pomerium) convocato Senatu, fanum concordia sibi parari jussit, ac deinde triumphavit: - - Paulo post *Tiberius*, coortis in *Germania* motibus, ad bellum profectus est.

(2) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 100. Sensit terrarum orbis, digressum a custodia *Neronem* urbis. Nam & *Parthus*, desciscens a Societate Romana, adjecit Armeniæ manum, *Germania*, aversis domitoris sui oculis, rebellavit. But this was probably the War which is mentioned in the following Paragraph.

§. XXI. (1) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 104. ad sue. c. 757. Non diu vindicem, custodemque imperii sui, morata in urbe patria, protinus in *Germaniam* misit, ubi ante triennium sub *M. Vinicio* avo tuo, clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum. Erat & ab eo quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam

sustentatum feliciter, eoque nomine decreta ei cum speciosissima inscriptione operum ornamenta triumphalia.

(2) TACIT. says of him, Ann. L. IV. c. 44. Eum exercitu flumen Albim transcendisse, longius penetrata *Germania*, quam quilibet priorum: easque obres, insignia triumphi adeptum. SÆTONIUS in *Nerone* c. 14. ornamentis e *Germanico* bello triumphalibus clarum. TACIT. says moreover of him, A. I. l. c. 63. that he raised a long artificial Bank, on the other side of the Rhine. Cluverius imagines, that the Road from *Vetera Castra* to *Elfen*, was likewise of his making, and that those Pieces of such Banks, which lead thro' the Towns of *Ham*, *Alen* and *Lurighusen*, in the Bishoprick of *Munster*, are Remains of it. Lipsius ad l. Taciti, chooses rather to place them between *Lingen*, *Weide* and *Coevorden*. Bucherius, L. i. c. 24. § 6. p. 57. Submits it to the Learned, whether *Domitz*, on the *Elbe*, had not its Name from this *Domitius*. Sane ad Albim, quem ille longius, quam cæ-

teri

Peace with the *Cherusci*, and admitted them into an Alliance with the *Romans*. This Campaign lasted till *December*, when *Tiberius* put his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters, near the Source of the *Lippe*, and went himself to *Rome* (1). The *Cherusci* and *Romans* seem, after this, to have lived in a mutual Intercourse of Friendship; for the two Sons of Prince *Segimer*, *Arminius* and *Flavius* took Service in the *Roman* Armies: And another Prince of the *Cherusci*, call'd *Segestes*, boasts, according to *Tacitus*, of his having been naturaliz'd by *Augustus*, and constantly advised his Subjects to Peace (2). His Son *Sigismundus* even embraced the Religion of the *Romans*, and officiated as Priest at the Altar of the *Ulii* (3).

§. XXIII. TIBERIUS went early, in the following Year, 758, to his Army in *Germany*, which had quarter'd, during Winter, among the *Cherusci*, and employ'd it against the neighbouring Nations. He begun with the *Chauci*, who bordered towards the *North*, and inhabited all the Shore from the *Ems* to the *Elb*. The Fleet, which he had in the *North-Sea*, appeared at the same Time on these Coasts, which probably was the chief Inducement to the *Chauci* to submit, on certain Conditions, to the *Romans* (1). After this he invaded the *Longobards*, who dwelt

The *Chauci* submit to the *Romans*.
Tiberius invades the *Longobards*.
A Roman Fleet appears on the *Elb*.

teri transcendisse memoratur, urbs, etiamnum celebris, superest in ditione Daneburgica, Domitz appellata, an a Domitio, conicere possunt sagaciores.

§. XXII. (1) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 105. Intrata protinus Germania, subacti Caninefates, Attuarii, Brueteri, recepti Cherusci, gentes: & amnis, mox nostra clade nobilis, transitus Visurgis, penetrata ulteriora. Cum omnem partem asperimi & periculosissimi belli Cæsar vindicaret; in iis, quæ minoris erant discriminis, Sentium Saturninum, qui tum legatus patris ejus in Germania fuerat, præfecisset: virum multiplicem, virtutibus navum, agilem, providum, militariumque officiorum patientem, ac peritum pariter, sed eundem, ubi negotia fecissent locum otio, liberaliter lauteque eo abutentum: ita tamen, ut eum splendidum, ac hilarem potius, quam luxuriosum, aut desidem, diceret. De cujus viri claro, celebrique consulatu, prædiximus. Anni ejus æstiva, usque in mensem Decembrem, perducta, immanis emolumentum fecere victoriæ... Pietas sua Cæsarem, pæne obstrictis hieme Alpibus, in urbem traxit:

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at tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam; in cujus mediis finibus, ad caput Lupiæ fluminis, hiberna digrediens princeps locaverat.

(2) TACIT. *Ann.* L. I. c. 58. Pacem se quam bellum probasse, & tunc a D. Augusto civitate Romana donatum.

(3) *Idem. Annal.* L. I. c. 57. Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum. Sed juvenis conscientia cunctabatur, quippe anno, quo Germaniæ defecere, sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles.

§. XXIII. (1) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 106. Pro Dii boni, quanti voluminis opera insequenti æstate, sub Duce Tiberio Cæsare, gestimus. Perlustrata armis tota Germania est. Victæ gentes pene nominibus incognitæ. Recepte Cauchorum nationes. Omnis eorum juvenus, infinita numero, immensa corporibus, situ locorum tutissima, traditis armis, una cum ducibus suis, septa fulgenti, armatoque militum nostrorum agmine, ante imperatoris procubuit tribunal. Fracti Longobardi, gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior: denique

N

dwelt near the *Elb*, and bordered South-Eastwards on the *Chauci*. Thus the *Roman* Eagle display'd his Wings, on the Banks of the *Elb*, a second Time, a March, says *Paterculus*, of 400 *Roman* Miles. *Tiberius* form'd his Camp near the River, which intimidated the bordering Nations so much the more, as his Fleet appeared there at the same Time. On the Right side of the *Elb* were several Thousands of *Semnones*, *Hermunduri*, and other *Germans*, to oppose the Enemy's Passage: These were surprized when they saw the *Roman* Fleet; they having been accustomed only to Canoes, or Boats made of hollow'd Trees (2). *Tiberius* however thought it not adviseable to cross the *Elb*, either because he esteem'd it sufficient to have cast a Terror into the Nations on the other Side, or because the Season was too far advanc'd. He therefore led his Army back again into Winter-Quarters, and, if we may believe *Paterculus*, there was, in this Campaign, but only one Engagement, in which the *Germans*, who attack'd the *Romans*, sustained a considerable Loss. *Tiberius* returned to *Rome*, where he was, the fourth, and *Augustus* the fifteenth Time, dignified with the Title of *Imperator*; and *Sentius Saturninus*, his Lieutenant in *Germany*, who commanded next under *Tiberius*, was honour'd with a Triumph (3).

Tiberius's Expedition against Maraboduus. He makes Peace with him.

XXIV. THE *Romans* now thought it Time to crush the rising Power of *Maraboduus*, who begun to be formidable. He rul'd over not only several valiant *Servian* Nations, whom he had lead into *Bojohemum*, but had also subdued some of the Neighbouring People, and brought others so securely over to his Party, by Treaties,

denique, quod nunquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere tentatum erat, ad quadrigentesimum miliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen Albim, qui Semnonum, Hermundorumque fines præterfluit, Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus: ex eodem, mira felicitate, & cura ducis, temporum quoque observantia, classis, quæ Oceani circumnavigaverat sinus, ab inaudito, atque incognito ante mari, flumine Albi subvecta, plurimarum gentium victoria, cum abundantissima rerum omnium copia, exercitui, Cæsarique, se junxit. DIO p. 567. D. In Germanos expeditionem, quum alii tum *Tiberius* fecit; progressusque est primo ad *VESURGUM*, deinde ad Albim.

(2) PATERCULUS l. c. Cum citeriorem ripam prædicti fluminis castris occupassemus, & ulterior, armata hostium juventute, fulgeret, sub omnem motum nostrarum navium

protinus refugientium, unus e barbaris, ætate senior, corpore excellens, dignitate, quantum ostendebat cultus, eminens, cavatum, ut illis mos est, ex materia conscendit alveum, solusque navigii genus temperans, ad medium processit fluminis, &c. PLINIUS says, L. XVI. c. 40. Germaniæ prædones, singulis arboribus cavatis navigant, quarum quædam & 30. homines ferunt. The *Ubii* seem however, when they dwelt on the right Side of the Rhine, and likewise the *Bruëteri*, to have been provided with better Vessels; and Tacitus says in Honour of the *Suiones*, that they had a Fleet of their own.

(3) DIO c. 1. E. De Germaniæ imperatoris nomen non *Augustus* modo sed *Tiberius* etiam invenerit: honoresque triumphales, C. *Sentius*, Germaniæ prætoris, quod horum metu, bis *Germani* pacem accepissent.

that

that he could as safely depend on them, as his own Subjects. His Country border'd on *Pannonia* and *Noricum*, and the *Romans* thought his Neighbourhood the more dangerous, as he was cover'd towards the *West*, by impassable Forests, and Northwards by the *German* Nations, who reach'd to the *East-Sea*, and were not yet known to the *Romans*. The arbitrary Power, which he assumed, contrary to the Custom of the *Germans*, enabled him to make a better Use of his Forces. He kept up an Army of 70,000 Veteran Soldiers, and no one could conceive to what End. He had indeed been hitherto very cautious of giving Umbrage to the *Romans*, but it was easy to conceive what were his distant Views, when he had establish'd himself. *Maroboduus* was the common Refuge of all who shew'd any Disaffection to the *Romans*, and his Ambassadors had already sometimes hinted, that he expected to be treated by *Augustus*, as a Prince, in every Respect his equal; *Tiberius* therefore undertook to humble him. *Sentius Saturninus*, then Deputy in *Germany*, march'd thro' the Dominions of the *Catti*, and was to cut a Passage thro' the *Hercynian* Forest. *Tiberius* himself went to *Carnuntum*, which was the principal Fort of the *Romans*, in *Pannonia*, situate opposite to the *Marcomanni*, near the Conflux of the *Mahr* with the *Danube*, where *Haimburg* is at present, on the Borders between *Hungary* and *Austria*. From thence he march'd with the Army, which had till then been in *Illyricum*, to meet *Maroboduus*, and both Armies, which together consisted of 12 Legions, were but five Days Journey from each other (1). But the *Roman* Troops

§. XXIV. (1) PATERCULUS, whose Relation of Maroboduus is mention'd above, goes on, c. 108. Occupatis igitur, quos prædiximus, locis, finitimos omnes, aut bello domuit, aut condicionibus, juris sui fecit. Corpus suum custoditum, imperium perpetuis exercitiis pæne ad Romanæ disciplinæ formam redactum, brevi in eminens, & nostro quoque imperio timendum, perduxit fastigium; gerebatque se ita adversus Romanos, ut neque bello nos lacefferet, & si lacefferetur, superesse sibi vim, ac voluntatem resistendi, declararet. Legati, quos mittebat ad Cæsares, interdum ut supplicem commendabant, interdum ut pari loquebantur. Gentibus, hominibusque a nobis desciscitibus, erat apud eum perfugium, totumque ex male dissimulato agebat æmulum: exercitumque, quem LXX millium peditum, quatuor equitum fecerat, assiduis adversus finiti-

mos bellis exercendo, majori, quam quod habebat operi, præparabat. Eratque etiam eo timendus, quod, cum Germaniam ad lævam, & in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo sedium suarum haberet Noricos, tamquam in omnes semper venturus, ab omnibus timebatur. Nec securam incrementi sui patiebatur esse Italiam: quippe cum a summis Alpium jugis, quæ finem Italiæ terminant, initium ejus finium haud multo plus CC. millibus passuum abesset. Hunc virum, & hanc regionem, proximo anno, diversis e partibus, Tib. Cæsar aggredi statuit. Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos, excisis continentibus Hercyniæ silvis, legiones Bojohœmum (id regioni, quam incolabat Maroboduus, nomen est) duceret: ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos or-

Troops had no sooner left *Illyricum*, than the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians* endeavour'd to shake off the *Roman Yoke*, and, together with all the neighbouring Nations, took up Arms. *Tiberius*, whose Concern for the preserving of these Provinces was greater than all the Advantages he could propose to gain of *Maroboduus*, hasten'd a Peace with him (2), and went to *Pannoni* where, successively for the Space of three Years, he carried on a War, of the Importance of which we may easily judge, since the *Romans* employ'd fifteen Legions, and as many auxiliary Troops, in it 'till they had entirely subdued all *Illyricum*, that is, all the Countries that lay between *Noricum* and *Thracia*, from the *Danube* to the *Adriatick Sea* (3). He happen'd fortunately to have finish'd this War, when he received an Account that all the *German Nations*, who dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Weser*, had revolted, and the Deputy *Quintilius Varus* suffered a signal Overthrow.

Behaviour
of *Quintilius
Varus* among
the *Germans*

§. XXV. *Quintilius Varus*, who had succeeded *Saturninus* in the Government of *Germany*, knew better how to enrich himself as a General, than to keep so unpolish'd a Nation, as the *Germans* were, within Bounds. He had before amassed vast Sums in *Syria*, and the few Opportunities he now had of gratifying his Avarice, made him but the more insatiable. He prefer'd Peace to War, and when he found, that the *Romans* had built Castles in the Midst of the *Germans*, and there begun to be an Intercourse between them, he resolv'd, to accustom them imperceptibly to the *Roman Laws* and *Manners*, and, under the specious Pretence and Denomination of Justice, to impose a heavier Yoke upon them, than he could have done by Force of Arms (1). With this

sus est. Rumpit, interdum moratur proposita hominum fortuna. Præparaverat jam hiberna Cæsar ad Danubium, admotoq; exercitu non plus, quam V. dierum iter a primis hostium, Saturninum admoveri placuerat, [cui 9 copię] pæne æquali divisæ intervallo ab hoste, intra paucos dies in prædicto loco cum Cæsare juncturæ erant; cum universa Pannonia insolens longæ pacis bonis, & adulta viribus Dalmatia, omnibus tractus ejus gentibus in societatem adductis, ex constituto arma corripuit.

(2) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 110. Tum necessaria gloriosis præposita: neque tutum visum abdito in interiora exercitu, vacuam, tam vicino hosti, relinquere Italiam. Tiberius mentions this Reconciliation himself, as in Tacitus: Ann. L. II. c. 26. Suevos, Regem-

que Maraboduum, pace obstrictum. And *Maraboduus himself boasts*, L. II. c. 47. Mox conditionibus æquis discessum.

(3) SUTTON. in Tib. c. 16. Toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam, regnumque Noricum, & Thraciam, & Macedoniam, interque Danubium flumen, & sinum maris Adriatici patet, perdomito, & in deditionem redacto.

§. XXV. (1) DIO L. LVI. p. 582. Loca quedam Germaniæ Romani tenebant, non simul, sed ut forte subacta fuerant, hinc inde: quam ob causam in historiis nulla sit eorum mentio. Iis in locis hiberna Romani milites habebant, urbes condebant, mores eorum jam barbari accipiebant, in forum conveniebant, congressusque cum iis pacatos habebant. Neque tamen patriarum consuetudinum, morum innatorum, liberatis, armorumque

this View he cross'd the *Rhine*, and struck his Camp in the Midst of those *German Nations*, who had been last conquer'd, against whom he employ'd all the secret Intrigues of the *Roman Forum*. The *Germans*, who were accustomed to short Pleadings, and could scarce have believed, that their Descendants would ever become so fond of, and so well acquainted with the *Roman Laws*, thought it very injurious, to have their Lives and Effects, dependent on Proceedings, in a Language unknown to them. Their Chiefs saw besides, with Regret, the Loss of their former Dignity; but, notwithstanding their Native Sincerity, knew perfectly well how to conceal their Discontent, whenever they were obliged to appear before the *Roman Judges*. Some of the principal, and particularly *Segimer* and *Arminius*, who were frequently admitted to his Table, made a Shew sometimes of being grateful to him, for having so happily found the Means to introduce the *Roman Customs* among them, and made him so secure, that he behaved in their Camp as if he had been acting the *Prator* in *Rome*, dispersing his Soldiers, here and there, on the most trivial Occasions given him even by the *Germans* themselves (2). *Arminius*, the Son of *Segimer*, a valiant Prince of the *Cherusci*, sought, in the mean Time, an Opportunity of deli-

morumque potentiae, obliti penitus fuerant. Itaque dum paullatim, & via quadam, in custodia habiti, ea dedicerent, mutationem vitae suae adeo non gravate ferebant, ut ne sentirent quidem eam. Ubi vero Quintilius Varus, Germaniae, post administratam Syriam praefectus, rebus gubernandis susceptus, instituit eam gentem subito transformare, tanquam servituti subiectis imperare, pecuniasque, ut a subditis, exigere: Germani ejus inceptum non tulerunt, primoribus ipsorum amissum principatum desiderantibus, vulgo consuetam rerum rationem peregrinae dominationi anteferente. FLORUS L. II. c. 12. Postquam ille (*Drusus*) defunctus, Vari Quintilii libidinem, ac superbiam naud secus, quam saevitiam odisse coeperunt. Ausus ille agere conventum, & in castris jus dicebat, quasi violentiam barbarorum & lictoris virgis, & praconis voce posset inhibere: at illi, qui jam pridem rubigine oblitos erant, inertesque morerent equos, ut primum togas, & SAEVIORES armis JURA viderent, duce Arminio arma corripunt.

(2) PATERCULUS's Relation is this: L. II. c. 117. /y. Varus Quintilius, illustri ma-

gis, quam nobili ortus familia, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus, ut corpore, & animo immobilior, otio magis castrorum, quam bellicae assuetus militiae, pecuniae vero, quam non contemtor, Syria, cui praefuerat, declaravit; quam pauper divitem ingressus, dives pauperem reliquit. Is, cum exercitui, qui erat in Germania, praefect, concepit esse homines, qui nihil praeter vocem, membraque haberent hominum; quique gladiis domari non poterant, posse jure mulceri. Quo proposito, mediam ingressus Germaniam, velut inter viros, pacis gaudentes dulcedine, jurisdictionibus, agendoque pro tribunali ordine, trahebat aetiva. At illi, quod nisi expertus vix crederet, in summa feritate versutissimi, natumque mendacio genus, simulantes fictas litium series, & nunc provocantes alter alterum injuria, nunc agentes gratias, quod eas Romana justitia finiret, feritasque sua novitate incognitae disciplinae mitesceret, & solita armis discerni, jure terminarentur, in summam socordiam perducere Quintilium, usque eo, ut se praetorem urbanum in foro jus dicere, non in mediis Germaniae finibus exercitui praefesse, crederet.

vering

vering his Country from Slavery, and this he hoped to find in the Indolence of *Varus*; for whom he, and the other *Germans*, who esteem'd nothing more in a General, than Valour and Strength, had otherwise but little Regard. *Arminius* was, at that Time, a young Prince, not much above 20 Years of Age. His promising Aspect, and Vivacity of Mind, discover'd his Magnanimity and Understanding. He had made several Campaigns under the *Romans*, (probably under *Tiberius*, in his Expedition against the *Chauci* and *Longobards*, or against *Maroboduus* and the *Pannonii*;) and there distinguish'd himself in such Manner, that he was created a *Roman Knight*. But all the *Roman Grandeur* could not, with him, come in Competition with the Love of his Country, and he esteemed the Honour of being an independent Prince, preferable to any thing he could hope at *Rome* (3).

Arminius defeats the Army under his Command.

A. Chr. 9.

§. XXVI. *ARMINIUS* proceeded with the greatest Caution. Some of the *Germans* on the utmost Borders began, by his Instigation, to raise a Commotion, and he was one of the most zealous, to persuade *Varus* to go against them in Person. *Segestes*, another Prince of the *Cherusci*, admonish'd, and at Length entreated him, when once he, with *Arminius* and others, of the first Rank, were at his Table, to imprison the whole Company; as a sure Means to keep the People to their Duty (1): But *Varus* was averse to his Proposal, either because he thought *Segestes* spoke out of Enmity, or because he did not expect so much Deceit in the *Germans*. He therefore set out with three Legions, and march'd towards the *Wefer*, near which the Disturbance began. *Arminius*, and the other *German Princes*, whose Counsels he follow'd, staid behind, and gathered together all their Subjects, under Pretence of sending them to *Varus's* Assistance. By this Means, all the neighbouring Nations soon appeared in Arms, of the real Cause of which *Quintilius Varus* had no Suspicion: But, believing himself to be in the Country of his Friends, made slow and irregular Marches. When *Arminius* found a proper Time, he publish'd a Command, throughout the whole Country, to kill all the *Romans* who should be met

(3) *PATERCULUS L. II. c. 118.* Tum juvenis, genere nobilis, manu fortis, sensu celer, ultra barbarum promptus ingenio, nomine *Arminius*, *Sigimeri*, Principis gentis ejus, filius, ardorem animi vultu, oculisque præferens, assiduus militiæ nostræ prioris comes, & jam civitatis Romanæ jus, equestremque consecutus gradum, segnitia ducis, in occasionem sceleris usus est; haud imprudenter speculatus, neminem celerius opprimi, quam qui

nihil timeret, & frequentissimum initium esse calamitatis, securitatem.

§. XXVI. (1) *TACIT. Annal L. I. c. 55.* *Segestes* parari rebellionem, sæpe alias, & supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit. Suasi'que *Varo*, ut se, & *Arminium*, & cæteros principes, vinciret, nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina, & innoxios, discerneret.

with,

with, either in their Quarters or out upon Forage: He himself hasten'd after *Varus*, overtook him and his Army, in the greatest Disorder, in the Forest of *Teutenburg*, encompass'd with Mountains and impassable Woods, where he immediately attack'd him on every Side. *Varus* drew all his Men together, as well as he could in haste, order'd most of his Carriages, and all the Ammunition, which could be spared, to be burnt, and march'd more regularly the next Day. But the *Germans*, who knew every Foot-path, and who, upon the first Report of their Countrymen's Designs, and fortunate Beginning, had hasten'd to their Assistance from all Parts, so surrounded him, that *Varus* resolv'd upon making a second Stand (2). Here Heaven itself seem'd to conspire, to deliver him into the Enemy's Hands. A sudden Shower of Rain so moistned the Ground, that the *Romans* could neither stand to fight, nor march to escape; and a high Wind hinder'd them from using their Spears, Arrows and Shields: But the *Germans*, who were most of them lightly armed, did not find so great Impediment. *Quintilius Varus*, and some of his principal Officers, being, at Length, wounded, gave all for lost, and, in Despair, fell on their own Swords: Which at once bereft the Remainder of the Army of the little Courage they had left. The *Romans*, who, as Conquerors, were wont to sacrifice the *Germans*, to their brutal Fury, were now served in their own Kind. *Vala Numonius* (3) endeavour'd to save the Cavalry by a Flight, but was likewise overtaken and defeated. Some offer'd to surrender, but did not all save their Lives by that Means. The *Germans* offer'd

(2) *TACIT.* distinguishes these two Camps very well, *An. L. I. c. 61.* Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum: quantumque Amisiam & Luppiam, amnes inter, vastatum: haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquæ Vari, legionumque insēpultæ dicebantur. Igitur cupido Cæsarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus, ducique; permoto ad miserationem omni, qui aderat, exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus belorum, & sortem hominum. Præmissis Cæcina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur, pontesque, & aggeres, humido paludum & fallacibus campis imponeret. Incedunt mortuos locos, visuque ac memoria, deformes. Prima Vari castra, lato ambitu, & dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabat: dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa, accisæ jam reliquæ confedisse intelligebantur: medio

campi albertia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta velli aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora; lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos, ac primorum ordinum centuriones, mactaverant. Et cladis ejus superstites, pugnam, aut vincula, elapsi, referebant, hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum; ubi infelici dextra, ex suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali concionatus Arminius; quot patibula captivis, quæ scrobes: utque signis & aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

(3) This *Vala* is by some thought to have been the same to whom *Horace* addressed his 15th Epistle of the first Book.

Quæ sit hiems Velix, quod cœlum *Vala* Salerni.

several

several of the most eminent among them a Sacrifice to their Deities (4), others were dispatch'd in a different Manner, and their Heads fix'd on the neighbouring Trees (5), as so many Trophies (6), which horrid Monument of their Victory remained 'till *Germanicus* afterwards caused the Bones of the *Romans* to be interr'd. In short, the *Germans* omitted nothing, that could satiate their Rage. The *Romans* had attempted to burn *Varus's* Corpse, but when their Time fell short, they buried it half burnt, that it might not fall into the Hands of their Enemy. But the *Germans* dug it up, and made their Sport of it (7). His Head was sent to King *Maroboduus* as a Token of their Victory, who was so polite to send it to *Rome* to be inter'd in the Burying Place of his Family. Among those who surrender'd, or were taken Prisoners, those met with the hardest Fate, who had serv'd in the *Roman* Courts of Judicature against any *German* (8). The other Prisoners were divided, and many a *Roman* Nobleman, who thought he had already one Foot in the Senat, was reduc'd to serve a *German* Husbandman, as Shepherd, or in some Domestick Employment (9). Some were afterwards redeemed by their Friends, but by the Rigour of the *Roman* Military Discipline, could never return to *Rome*, or even appear in *Italy* again (10).

What Advantage the
Germans made of
this Victory.

§. XXVII. BUT the *Germans* did not take all the Advantage, the *Romans* fear'd they would have done, of this Victory. For instead of passing the *Rhine*, where Opportunities and Inclinations to a Revolt, were never wanting; they mispent their Time, in the Destruction of the *Roman* Fortresses, on their Side of the River, and whatever Forts

(4) TACIT. l. c.

(5) Idem.

(6) The Place is most probably not far from the present little City of Horn, in the Diocese of Paderborn, where a Place called Winfeld is said to have received its Name from this Victory. See the celebrated Bishop of Paderborn's FERDINANDUS FURSTENBERG Monumenta Paderbornensia, p. 22. & 34.

(7) FLORUS L. IV. c. 12. n. 38. Ipsius quoque Consul's corpus, quod militum pietas humi semiustum abdiderat, effossum. VELLEJUS PATERCULUS: Vari corpus, semiustum, hostilis laceraverat feritas, caput ejus abscissum, latumque ad Maroboduum, & ab eo missum ad Cæsarem, gentilitii tandem tumuli sepultura honoratum est. TACIT. L. I. An. I. c. 71. says of Sesthacus, Segimer's Son, quod corpus Vari illuserit.

(8) FLORUS: L. IV. c. 12. Nihil insultatione Barbarorum intolerabilius: præcipue tamen in caesarum patronos: aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant. Unius os sutum, recisa prius lingua, quam in manu tenens barbarus: Tandem, inquit, vipra sibilare desiste.

(9) SENECA ep. 47. Variana clade quam multos splendidissime natos, senatorium, per militiam auspicantes gradum, fortuna de pressit, alium ex illis pastorem, alium custodem casulæ fecit.

(10) DIO. l. c. p. 585. B. Postea temporis nonnulli quoque captorum redempti sunt, concessio hoc ipsorum necessariis, ea conditione, ut extra Italiam manerent.

Drusus

Drusus and *Tiberius* may have erected on the *Ems*, the *Weser*, and the *Saal*, fell at that Time into the Hands of the *Germans*. The Castle of *Elsen* made the longest Resistance, the *Germans* being little experienced in Sieges, and destitute of the Materials requisite for that End. They resolved therefore to reduce it by Famine: But *L. Cæditius*, the Governor, ventur'd, in a dark Night, to fight his Way thro', tho' with great Loss. He order'd his Trumpeters to blow a *Roman March*, which made the *Germans* think, that *L. Asprenas* was coming to their Relief; and thereby kept them from pursuing him (1). *L. Asprenas*, *Quintilius Varus's* Sister's Son, had staid behind with two Legions, with which, upon the News of his Uncle's Overthrow, he cross'd the *Rhine*, into Winter Quarters, and thereby not only saved these Legions, but also curb'd the Minds of the *Gauls*, who were prone to a Revolt (2.) The *Germans* were however thus far obliged to *Arminius*, that he fix'd the *Rhine* for the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*, which extended before to the *Weser*, if not farther, the Countries of the *Chatti*, *Tencteri*, *Bructeri*, *Chauci* and *Cherusci*, having been reduced into a Province (3).

§. XXVIII. THE *Romans*, in the mean while, imagined the Loss at first to be far greater than it really was, and *Augustus*, whom great Age had render'd timorous, thought all *Germany* and *Gaul* were in Arms, and that even *Italy* lay expos'd to the Conqueror. The Legions could not, without Danger, be drawn out of *Illyricum*; and in *Rome*, none cared to enlist, the extraordinary Preparations magnifying the Danger in the Eyes of the Populace: For a new Guard was order'd to mount in the City (1); All *Germans*, who were at *Rome*, either as Travellers, or in the Life-Guard, were oblig'd to depart (2), and

The Con-
sternation
Varus's over-
throw cau-
sed at Rome,

§. XXVII. (1) DIO L. LVI. p. 585. A. Quo factum est, ut robustissimus quisque evaderet, ac Tibicines, qui cum iis erant, signum cursus incinentes, se ab Asprena suis auxilio missos, opinionem hostibus injecerunt, quia videri (jam enim tenebræ se intenderant) non poterant. Ea res inhibuit ab insequendo Germanos, & Asprenas, cognita re, vere auxilium suis tulit.

(3) FLORUS L. V. c. Hac clade factum, ut imperium, quod in litore Oceani non steterat, in ripa Rheni fluminis staret. Tacitus, in the same Sense, afterwards allows *Arminius* the Title of Liberator Germaniæ.

§. XXVIII. (1) SÆTONTIUS in *Augusto*. c. 23. Hæc nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus existeret.

(2) DIO l. c. p. 585. D. Et quia complures Galli, ac Germani, Romæ obversabantur, partim peregrinantes, partim inter stipatores recipiendi; veritus, ne quid novi molirentur, in insulas armatos amandavit, inermes urbe exire jussit.

(2) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 120. Qui legatus sub avunculo suo Varo militans, nava, virilique opera duarum legionum quibus præerat, exercitum, immunem tanta calamitate servavit; matureque ad inferiora hiberna descendendo, vacillantium, etiam cis Rhenum si tarum gentium, animos confirmavit.

O

Augustus

Augustus vowed solemn Festivals to *Jupiter*; a Thing not customary but in Times of the most imminent Danger (3). The Domestick Misfortune which beset him, this Year, in the Person of his Grand-Daughter *Julia*, perplexed him still more, and as, with these, his Mind was tormented with a Tincture of Superstition, he imagined, that some adverse Deity had undertook to stop the Torrent of his good Fortune (4). This Complication of Evils so disheartned *Augustus*, that, if all be true, what Historians say of his Behaviour, it is surprizing how a single unexpected Blow could thus shake the *Roman* Power (5).

Tiberius goes
to *Germany*.

§. XXIX. It was certainly very fortunate for the *Romans*, that *Tiberius* had just finish'd the War in *Illyricum*, the *Germans* had perhaps otherwise been seduc'd to countenance that Rebellion (1). He no sooner heard the ill News, than he hasten'd to *Rome*, and tho' he had fully merited a Triumph in *Illyricum*, his private Honour was obliged to give Way to the universal Distress of his Country. Notwithstanding the Intelligence they now had, that *Asprenas* had saved two Legions, that *Gaul* and *Germany* were quiet, and that the *Germans* had not ventur'd to pass the *Rhine*, yet the Levies at *Rome* went on but slowly; insomuch, that the *Veterans* and Freed-Men were compell'd to enroll (2). *Tiberius* set out with these Troops for *Gaul*, and the Year following † passed the *Rhine* (3). As *Varus*'s Indolence had contributed very much to his Ruin, *Tiberius* endeavour'd to renew the strict Discipline of ancient Times. He was besides unwilling to venture far into the Country,

(3) See *Suetonius's Words* in the I. Book, §. XVII. nota 1.

(4) D 10 L. c. E. Videbatur enim ei tantum hoc, ac subitum malum, non sine Dæmonii cujusdam ira accidisse. Suspectumque præterea voluntatem, propter prodigia quæ ante, & post eam cladem evenerant, magnopere habebat. That a Comet appeared about this Time, which was interpreted to forbode the Fatality of this War, appears by *Manilius's* Descr. Astronom. L. I. v. 826. sqq.

Extremas modo per gentes, ut foedere rupto
Cum fera ductorem rapuit *Germania* *Varum*,

Infecitque trium Legionum sanguine campos,

Arserunt toto passim minitantia mundo
Lumina, & ipsa tulit bellum natura per ignes,

Opposuitque suas vires, finemque minata est.

(5) *Suetonius* in *Aug.* c. 23. Adeo nam-

que consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses, barba, capilloque summisso, caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: *Quintili Vare, legiones redde.*

§. XXIX. (1) *Suetonius* in *Tiberio* c. 17. Sub idem fere tempus *Quintilius Varus*, cum tribus legionibus, in *Germania* periit, nemine dubitante, quin victores *Germani*, juncturi se *Pannoniis* fuerint, nisi debellatum prius *Illyricum* esset.

(2) *Suetonius* in *Augusto* 23. Libertino milite, præterquam *Romæ* incendiorum causa, & si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad præsidium coloniarum, *Illyricum* contingentium: iterum ad tutelam ripæ *Rheni*, fluminis.

(3) *Suetonius* c. 17. Proximo anno repetita *Germania*. By *Dio's* Computation, this happen'd A. V. C. 763. *Ovid* seems to mean this Campaign, in the following Passage, *Tristium* L. III. el. 12. v. 45. &c. Is

Country, and as the *Germans* did not appear in the Field, he was satisfied with being able, without Loss, to put his Army into Winter-Quarters (4). *Tiberius* cross'd the *Rhine* again, the following Year, accompanied by *Germanicus*, the eldest Son of *Drusus*, whom he had, at *Augustus's* Desire, adopted as his Son. They returned towards Winter to *Rome*, where *Tiberius* was honoured with a magnificent Triumph, for his Success in *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* (5). *Augustus* admitted him as Assistant in the Administration (6); and *Germanicus* was A. Chr. 13. the next Year created *Consul*.

§. XXX. THE *Rhine* continued, in the mean Time, pretty peace-^{*Germanicus*}able (1); for the *Germans* could not, by reason of the *Roman* Garrisons on ^{takes the}their Borders, make any Attempt upon them, and the *Romans* were, ^{Command}by the great Age of their Emperor, hinder'd from aiming at any new ^{against the}Conquests. When *Germanicus's* Consulship was ended, he was entrusted with the chief Command in *Gaul*, and the Conduct of the War against the *Germans* (2). He first laid a Tax on all the *Gauls*, and was ^{The Death}busied in the Collection of it, when he received the News of the Death of *Augustus*. of *Augustus*. of the Emperor *Augustus*, who died the same Year, on the 19th of A. Chr. 14. *August*, at *Nola* in *Campania*.

Is, precor, auditos possit narrare triumphos
Cæsaris, & Latio reddita vota Jovi.

Teque rebellatrix tandem Germania magni
Triste caput pedibus supposuisse ducis.

(4) PATERCULUS L. II. c. 120. Mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, disponit exercitus, præsidia munit; se magnitudine sua, non fiducia hostium, metiens, qui Cimbricam, Teutonicamque militiam, Italiæ minabantur; ultro Rhenum, cum exercitu, transgreditur. Arminio terrore, quem arcuisse pater, & patria, contenti erant, penetrat interius, aperit limites, vastat agros, urit domos, fundit obvios; maximaque cum gloria, incolumi omnium, quos transduxerat, numero, in hiberna revertitur.

(5) BUCHERIUS seems to think, that *Tiberius* commanded the Army in Germany A.V.C. 765, and defers his Triumph to the next Year, but the Proof is not very evident.

(6) SÆTONTIUS in Tib. c. 21. Non multo post (triumphum) lex per Consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret. Tacitus says An. L. I. c. 3. Ut Agrippa vita concessit L. Cæsarem eundem ad Hispanienses exerci-

tus, Cajum remeantem Armenia, & vulnere invalidum, mors fato propera, vel novercæ, Livix, dolus abstulit: Drusoque pridem extincto, *Tiberius Nero*, solus e privignis, erat. Illic cuncta vergere, filius, collega imperii, consors tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur: omnesque per exercitus ostentatur: non obscuris, ut antea matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Some, among whom is *Bucharius*, L. III. c. 3. begin to reckon the Years of *Tiberius's* Reign from this Time. But this Computation is attended with too many Difficulties, as *Tillemon* has demonstrated in not. IV. sur l'Empereur Auguste. We retain the common Account, by which the Years of *Tiberius's* Reign begin not 'till *Augustus's* Death.

§. XXX. (1) TACITUS Annal. L. I. c. 4. Bellum ea tempestate nullum, nisi adversus Germanos supererat; abolendæ magis infamiæ, ob amissum cum Varo exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii, aut dignum ob præmium.

(2) SÆTONTIUS in Caligula. c. 8. Qui res Augusti memoriæ mandarunt, *Germanicum*, exacto consulatu, in Galliam missum consentiunt.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K IV.

The H I S T O R Y of the G E R M A N S to the Conclusion
of the B A T A V I A N W A R.

S E C T. I. **T** H E Roman Legions in Lower Germany mutiny.
 II. Germanicus surprises and defeats the Marfi.
 The Brueteri and Tubantes lay wait for him
 at his Return. III. Dissentions between Armi-
 nius and Segestes. Germanicus surprises the Catti. Cæcina defeats
 the Marfi. IV. Segestes calls Germanicus to his Assistance, and is re-
 lieved by him. V. Germanicus marches against Arminius, and visits the
 Field of Battle where Q. Varus was overthrown. VI. Cæcina is obliged to
 fight his Way thro' the Cherusci. VII. Germanicus returns. Some Princes
 of the Cherusci submit to the Romans. VIII. Germanicus equips a Fleet,
 and relieves the Castle of Aliso. IX. Of the Roman Lines, Palanks,
 and Agri Decumates. X. The Roman Fleet sails up the Ems. The
 Romans encamp on the Weser. A Conference between Arminius and
 his Brother Flavius. XI. An Engagement between the Batavi and the
 Cherusci. XII. A pitch'd Battle between Germanicus and Arminius.
 XIII. A second Battle. Trophies erected by the Romans. XIV. The
 Roman Fleet shipwreck'd in the Northern-Sea. XV. The Romans at-
 tack the Catti and the Marfi; XVI. And lay aside their War with the
 Germans.

Germans. *Triumph of Germanicus.* XVII. *His Death. A Monument erected to his Memory on the Rhine. Medals struck in Honour to his Victories in Germany.* XVIII. *The War between Arminius and Maraboduus.* XIX. *Gotwalda (or Catualda) a Gothick Prince, drives Maraboduus out of his Dominions.* XX. *Continuation of both their Histories. A Kingdom founded by Vannius.* XXI. *The Death of Arminius. Whether the Irmensaule had its Name from him?* XXII. *Tranquility in Germany.* XXIII. *Successful Revolt of the Frisii.* XXIV. *The Transactions of C. Caligula with the Germans.* XXV. *Galba successful against the Catti, and Gabinius against the Marfi, in the Reign of Claudius.* XXVI. *The Germans serviceable to the Romans in Britain.* XXVII. *Italus, the Son of Flavius, made King of the Cherufci.* XXVIII. *Carbulo endeavours to subdue the Chauci, and to reduce the Frisii to Obedience. The Northern Boundaries between the Dominions of the Romans and the Germans.* XXIX. *Argrippina establishes a Roman Colony among the Ubii.* XXX. *The Catti pillage Upper Germany.* XXXI. *Vannius driven out of his Kingdom, by Vangio and Sido, who divide it between them.* XXXII. *Pomponius Paullinus causes a Dam to be raised on the Banks of the Rhine.* XXXIII. *Differences with the Frisii. Verritus and Malorix, two Princes of that Country, go to Rome.* XXXIV. *The Ansivarii exterminated.* XXXV. *A bloody Battle between the Chatti and the Hermanduri.* XXXVI. *Julius Vindex attempts to deliver Gaul from Bondage; but is defeated near Besançon.* XXXVII. *Sulpitius Galba assumes the Imperial Dignity in Spain.* XXXVIII. *And is acknowledged after Nero's Death.* XXXIX. *The Army on the Rhine deserts Galba. Vitellius proclaim'd Emperor at Cologne.* XL. *His Army defeats Otto.* XLI. *Claudius Civilis excites his Batavi to a Rebellion against the Romans: But declares seemingly for Vespasian.* XLII. *Draws the Caninafati over to his Party.* XLIII. *His Battle with the Romans. The Batavian Cavalry desert the Romans, and join with Civilis.* XLIV. *Civilis besieges Castra Vetera. The Romans prepare to raise the Siege.* XLV. *Vespasian is victorious in Italy. A Battle on the Rhine, near Gelduba and Vetera.* XLVI. *The Gauls, after the Death of Vitellius, enter into a League with Civilis, and throw off the Roman Yoke.* XLVII. *The Roman Legions, at Vetera, submit to Civilis. Of Velleda, a Prophetess.* XLVIII. *The Destruction of the Roman Forts and Camps along the Rhine.* XLIX. *The Intention of Civilis. The Ubii come into the German League.* L. *Julius Sabinus aspires to the Imperial Dignity: But is defeated by the Sequani.* LI. *Mucianus sends fresh Supplies to the Rhine. Tutor is defeated near Bingen.* LII. *Petilius Cerialis beats the Treviri near Regola.* LIII. *A Battle near Triers. The Ubii join the Romans again.* LIV. *A Battle*
near

near Vetera. Civilis retreats over the Rhine, into the Island of Batavia. LV. The Romans follow him thither. LVI. A Sea-Fight between the Roman and Batavian Fleets. A Peace ensues.

Four Roman
Legions mu-
tiny in Low-
er Germany.

§. I. **W**HILST Tiberius was employed in securing his Succession in the Empire, a Mutiny arose among the Legions on the Rhine, which, had not Germanicus's Fidelity, Prudence and excellent Deportment quell'd it in Time, might have afforded the Germans the wish'd for Opportunity of invading Gaul. Four Legions lay in Upper, and four in Lower Germany. The four latter, which consisted chiefly of new-levied Men, who could not agree with the rigid military Discipline, after the luxurious Life they had led at Rome, and in Italy, openly rebelled, complaining of the Length of Time they were to serve, the Smallness of their Pay, and the unmerciful Treatment of their Officers. Those in Upper Germany waited only the Event of this Affair, and all depended upon Germanicus's Conduct. This Prince possess'd the Love and Esteem of the Roman People, not only in Regard to the Memory of his Father, who was thought a Friend to their Liberty; but likewise because they entertained the same Hopes of him: And were well assured, that his Humanity and Benevolence were rather the Effects of his natural Temper, than of a conceal'd Ambition. He knew, indeed, that he was neither in Favour with Tiberius nor Livia, and his Wife Agrippina, the only remaining Branch of Augustus's Family, was the less capable of concealing her Hatred of her Step-Grand-mother, for the Persecution and Disgrace their Family had undergone, the more she had inherited of her Father's Magnanimity. But Germanicus was one of those noble Genius's, who esteem nothing more glorious than the Honour of having acquitted themselves of their Duty. And besides, he did not perhaps apprehend, that Tiberius would carry on his Intrigues against him so far as he afterwards experienced, or he thought them not yet ripe. He was just employed in receiving for Tiberius the Homages of the Sequani and Belgæ, when he heard of the Rebellion of the Legions in Lower Germany. He hastened

§. I. (1) THIS Sedition even reach'd the Camp near the Ems, among the Chauci. TACITUS Annal. L. I. c. 38. At in Chaucis cœptavere seditionem præsidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum, præsentis duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Jussit id Mannius, castrorum præfectus, bono magis exemplo, quam concessio jure. Deinde intumesciente motu profugus repertusque,

postquam intutæ latebræ præsidium ab audacia mutuatur: Non præfectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium Imperatorem, violari. Simul exterritis, qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, & si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos, & nihil ausos.

there-

thereupon instantly to the Army, and the Danger was so great, that *Germanicus* was obliged to send his Wife and Son to *Triers* (2). However, partly by his Lenity, and partly by his Severity, he soon brought back the Soldiers to their Duty (3).

§. II. THE Means of keeping them in Subjection, he imagined *Germanicus* would be, to give them some other Employment, to occupy their ^{surprises the} Thoughts (1). He therefore led the four (2) Legions over the *Rhine*, ^{Marfi. Enga-} marched thro' the *Cælian* Forest (3), repaired the Lines, which *Tiberius* ^{ges with the} had thrown up to keep the *Germans* at a farther Distance from the *Rhine*, and pitch'd his Tents on these Borders (4). He was informed, by his Spies, that the neighbouring *Marfi* were celebrating a great Festival, and thought of nothing less than the *Romans*; He thereupon took the Advantage of a Star-light Night, surprized them, and found them all overwhelm'd with Sleep and Drunkenness. They were all cut in Pieces, without any Resistance, and *Germanicus* divided the Army into four Bodies, that it might extend itself the quicker, and they then lay'd all the Country waste, 50 *Roman* Miles round them, without Mercy, sparing neither Age nor Sex, and laying all their Buildings,

(2) *Idem. Annal. L. I. c. 40.* Incedebat muliebre, & miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum conjuges, quæ simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes, qui manebant. Non florentis Cæsaris, neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa facies, gemitusque, ac planctus, etiam militum aures, oraque ad vertere. Progrediuntur contuberniis: quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas illustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoris uxoris, aut comitatus soliti, *Pergere ad Treveros, et externæ fidei.* Pudor inde, & miseratio, & patris Agrippæ, Augusti avi memoria, sceler Drusus; ipsa insigni fecunditate, præciara pudicitia: jam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo, Caligulam, appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgustudia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil æque flexit, quam invidia in Treveros. orant, obstitunt, rediret, maneret: pars Agrippinæ occurrentes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. & c. 44. Supplices ad hæc, & vera exprobrari fatentes, orabant, puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis, & duceret in

hostem; revocaretur conjunx, rediret Legionum alumnus, neve obses Gallis traderetur.

(3) *TACIT. relates all this circumstantially; Annal. L. I. cap. 31-39.*

§. II. (1) *He had, with that View, a little while before sent a Part of the Veteran Troops, to Rætia: Tacitus Ann L. I. c. 44. Haud multo post in Rætiam mittuntur, specie defendendæ provinciæ, ob imminentes Suevos; cæterum, ut avellerentur castris, trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii, quam sceleris memoria.*

(2) *TACIT. c. 49. Duodecim millia e legionibus, sex & viginti socias cohortes, octo equitum alas.*

(3) *Lipsius in Tac. c. 50. reads Silva Hesia, and supposes it to be the Hessian Forest in the Duchy of Cleves. Cluverius retains Cælia, and imagines it to be the Forest which reaches, in that Country and Westphalia, between the Weser and the City of Cösfeld.*

4) *TACIT. An. L. I. c. 50. At Romanus, agmine propero silvam Cæliam, limitemque a Tiberio ceptam, scindit; castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concædibus munitus.*

not excepting the famous Temple of *Tanfana* (5), even with the Ground. This roused the nearest Neighbours, the *Bructeri*, *Tubantes*, and *Usipetes* who resolved to way-lay *Germanicus* on his Return. But he march'd so regularly, that, if requisite, he could instantly be in Order for Battle (6). The *Germans* therefore suffer'd him to pass unmolested at first. But he was no sooner among the Woods, than they fell upon him on every Side, and especially on his Rear-Guard, with great Fury. The foreign light Horse were almost in Confusion, when *Germanicus* rode up to the 20th Legion, and exhorted them, to shew their Courage now, to blot out the Memory of their late Rebellion. This Legion hereupon faced about, drove the *Germans*, with Precipitation, into the Plain, and dispersed them. The Van was, in the mean while, got out of the Woods, on the other Side, into the Plain, where they intrench'd their Camp, and waited for those, who were left behind. After which *Germanicus* led them all, without any farther Obstruction, over the *Rhine*. *

Germanicus §. III. THE next Year proved more fatal †. *Segestes* and *Arminius*, surprizes the Princes of the *Cherusci*, were in open Enmity. *Segestes* had been always a Partizan of the *Romans*, and warn'd *Q. Varus* against the *Germans*, the very Night before his Decampment. Though he was then obliged to swim with the Stream, and join his Assistance: However, he

† A. V. 769
Chr 15. In

the Conulate
of Drusus
Cæsar and
C. Norba-
nus.

(5) TACIT. *Ann. L. I. c. 51*: Cæsar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quatuor in cuneos dispersit: quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat: non sexus, non ætas miserationem attulit, profana simul, & sacra, & celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod *Tanfana* vocabant, solo æquantur. What is meant by *Tanfana* is uncertain. *Loccenius* derives it from the German Word *Than*, and *Fana* or *Fan* which in the Gotho-Teutonic Tongue, signifies a Lord. *Tanfana*, therefore, signified the God of some Forest of Fir-Trees. *Reinesius*, in his *Ant. Inscip. p. 188*. mentions an Ancient Stone, erected in Honour to the *Matres Aufaniæ*, and supposes *Tanfana* to have been a Deity of that Class. *Cluverius*, *Germ. antiqu. L. I. c. 11. and 47*. places the Forest, in which was the *Templum Tanfana*, between the *Lippe* and the *Ems*, in *Westphalia*. *Ia. Gronovius* disapproves of this Conjecture, and fancies the City and Province of *Zutphen*, (*Zutania*) to have received the latter Part of its Name from *Tanfana*.

(6) TACIT. *Ann. L. I. c. 51*. Excivit eacædes *Bructeros*, *Tubantes*, *Usipetes*, saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus, infedere: quod gnarum duci, inessitque itineri, & prælio. Pars equitum, & auxiliariæ cohortes, ducebant; mox prima legio: & mediis impedimentis, sinistrum latus uneticesimani, dextrum quintani clausere. Vicecima legio terga firmavit, post cæteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti; dein latera, & frontem, modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere; turbabanturque densis germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Cæsar advectus ad vicecimanos, voce magna: hoc illud tempus obliterandæ seditionis clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. Exarsere animis, unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta, cæduntque: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas, castraque communivere. Quietum inde iter. Fidesque recentibus, ac priorum obliquus miles, in hibernis locatur.

* TACIT. *Ann. L. I. c. 49-52*.

always

always bore an ill Will to *Arminius*; And he was the more exasperated, when the latter forcibly carry'd off his Daughter *Thusnelda*, who had been promised in Marriage to another, whereupon it came to an open Rupture. *Germanicus*, to take Advantage of these Differences, open'd the Campaign very early. *Cæcina* was sent, with the four Legions from *Lower-Germany*, over the *Rhine*, and had, besides these, five thousand auxiliary Troops, and some Bodies of *Germans* that had been levied on the left Side of the *Rhine*. *Germanicus* himself led the four Legions, that lay in *Upper-Germany*, and 10,000 Auxiliaries, over the *Upper-Rhine*. He first rebuilt those Forts, which his Father *Drusus* had rais'd near Mount *Taurus*, and had been demolish'd by the *Germans*, after *Q. Varus's* Overthrow, left *L. Apronius* behind him to guard the Roads and Rivers, and march'd with the choicest of his Men, against the *Catti*, who either did not expect him at all, or at least not so soon. The Troops saved themselves by swimming over the *Eder*, and retired deeper into the Country; but were obliged to leave their ancient Parents, together with their Wives and Children, a Prey to their Enemy. The *Romans* laid a Bridge over the *Eder*, burnt *Mattium* (1), the Capital of the *Catti*, and ravaged the whole Country. The *Che-rusci*, in the mean Time, would gladly have gone to the Assistance of the *Catti*, but were afraid to venture beyond their own Borders; because *Cæcina*, who lay in their Neighbourhood, threatened them with an Invasion, sometimes on one Side, and sometimes on the other: And the *Marfi*, who attempted to revenge the Damages they had suffer'd the Year before, were repell'd by him, with Loss.*

§. I. GERMANICUS was leading his Army home very quietly, *Germanicus* when *Segestes*, who was surrounded by his Antagonists, implored his *relieves Se-* Assistance. *Sigismundus*, his Son, was in this Ambassy, tho' he at first *gestes* was very uneasy, because having been a Priest of the *Ubii*, when his Countrymen rebelled against *Varus*, he had quitted his Office to assist them in that War (1); But *Germanicus*, to shew his Humanity to the Friends

§. III. (1) Some Learned Men affirm *Mattium* to be the present *Marpurg*: But they are confuted by *Messo Altingius* in *Notit. Germ. inferior. P. I. p. 122.* *Tacitus* says of the *Mattiaci*, according to the State of those Times, in which he wrote: *de M. G. c. 29. Est in eodem obse quo & Mattiacorum gens. Pro-* tulit enim magnitudo populi *Romani*, ultra *Rhenum*, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita feda, huibusque in sua ripa; mente, animoque nobiscum agunt: Cætera

similes *Batavis*, nisi quod ipso adhuc terræ suæ solo, & cælo, acius animantur. *Altingius* proves, in the quoted Passage, that they inhabited Part of the *Wetterau*, The *Aquæ Mattiacæ* will be mention'd below in the 7 Book.

* *Tacit. Annal. L. I. c. 55-56.*

§. IV. (1) *Tacitus An. L. I. c. 57.* Ad-diderat *Segestes* legatis filium, nomine *Segi-mundum*. Sed juvenis conscientia cuncta batur. Quippe anno, quo *Germaniæ* de-scivire, sacerdos apud aram *Ubiorum* crea-

Friends of *Rome* was equal to the Resentment he bore to its Enemies, sent him a previous Assurance, that he had forgot all that was past, received him kindly, and order'd a strong Guard to accompany him to the opposite Banks of the *Rhine*. He relieved *Segestes*, who, with all that were with him, submitted to the *Romans*. Among these was *Thusnelda* his Daughter, the Wife of *Arminius*, who was then far advanced in her Pregnancy, and sufficiently shew'd she was displeas'd with this Relief, and chose rather to adhere to the Views of her Husband, than to those of her Father. During her Captivity, she was deliver'd of a young Prince, who was afterwards educated at *Ravenna*, and exposed to various Adventures, the Memory of which was lost, with the Books, wherein *Tacitus* recorded them. *Segestes* himself met with a kind Reception, and interceded only for his Children. *Germanicus* assign'd him a convenient Habitation, at *Vetera*, in *Lower Germany* (2); and now led his Army, with the greater Satisfaction, and Honour, back again over the *Rhine*, as, by the Surrender of *Segestes*, he recover'd many Things of Importance, which, the *Germans* had, upon the Overthrow of *Q. Varus*, made themselves Masters of, and were fallen to the Share of *Segestes*, or of his Adherents. These Actions were likewise esteemed so glorious at *Rome*, that *Tiberius* dignified him with the Title of *Imperator*. *

His Expedition
against
Arminius.

§. V. *ARMINIUS*, on the other Hand, made vast Preparations against the *Romans*, and his Cousin *Inguiomarus*, who was esteemed by the *Romans* themselves a valiant and experienc'd Warriour, seconded his Undertaking. *Germanicus* strove to prevent them, and appointed the *Ems* a Rendezvous for his Men. *Cacina* march'd, with his four Legions, thro' the Country of the *Bruçteri*; and *Pedo* (1), with the Cavalry, thro' *Friesland*. But *Germanicus* fail'd, with his four Legions, down the *Rhine*, and over the *South-Sea*. The whole Army arriv'd safely at the appointed Place, and the *Chauci* offer'd the *Romans* their Assistance. The *Bruçteri*, on the other Hand, burnt and destroyed their own Country, that the *Romans* might find no Sustenance there. *Germanicus*, at last, sent *L. Stertinius* against them, by whom they were subdued, and among the Booty was found the Eagle of the nineteenth Legion. The *Romans* hereupon ravaged all the Country of the

tus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. Ad-
ductus tamen in spem clementiæ Romanæ,
pertulit patris mandata, benigneque exceptus,
cum præsidio Gallicam in ripam missus est.

(2) *TACIT. C. L. c. 58.* Cæsar clementi
responso liberis, propinquisque ejus incolu-
mitatem, ipsi sedem *Vetera*, in provincia

pollicetur. *Vetera*, sc. castra, lay near the
Lower Rhine, where Zanten, or, as others
affirm, *Barthen* now is.

* *TACITUS Ann. L. I. c. 57, 58.*

§. V (1) This is perhaps the same *Pedo* of
whom we still retain a fragmentum de naviga-
tione Oceani. See below §. XIV.

Bruçteri

Bructeri, between the *Lippe* and the *Ems*, to their utmost Borders. Being now not far from the Forest of *Teutoburgium*, the Place where *Q. Varus* was defeated, and where the Bones of the *Roman* Soldiers lay still unburied, *Germanicus* resolv'd to go thither, to pay, not only to the Remains of *Varus*, who was greatly esteem'd by *Augustus*, but to those of all the Soldiers, those last Honours, which even the meanest *Roman* was fond of. *Cæcina* was sent before, to inform himself of the Roads, and, when requisite, to lay Dams and Bridges. *Germanicus*, who on his arrival there, found a doleful Spectacle, in the dispersed Remains of the *Romans*, caused them to be gather'd together, and interr'd, and a Mount to be raised in Memory of them, the first Turf of which he laid himself (2). He then continued to pursue *Arminius*, and at last overtook him; tho' not much to his Advantage: Since *Tacitus* could find nothing to say of the Battle, to the Honour of the *Romans*, but that the *Germans* could not boast of the Victory. *Germanicus* immediately returned to the *Ems*, and there separated the Army. *

§. VI. CÆCINA was to march with his Legions, to the *Rhine*, and to take the common Road, which *L. Domitius* (1) had formerly made thro' the Marshes. But this Dam was broken in at several Places, so that the *Romans*, with their heavy Arms, could neither get forward themselves, thro' the soft Ground, and numerous Marshes, nor carry their Ammunition. *Cæcina* therefore set about to repair the Ways; but *Arminius*, who knew every Foot-path, and could easily go on with his light arm'd Cavalry, had fill'd the neighbouring Hills and Woods with his Men. As the *Cherusci* were besides accusom'd to fight in marshy Grounds, and, by their large Stature and long Spears, out-reach'd the *Romans*, they were far superior to them in this Place. *Cæcina* might have undergone the same Fate with *Varus*, had not the *Germans* been too eager in Pursuit of their Booty, whereby the *Romans* gain'd some Respite, and, at Length, reach'd a dry and firm Spot of Ground, where they intrench'd themselves, and thereby saved the *Roman* Army. *Cæcina*, who had been forty Years in the Service, spent the Night in making all possible Preparations for a stout Resistance. The *German* Generals differ'd, the mean Time, in their Opinions about the Attack. *Arminius* advised them to defer it till the *Romans* were march'd farther, and then they might attack them on the March, with the same Advantage they had done before: But this was rejected by a Majority.

(2) TACITUS *L. I. c. 61.* Primum, extruendo tumulo, cespitem Cæsar posuit.

* TACITUS *Annal. L. I. c. 59-63.*

§. VI. (1) See above the III Book §. 21. not. 2. conf. Menso Altingius *l. c. Tab. II.*

Inguiomarus, who was for storming the Intrenchments, represented the Conquest as easy, and particularly observed, that by this Means, more Prisoners and a larger Booty might be gained. This Proposal was suitable to the Avarice as well as the then Disposition of the *Germans*, whom the late Success had made elate. They attack'd the Camp the next Morning, fill'd the Ditches, laid Bridges over them, and began here and there to scale the Works with little Opposition: For *Cæcina* kept his Men together, and suffer'd them not to fall upon the *Germans*, 'till they were dispersed round the whole Camp. The *Romans* generally excell'd the *Germans* in open Field, and had the greater Advantage here, as the latter were not join'd in a Body. *Inguiomarus* was himself dangerously wounded, and forc'd to retreat as well as *Arminius*, who, in the Event of this unfortunate Attempt, had the secret Comfort of having opposed it. *Cæcina* now continued his March unmolested to the *Rhine*: But a Report having been spread, on the other Side of the River, that *Cæcina* was defeated, and the *Germans* were on their March to cross the *Rhine*, whose Banks were then unguarded, this caused so great a Consternation, that they almost resolv'd to break down the Bridge: But the heroick *Agrippina* put a Stop to it, and, at the Return of the Legions, in a Manner, supplied the Want of her Consort. She received them in Person, at their Entrance upon the Bridge (2), praised their Valour, and provided Necessaries for those who had suffer'd most. *

Germanicus's
Return.

§. VII. GERMANICUS would have convey'd the other four Legions home by Sea, but as the Water was very shallow on those Coasts, *P. Vitellius* was sent with the 2d and 14th Legion, to march along the Sands: But a North-wind overtook him, whereby the Sea, which, besides, usually swells about the Autumnal Æquinox, was rais'd so high (1), that it overflow'd the whole Country, and the two Legions were near being drowned, before they could reach the Eminences. There they spent the Night in Fear and Distress, 'till at Day-break the Water fell, and

(2) LIPSIVS *ad* TAC. c. 69. writes: Qua parte Rheni ipse pons? ne trabant ad se Agrippinenses: falluntur, apud Treveros fuit. Nam Agrippina, discedens a marito, tumultu militari, in Treveros iit, ut supra lectum nobis, ibique mansit. But all Circumstances prove this to have been the Bridge over the lower Rhine, near Bonn: Agrippina had retired the Year before, to the Treviri, but might be return'd, as the Legions had desir'd, and Germanicus promised

* TACITUS L. C. cap. 69. where he quotes

Plinius's Libri Bellorum Germanicorum, which were afterwards lost.

§. VII. (1) TACITUS *An. L. I. c. 70.* Vitellius primum iter sicca humo, aut modice adlabente æstu, quietum habuit: mox impulsu aquilonis simul sidere æquinoctii, quo maxime intumescit Oceanus, rapi, agique agmen: & opplebantur terræ &c. This Opinion of the Ancients, that the Sea swells about this Time, is treated of at large by Possidonius in Strabo L. XIII. fin.

open'd

open'd them the Way to the River (2), where *Germanicus* waited for them with the Fleet. A Report had, in the mean Time, reach'd *Germany*, that they all perish'd in the Water, and the Contrary would not gain Credit, 'till they were convinced by ocular Demonstration. *Germanicus*, on his Return, was compassionate to his Soldiers, as his Consort had been before: He reliev'd the poor Men out of his own Revenue, visited the wounded; view'd and enquired into their Wounds, commended their Valour, and promis'd them Promotion; insomuch that his Humanity comforted them more, than even his Benefactions. *Segimer*, *Segestes*'s Brother, and *Sesithacus*, his Son (3), surrender'd themselves about this Time to the *Romans*, as *Segestes* had done the Year before. *Stertinius* received and conducted them to the *Oppidum Ubiorum*. The Injuries the *Romans* had received from *Segimer* were soon forgot; But his Son met with a Treatment more severe, because he was accused of having insulted the Corpse of *Varus*. In *Rome*, the good Services of *Aulus Cæcina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius* were rewarded with the *Insignia Triumphalia*: But *Arminius*, and *Inguiomarus*, by whom the *Romans* had suffer'd equally as much as they gain'd, had the Praises and Fidelity of their Subjects, as a Reward for their Valour.

§. VIII. *GERMANICUS* knew the Success of his Arms was not so agreeable to the Emperor, as he pretended: And resolv'd, therefore, to push the War with the *Germanians*, and bring it to an End, before he should be recall'd. The Land-War was too laborious and expensive, since the long Marches were more dangerous and destructive to the Soldiers, than Battles in the open Field. He therefore attempted to find a Way by Sea (1): *Silius*, *Anteius* and *Cæcina* were order'd, to build

Some Prin-
ces of the Che-
ruci submit
to the Ro-
mans.

Germanicus
equips a
Fleet and
relieves the
Castle of
Aliso.

(2) *TACITUS* *l. l.* Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem Visurgim, quo Cæsar classe contenderat. Impositæ deinde legiones, vagante fama submersas, nec fides salutis, antequam Cæsarem, exercitumque reducem videre. It is evident, that this cannot be the *Wefer*, since *Germanicus* sailed into the *Fins*, and directed his Course to the South-Sea. *Lipsius* therefore reads ad amnem Vidrum, which is the *Vecht*, that falls, near *Genemuyden*, into the *Zuyder Zee*, and is not with by the Name in *Ptolæmeus*. *Menso Altingius* goes nearer still, and reads fl. Unsingim, which is the Name of the River that flows by *Groningen*, into the Sea. in *notitia German. inferior*. P. l. p. 129.

(3) *STRABO* *L. VII.* p. 292.

§. VIII. (1) *TACITUS Ann. L. II. c. 5.* Cæterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit, turbare res orientis, ut ea specie *Germanicum* sueti legionibus abstraheret, novisque provinciis impositum, dolo simul, & casibus, objectaret. At ille, quanto acriora in eum studia militum, & averfa patrum voluntas, celerandæ victoriæ intentior, tractare præliorum vias, & quæ sibi, tertium jam annum belligeranti, sæva vel prospera evenissent, fundi *Germanos* acie, & justis locis: juvari silvis, paludibus, brevi æstate, & præmatura hieme, suum militem perinde vulneribus, quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum adfici. fessas *Gallias* ministrandis equis: longum impedimentorum agmen, opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum,

In the Con-
sulate of
Statilius Si-
senna Taurus,
and L. Libor.
V. C. 769.
An. Ch. 16.

build a Thousand Ships on the *Rhine*, *Maes*, *Scheld*, and other Rivers, which fall into the *Rhine* (2), and to bring them together to the Island of *Batavia*. *Silius* was, in the mean Time, to invade the Country of the *Catti*: But *Germanicus* himself march'd, with six Legions, to relieve the Castle of *Aliso*, which the *Germans* had besieged. By Reason of the frequent and violent Rains, *Silius* could not make any Attempt, but was forc'd to return with a small Booty. The Consort and Daughter of *Arpus*, a Prince of the *Catti*, fell, however, into the Hands of the *Romans*. The *Germans*, who besieged the Castle of *Aliso*, did not wait the Arrival of *Germanicus*; but, before they drew off, demolish'd the Mount, which *Germanicus* had before rais'd over the Bones of the *Romans*, who were slain with *Varus*; and the Altar, which had been erected in Honour of *Drusus*. *Germanicus* rebuilt the Altar, and, in Honour to his Father, celebrated, with his Legions, a Turnament round it. He did not renew the Sepulchral Monument, probably because he call'd to Mind how ill the Emperor had taken that Ceremony the first Time (3). But the whole Tract of Land, from the Castle of *Aliso*, was again secured with strong Lines and Intrenchments (4).

Of the Ro-
man Lines.

§. IX. IT may not be improper, at the Mention of these Lines, to observe, that the *Romans* secured their Frontiers with Intrenchments and Ditches (1). A District, on the Confines, thus environ'd, is, by the *Roman* Historians, term'd *Limes*. We have still several considerable Remains of them. I shall elsewhere mention those near the *Danube* (2). Of those along the *Rhine*, the Wall and Ditch are still remaining, which run along the lower County of *Catzen-Ellenbogen*, in the *Wetterau*, and in *Upper Hesse*; near which many Stones, Coins, and other *Roman* Antiquities are often found. It is generally termed

quum, at si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem, & hostibus ignotam; simul bellum maturius incipi, legionesque, & commeatus pariter vehi, integrum equitem, equosque, per ora & alveos fluminum, media in Germania fore.

(2) The Fleet is described by TACITUS L. C. c. 6. Mille naves sufficere visæ, properatæque aliæ breves, angusta puppi, proraque, & lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent: quædam planæ carinis, ut sine noxa sederent: plures appositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio, hinc vel illinc, adpellerent. Multæ pontibus strata,

super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptæ ferendis equis, aut commeatui, velis habiles, citæ remis, augebantur alacritate militum in speciem, ac terrorem.

(3) TACITUS L. C. c. 7. Restituit aram, honorique patris princeps ipse, cum legionibus, decurrit: tumulum iterare haud visum. conf. ad h. l. nota Aurelii.

(4) TACITUS Ann. L. II. c. 5, 6, 7. Cuncta inter Castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum, novis limitibus, ageribusque permunita.

§. IX. (1) See HYGINUS and POLYBIUS de castris Romanorum.

(2) See Lib. V. §. 10.

the

the *Pfahl-Graben* (or pallisado'd Ditch) (3): But whether these are the same Lines which *Germanicus* caused to be cast up, is uncertain; the Sequel of this History will shew, that Lines of that Kind were rais'd at different Places; which were frequently scal'd, and sometimes even razed by the *Germans*. The District, which lay within these Land-Marks, were sometimes disposed of to private Persons, of which see a memorable Passage of *Paulus*, the famous *Roman* Civilian (4). They were generally taxed a tenth Part of their Produce, whence those Lands were termed *Agri Decumates* (5). They were sometimes divided among the superannuated Soldiers, and we find, in succeeding Times, a particular Class of Soldiers, who from thence were called *Milites Limitanei*. Their Frontiers towards *Germany* were sometimes guarded even by other *Germans*, who perhaps had been obliged to submit to them.

§. X. THE Fleet being, in the mean Time, assembled, *Germanicus*, on his Return, embarked with his Troops, and sail'd down the *Rhine*, The Roman Fleet sails into the Ems. thro' the *Fossa Drusi*, into the *Zwyder Zee*, and thence into the North-Sea. He sail'd up the *Ems*, and landed on the left Banks of that River, probably, because he thought the Fleet would ly more securely there, than on the other Side. But then he was obliged, with much Labour, to send his Men over the River, and spent several Days upon building a Bridge, which might, at so late a Season of the Year, have been better employed. The *Roman* Army pass'd thro' the Country of the *Chauci*, The Romans encamp near the Weser. who were themselves Auxiliaries to the *Romans*, along the Sea-Coast, to the *Weser*, in Search of the *Cherusci*. *Germanicus* was upon the Point of pitching his Tents near the *Weser*, when News was brought, that the *Angriarii*, who dwelt below the *Lippe*, between the *Ems* and the *Weser*, had taken up Arms behind him. He therefore sent *Sertinius*, with a Body of Horse, and light armed Infantry, against them, who was so expeditious in subduing them, that he returned to *Germanicus* before he came to a Battle with the *Cherusci*. These being encamped on the other Side of the River, *Arminius* begg'd an Interview with his Brother *Marcius*; who distinguished himself in the *Roman* Service, by his Love, as much as his Brother did, among the *Germans*, by his

(3) The *Pfahl-Graben* is described by Wincelman, in his Account of the *Gater*, p. 129. and *Nicolaus Persona* has described it in a Map, on the Locorum *Rheno* adjacentium versu inferior.

(4) *Paulus* l. II. ff. de *Evict.* *Lucius* prædictus in *Germania* trans *Rhenum* emit, & præemptum intulit; cum in residuam quantitatem heres emtoris conveniretur, quæ-

stionem retulit, dicens, has possessiones ex præcepto principali partim distractas, partim veteranis in præmia assignatas: Quæro an hujus rei periculum ad venditorem pertinere possit? *Paulus* respondet, futuros casus evictionis, post contractam emtionem, ad venditorem non pertinere.

(5) See *Lib. III. §. 10. n. 4.*

Enmity to the *Romans*. *Flavius* had formerly lost one Eye, in a Campaign he made under *Tiberius*. *Arminius* ask'd him first, how he lost that Eye? *Flavius* related the Circumstances; whereupon *Arminius* enquired what Reward he had met with for it? *Flavius* reply'd, that his Salary was augmented, that he had been presented with a golden Chain, a Crown, and other military Tokens of Honour. These *Arminius* turn'd into Ridicule, and when *Flavius* advised him to enter into the *Roman* Service, and boasted of the Entertainment *Arminius's* Wife and Son, tho' Captives, had met with: *Arminius*, on the other Hand, reminded him of the Duty he owed to his Country, to their ancient Liberty and Religion, to their Mother, who was yet living, and their Kindred. The two Princes became, at Length, so warm, that they proceeded to Invectives, and, had not the River separated them, would have come to Blows. *Flavius* demanded his Horse and Arms, and would have cross'd the Stream, had not *Stertinius* hasten'd to him, and prevented it. *Arminius* nevertheless continued his Threats on the opposite Banks, chiefly in *Latin*, which Language he had learned during his Service under the *Romans*, and which was, besides, not unknown to those *German* Potentates, who had many Concerns with that Nation. *

A Battle between the *Batavi* and *Cherusci*.

§. XI. A GERMAN Army appeared, the next Day, pursuant to *Arminius's* Threats, in Battle-Array. But *Germanicus* had not yet finished his Bridge, and therefore order'd *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, one of the *Principilares*, to cross the River, with the Cavalry, in several Places, where it was shallow. The *Batavi*, to shew their Experience in the Water, ventur'd through the most rapid Part of the Stream; but they were the more unfortunate on Shore. The *Cherusci* feigned a Retreat, and thereby decoy'd them into a Plain, which was environ'd with Woods, where they fell upon them on every Side, and drove them together into the Middle. Their General *Cariovaldus* excited them indeed to force their way thro', and rode himself into the thickest of the Enemy, but his Horse was stabbed under him, and himself was wounded by so many Arrows, that he died on the Spot. Many of the principal *Batavi* met with the same Fate, and few would have escaped, had not *Æmilius* and *Stertinius* come up, and dispersed the *Germans*. *

A pitch'd Battle betwixt *Germanicus* and *Arminius*.

§. XII. GERMANICUS, having, in the mean Time, led his Army over the River, was informed by several Deserters, that *Arminius* had already pitch'd upon a Place for the Battle, and intended, the next Night, to attack the *Roman* Camp. The same Night a *German* rode up to the Intrenchment, and proclaimed, that *Arminius* offer'd to pay

§. X. * TACITUS *Ann. L. II. c. 8. 9. 10.* §. XI. * TACITUS *Ann. L. II. c. 11.*

every one who would come over to him an hundred *Sestertii per Diem*, during the Campaign, and afterwards to assign them Lands and Tenements (1). The *Germans* soon after made an Attempt upon the *Roman* Camp, but immediately retreated, finding the Posts better beset than they expected. Both Parties, therefore, waited impatiently for the Day, which was to determine their Fate. *Arminius* reproached *Germanicus* with Cowardice, for not venturing to come by Land, and thought the *Romans* were already in his Power. He drew out his Army near the *Weser*, in a Plain (2), inclosed with Woods and Hillocks, in such a Manner, that the other *German* Nations remained in the open Field, but the *Cherusci* were on the Hills and behind the Bushes, as a Reserve, to attack the *Romans* on the Flank, and in the Rear, when their Van was engaged (3). *Germanicus* hoped, on his Part, by this single Victory, to subdue all the Country to the *Elb*, which appeared the more glorious to him, as his Father *Drusus*, and his Uncle *Tiberius*, had gained so much Honour by only venturing one Expedition thither. He made Use of all the Arts, whereby he could encourage his Soldiers; told them the Dream he had, or pretended to have had, the preceding Night, and mentioned, at the same Time, the Omens foreboded by the sacred Fowls (4), whose Motions and Appetite he might interpret, as he pleased, since he, as *Imperator*, was likewise Master of the *Auspicia*. The March was so disposed, that, in Case of Necessity, he could bring all his Forces to engage at the same Time. The *Gallick* and *German* Auxiliaries led the Van: These were followed by the Archers on Foot; next to them were four Legions, whom *Germanicus* himself followed with the Choicest of his Cavalry; Then came four other Legions, who were covered by the light Horse, with the Archers on Horseback; and last of all came the Remainder of the Confederate Troops. The Fury of the *Cherusci* caused their own Destruction; They could not refrain from advancing before their Time. They were no sooner within Sight, than *Germanicus* order'd some select *Cohorts* to attack them in Flank, and *Stertinius* with the rest, to march round and fall

§. XII. (1) TACIT. *Ann.* L. II. c. 13. Conjuges, & agros, & stipendia indies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos.

(2) TACIT. *C. L.* c. 16. In campum, cui Idistaviso nomen. Lipsius, who, the better to understand Tacitus, travelled thro' this Country, in his Notes on this Passage, imagines the Plain near Vegesack, two Miles below Bremen, to be here meant. But Cluverius fancies it to have been much farther, near Eystorp, between Minden and Oldendorp.

(3) TACIT. *c. l.* Campum, & prima silvarum, barbara acies tenuit: soli Cherusci juga infedere, ut præliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent.

(4) *Ibid.* c. 14. Nox eadem lætam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum, & sanguine sacro respersa prætexta, pulchriorem aliam, inanibus aviæ Augustæ accepisse. Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat concionem, & quæ sapientia prævisa, aptaque imminenti pugnae, differit &c.

upon their Rear. Eight Eagles were seen, at the same Time, flying, as it were, before the *Romans*, into the Forest, and furnish'd the General with an excellent Argument, to spirit up his Soldiers (5). The Enemy's Reserve were first brought into Disorder, and when the *Romans*, in the mean while, had defeated the *German* Infantry, those, who were in the Field, flying towards the Woods, were met by those in the Woods, whom *Stertinius* pursued into the Plain. *Arminius*, tho' already wounded, endeavour'd to rally them, and the *Roman* Archers begun to retreat: But some Squadrons of *Ræti*, *Vindelicii* and *Gauls*, came in Time to support them, and now *Arminius* had Reason to think himself happy that he escaped in Person. His Horse prov'd, on this Occasion, his best Friend; and he had smear'd his Face with Blood, that he might not be known. Some say, nevertheless, that the *Chauci* who serv'd under the *Romans* knew him, and suffer'd him to pass by unmolested. *Inguiomarus* likewise escaped, with his Life: But for the Rest of the Army, the Slaughter of them continued till the Night, insomuch, that within the Space of ten *Roman* Miles, nothing was seen but the dead Bodies of the *Germans*, or their scatter'd Arms. Many, who threw themselves into the *Weser*, to save their Lives by Swimming, were either killed by the *Roman* Arrows, or sunk under the Weight of other Fugitives, or that of the falling Banks. Some climb'd up to the highest Trees, who fell by the Hands of the Archers, or else the Trees were cut down, and crush'd those who fled to them for Refuge. Among the Booty was found a great Quantity of Cords and Chains, destin'd to bind the *Roman* Captives with. The *Roman* Army proclaimed *Tiberius*, *Imperator*, in the Field of Battle, and raised a small Mount, upon which they erected a Trophy, of the Arms of the Enemy, and, at the Bottom of it, the Names of the Nations they had conquer'd were carv'd in Stone. (*)

A second Engagement. §. XIII. THIS Trophy mortified the *Germans* more than their Overthrow, and tho' they had before fully resolved to retreat over the

(5) *Idem.* c. 17. Interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilæ petere silvas, & intrare visæ, Imperatorem advertere. Exclamat, irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. The Learned differ in their Opinions about these Eagles. *Colerus* supposes them to have been real Eagles, which, at that Time, were to be met with in the *Hercynian Forest*. *Aurelius* fancies them to have been of that kind, which are in Latin called *Pygargi*,

and in the Language of the Low Countries, *Aren*. But as the *Romans* were accustomed to believe their *Augurs*, that it lightened, tho' no one saw it, so they probably gave easy Credit to their Generals, that he saw Eagles, when perhaps he saw other Birds of Prey, or none at all, especially at a Time when their Eyes were otherwise sufficiently employ'd.

* *TACIT.* *Annal* L. II. c. 12-18.

Elb, yet now they agreed to attack the *Romans* once more. *Inguiomarus* commanded alone, probably because *Arminius* was prevented by his Wounds. The *Romans* themselves confess the Valour of the *Germans*, in this Battle: But as it was fought in a Place, where the *Romans* could better use their Arms, than the *Germans* their long Spears, the latter were again obliged to quit the Field (1). *Germanicus* call'd his Soldiers together, commended their Courage, and erected another Trophy, with this Inscription, *that the Emperor TIBERIUS's Army, after having subdued all the Nations between the Rhine and the Elb, had consecrated that Monument to JUPITER, MARS, and AUGUSTUS* (2). He then sent *Sertinius* a second Time against the *Angri-varii*, who could not avert their total Extirpation, by any other Means, than a Surrender on Discretion.

§. XIV. GERMANICUS would not, however, venture farther into the Country, perhaps because he was obliged to cross the Sea again. The greatest Part of his Men embarked upon the *Ems*: But the Fleet had scarce reached the open Sea, when the Pleasure they had reap'd from their *German* Victories was dearly paid for. The Air was suddenly thicken'd, and a Storm of Wind, intermix'd with violent Showers of Hail and Rain, was the doleful Prelude to an impending Tempest. It was immediately succeeded by a raging South-wind, which, with so much Impetuosity, dispersed the Fleet, that their Anchors were of no Service to them, and the flat Vessels, notwithstanding the Horses, Cattle, Ammunition and Arms were thrown over Board, could not resist the Force of the Waves. The *Roman* Sailors were besides timorous, not being so well acquainted with the wide Ocean, which they look'd upon to be the Bounds of Nature, as with their Mid-land Waters; and they were yet more disturb'd by the Soldiers, who were as fearful of being thrown upon the *German* Coasts, as of perishing in the Sea, and hinder'd the Sailors most, when they strove to assist them. The Ships were partly sunk, and partly cast on Rocks, Sands, or uninhabited Islands, where Hunger compleated that Misery, which Fear had begun. The Gally, in which *Germanicus* was, arrived, with great Diffi-

Trophies
erected by
the Romans.

Shipwrack
of the Ro-
man Fleet in
the North-
Sea.

§. XIII. (1) TACIT. *An. L. II. c. 21.* Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen, aut montes, claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria. Nec minor Germanis animus; sed genere pugnae, & armorum, superabantur: cum ingens multitudo, artis locis, praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque adfultibus & velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta

stabile ad praelium: contra miles, cui scutum pectori adpressum, & insidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet, viamque strage hostium aperiret.

(2) TACIT. *Annal. L. II. c. 22.* Debel-latis inter Rhenum, Albimque nationibus, exercitum Tiberii Caesaris, ea monimenta Marti, Jovi, & Augusto consecravisse.

culty and Danger, on the Coasts of the *Chauci*, where, in Despair, he could scarce be prevented from precipitating himself into the Sea, because their All was thought to have been Lost, and he imputed the Cause of this Misfortune wholly to himself. When at last the Tempest ceased, the Remains of the Fleet put in by Degrees at the same Place. In some Ships, several of their Benches were divested of their Rowers. Others had supply'd the Loss of their Sails, by botching their Cloaths together, and many knew no Way of saving themselves, but by being tow'd by those, which happen'd to be in a much better Condition. *Germanicus's* first Care was to repair some Vessels, in all possible Haste, which were sent back to Sea, to search on all the Isles and Sands, for those who had been thrown on Shoar. This Caution saved many. Others, who were, by Strefs of Weather, drove to the *German* Coasts, were redeem'd by the *Angrivarii*. Some, who even reach'd the *British* Shoar, were sent back to *Germanicus* by the Princes of that Island, who were in a good Harmony with the *Romans*, and to magnify their Adventures, they boasted to their Comrades of the Sea-Monsters, in the Shape of Men, and other Wonders, which they had seen. *

The *Romans*
invade the
Country of
the *Catti* and
Marfi.

§. XV. BUT left the Report of the Shipwrack of the *Romans* might encourage those *Germans*, who dwelt near to the *Rhine*, to any Attempt, *C. Silius* was sent, with 30,000 Foot, and 3,000 Horse, to invade the Country of the *Catti*, and *Germanicus* himself fell upon the *Marfi*, with a greater Force. Their General, *Malovendus*, who had, not long

§. XIV.* *TACIT. An. L. II. c. 23. 24. SENECA*
has transmitted to us Part of a Poem, composed
by Peto, upon a Voyage of Germanicus on the
North-Sea, and probably of this: Suasoriæ.
L. I. p. 11. Latini declamatores in Oceani
descriptione non nimis vigerunt, nam aut
tumide scripserunt; aut curiose. Nemo
illorum potuit tanto spiritu dicere, quanto
Peto, qui navigante Germanico, dixit,

Jampridem post terga diem solemque
relictum,

Jampridem notis extorres finibus orbis,
Per non concessas audaces ire tenebras,
Hesperii metas, extremaque litora mundi.
Nunc illum, pigris immania monstra sub
undis.

Qui ferat, Oceanum, qui sævas undique
Præstis,

Æquoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere
premissis.

Accumulat fragor ipse metus, jam fidere
limo

Navigia, & rapido desertam flamine classem,

Seque feris credunt per inertia fata marinis
Tam non felici laniandos forte relinqui.

Atque aliquis prora spectat sublimis ab
alta:

Aëra pugnaci luctatus rumpere nisu.

Ut nil erepto valuit dinoscere mundo,

Obstructo taleis effundit pectore voces:

Quo ferimur? ruit ipse dies, orbemque
relictum

Ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris:

Anne alio positas ultra sub cardine gentes,

Atque alium libris intactum quærimus
orbem?

Dii revocant, rerumque vetant cognoscere
fitem.

Mortaleis oculos: aliena quid æquora
remis

Et sacras violamus aquas, divumque qui-
etas

Turbamus sedes?

before,

before, surrender'd himself to the *Romans*, discover'd to him, that one of the Eagles, which was Part of the Booty at *Varus's* Overthrow, was deposited under Ground in an adjacent Wood. A Detachment was instantly sent to dig up this Eagle, whilst *Germanicus* attack'd the Enemy, on the other Side, and drew them out of the Wood. Both succeeded; and the *Germans* had never a greater Opinion of the *Romans*, than now, seeing they were capable of doing such Things at a Juncture, when their Power was thought to be at the lowest Ebb. *Germanicus* then led his Soldiers to Winter-Quarters, where, after this last Success, they could the more easily forget their late unhappy Fate at Sea, as *Germanicus* repaired the Loss, which every one of them had sustained, out of his own Substance. *

§. XVI. THIS happy News caused likewise great Rejoicings at *Rome*, and a Triumphal Arch was erected near *Saturnus's* Temple, in Memory of the Eagles and Ensigns, that were recover'd (1). But *Tiberius* wrote to *Germanicus*, that he had indeed fought great and successful Battles, but that his Expeditions had prov'd very expensive to the *Romans*; Witness the Loss sustained in the late Shipwrack. That he had himself headed the Army against the *Germans* nine Times under *Augustus*, but had effected more by good Counsels, and prudent Management, than by meer Force. That, by such Means, he had brought the *Sicambri* to a Surrender, and had rather made an advantageous Peace with the *Suevi* and *Marcomanni*, than enter'd into a tedious War with them. That, as the *Romans* had sufficiently reveng'd themselves of the *Cherusci*, and their Allies, it would now suffice to leave them to their own Civil Dissentions. *Germanicus* entreated but for one Year more, in which he hoped to reduce *Germany*, even to the *Elb*, into a Province. But *Tiberius* offer'd him, instead of that, the Consulship for the ensuing Year †:† A. C. 18. for which, however, he enjoin'd him to come to *Rome*; adding, that if the War in *Germany* must be continued, he might leave it to his Brother *Drusus*, (*Tiberius's* own Son) who, during the then peaceable State of the *Roman* Empire, could display his Valour, and merit a Triumph, no where else. How plainly soever the Emperor's Designs appeared, *Germanicus* could not well decline this Offer; and discover'd as much Discretion in resigning his great Advantages, as he had before done in gaining them (2). He therefore set out on his Journey to *Rome*;

§. XV. * *TACITUS Ann. L. II. c. 26.*

§. XVI. (1) *TACITUS Annal. L. II. c. 41.* Fine anni, arcus, propter ædem Saturni, ob recepta signa, cum Varo amissa, ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii; & ædes Fortis, For-

tunæ, Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Cæsar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrum genti Juliae, effigiesque D. Augusto, apud Bovillas, dicantur.

(2) *Idem c. 1.*

after

after having been four successive Years continually on this Side of the Alps. He was received, at his Return, with the greatest Tokens of Honour: The whole Imperial Horse-Guard went to meet him at 20 Roman Miles Distance from the City. He held, soon after †, on the 26th of May ††, a magnificent Triumph (3), of which, the best of the Booty, with Figures representing the Battles he had gained, and the Hills and Rivers he had pass'd, made a Part. Among the Prisoners, who follow'd the Triumphal Char, were many Persons of Distinction, and, according to *Strabo's* Account, who was a contemporary Writer, among the Rest, the two Princes of the *Cherusci*, *Sigismundus*, *Segestes's* Son, and *Sesithacus*, the Son of *Segimer*, with his Wife, *Rhamis*, the Daughter of *Arumerus*, a Prince of the *Catti*. Besides these were *Thusnelda*, the Wife of *Arminius*, with the Prince *Thumelicus*, of whom she had been deliver'd in her Captivity, and who was then three Years of Age; *Theudorix*, Prince of the *Sicambri*, the valiant *Melo's* Nephew, and *Libys*, a Priest of the first Rank among the *Catti* (4). *Segestes* was indeed excused from attending in Person, as a Captive, to add to the Grandeur of this Solemnity, but could not obtain the same Favour for his Children and Nephew.

His Death
and Monu-
ment on the
Rhine.

§. XVII. NOTHING gave a greater Grace to this Triumph than *Germanicus* himself, with his Children, on the Triumphal Char. *Tiberius* distributed to each of the *Plebeians*, three hundred *Sestertii* in *Germanicus's* Name (1), and the *German War* was look'd upon as finished at *Rome*; notwithstanding those Nations, whose Names and Captives were triumph'd over, yet retain'd a perfect Liberty, tho' they still felt their last Overthrow. *Tiberius* declared, that he would himself take upon him the Consulship for the ensuing Year, with *Germanicus*: But he was nevertheless shrewdly suspected of Insincerity (2). Soon afterwards, he took Occasion, from the Commotions which arose about this Time in *Asia*, to rid himself of him, by committing to his Care the Tranquility of the *East*. *Germanicus* enter'd upon his Consulship, at *Nicopolis*, in *Achaia* (3), but died the next Year †, as was

† In the
Consulat of
M. Junius Si-
lanus, and *L.*
Norbanus Bal-
bus (al. *Flac-*
cus.)
A. Chr. 19.
V. C. 772.

(3) *TACITUS Ann. L. II. c. 41.* Triumphavit de Cheruscis, Chattisque, & Angri-variis, quæque aliæ nationes usque ad Albim colunt: vecta spolia, captivi simulacra montium, fluminum, præliorum. *Strabo L. VII. p. 292.* treats of it more largely, and says, among other Things: In pompa quoque ductus est *Libys*, *Chattorum Sacerdos*, aliique mortales ex devastatis populis, *Cathilis*, *Amp-*

fanis, *Bructeris*, *Nusipis*, *Cheruscis*, *Chattis*, *Chattuariis*, *Landis*, *Subattiis*.

(4) *STRABO l. c.*

§. XVII. 1) The Memory of this Triumph preserved by those Coins, which have this Inscription on the Reverse. SIGNIS RECEPTIS. DEVICTIS GERMANIS.

(2) *TACIT. L. II. c. 42.*

(3) *TACIT. L. II. c. 53.*

generally

generally supposed, by Poison (4), given him by the secret Order of *Tiberius*, or his Mother *Livia*. However indutrious *Tiberius* was, to suppress the Family of *Drusus*, he could not prevent the Fall of his own; whereas *Caius*, the Son of *Germanicus*, and his Brother *Claudius* succeeded him in the Empire. Among other Honours paid to the Memory of *Germanicus*, a Triumphal Arch was erected, for that End, on the *Rhine*, which Time has, indeed, now destroyed, but without any Diminution of the Fame of that excellent Hero (5).

§. XVIII. *TIBERIUS*'s Political Maxims were not, indeed, agreeable Wars betwixt *Arminius* and *Maraboduus*. to the valiant *Germanicus*, but proved nevertheless exactly true. *Arminius* and *Maraboduus* were the most eminent *German* Princes. The latter was indeed powerful, but not beloved, because he rul'd with a more Arbitrary Power, than seem'd consistent with the *German* Liberty. *Arminius*, on the contrary, was universally esteemed the Preserver of the *German* Freedom. Both Princes were ambitious, and as the *Germans* knew, at that Time, no other Means of acquiring Fame, than by their Prowess, a War soon arose betwixt them. The *Semnones* and *Longobardi* revolted from *Maraboduus*, and fled to *Arminius* for Protection. *Inguiomarus*, with all his Subjects, at the same Time, publicly declared for the King of the *Marcomanni*, for no other Reason, but because he thought it beneath his Honour, to be in a lower Station than his Brother's Son. They came to a Battle, the like of which had never before been known in *Germany*; so excellently did both Parties, as well by the advantageous Posting of their Troops, as a good Command, display the Knowledge they had gained in former Wars, especially with the *Romans* (1). Both had great Cause to do their utmost: *Maraboduus*, to maintain his Kingdom, and *Arminius*, to support the Fame he had hitherto acquired, and, at the same Time, to keep the *Semnones* and *Longobardi* under his Protection. They at last separated with equal Loss; the Right Wings of both Armies being defeated. *Maraboduus* would not however venture a second Battle, which was ascribed to him as Cowardice. And, as the Inclinations of Men are besides easily drawn

(4) *TACIT. L. II. c. 73.*

(5) *TACIT. L. II. c. 83.* Arcus additi Romæ, & apud ripam Rheni, & in monte Sericæ Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum, ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse. Sepulchrum Antiochiæ, ubi crematus: tribunal Epidaphnæ, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve, in qui colerentur, haud facile quis numerum inierit.

§. XVIII. (1) *TACIT. L. II. c. 45.* Diriguntur acies pari utrimque spe, nec ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incurfibus, aut disjectas per catervas; quippe longa adversum nos militia insuerverant sequi Signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.

* *TACITUS Ann. L. II. c. 44, 45, 46.*

away to follow Fortune, his Men now left him, to serve *Arminius*, who seem'd to have the better Cause. *Maraboduus* retired into the Country of the *Marcomanni*, and sued for *Tiberius's* Assistance against the *Cherusci*. How agreeable soever this Application was to *Tiberius*, he pretended to be at first averse to it; and answer'd, that he could not see, how that King had any Right to demand Assistance from him, against the *Cherusci*, since he had not lent the *Romans* any, in their Wars with that People. But he soon changed his Resolution, and sent his Son, *Drusus*, whose Mind he strove to divert from the Luxury of a Court, and to inure him to War, to the Army into *Illyricum*, with Orders from thence, to have an Eye to the Concerns of the *German* Nations: And *Drusus's* Endeavours prov'd effectual in mediating, for that Time, a Peace between *Maraboduus* and *Arminius*. *

Maraboduus
is banished
by *Catualda*.

§. XIX. BUT the War it self could not have produced a more fatal Event for *Maraboduus*, than this Interposition. The *Romans* perverted this Opportunity which they had of inspecting into the State of his Affairs, to a quite different End, and, under-hand, spirited up *Catualda*, a young Person of Distinction among the *Gothones*, who had before been drove out of his Country by *Maraboduus*, to seek, at this Time, Revenge. He invaded the Country of the *Marcomanni*, with a considerable Force, and, by a secret Combination with some of the Chiefs, made himself Master of *Maraboduus's* Residence, in which, he found the Treasures which he had amass'd, in so many Years, by the Plunder of so many Nations. This fatal Accident fell so suddenly on the King, and the Treachery so terrified him, that, being ignorant of the Part the *Romans* had in it, he fled over the *Danube*, for Refuge, into the *Roman* Province of *Noricum*. He wrote to *Tiberius*, as if he had still been in the Height of his good Fortune. He reckon'd it an Honour to the *Romans*, that he placed his Confidence in them, rather than in other Nations, who offer'd him all the Assistance he could desire: But the Emperor knew better the State of his Affairs, and answer'd, that, if he would come to *Italy*, he might remain there, as long as he pleased, with Honour and Safety, and be at Liberty to depart, when it should seem proper to him. *Tiberius*, in the mean while, exaggerated *Maraboduus's* Wisdom and Valour, with the Power of the People he had governed, to the Senat, and said, that *Philip* had not been more formidable to the *Athenians*, nor *Pyrrhus* or *Antioch* to the *Romans*, than he had been. Nor did he omit to boast

* M. JUNIO ILLANO, L. NORBANO BALBO, COS. A. V. 772 CHR. 19.

of the secret Means by which he had drawn so great a Prince into his Snare. *

§. XX. MARABODUUS did indeed take Refuge in *Italy*: But as a Kingdom Both their which has no certain Constitution, and is govern'd only by the Prudence of its Prince, when he is wanting, soon falls to Ruin, so *Catualda* ^{Histories continued,} did not long enjoy his Conquests. *Vibilius*, assisted by the *Hermunduri*, expell'd him, and he found himself, likewise, under a Necessity of having Recourse to the *Romans*, who assigned him a Habitation at *Forum Julium*, in *Gallia Narbonensis*; but otherwise did as little for him as for *Maraboduus*. Both had brought a large Number of Adherents with them, but they were sent away again, lest they should disturb the Provinces. The Country between the *Mar* and the *Chus*, on the left Banks of the *Danube*, was granted them, and *Vannius*, a Native of the Country of the *Quadi*, was appointed their King (1), of whom I shall have Occasion to say more below. How disagreeable soever it was to these Fugitives, who had hitherto had Inclinations directly opposite, to be now obliged to dwell near and among each other, they could not but allow it a Favour, not to be deliver'd into the Hands of the new King of the *Marcomanni*. Nor had the latter any great Reason to be pleased with the Change, since those, who, to render *Maraboduus* the more odious, had been lavish in the Praise of Liberty, suffer'd them, now the Power was in their Hands, to enjoy it as little as he did. The *Romans* seem to have had a good Understanding with the new King, and to have had nothing more to fear on that Side, since *Vannius* served as a Kind of Barrier against the *Marcomanni*, and their King had reason to fear, that the *Romans* might, on the first Disturbance, replace *Maraboduus* on the Throne (2). This unhappy Prince lived Eighteen Years afterwards, at *Ravenna*, and had but too much Time to experience the

§. XIX. * TACIT. *Annal.* L. II. c. 62, 63. *ubi inter cetera*: Cæterum apud Senatum dis-
feruit: non Philippum Atheniensibus, non
Pyrrhum, aut Antiochum, populo Romano
perinde metuendos fuisse. Extat oratio, qua
magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiectarum
ei gentium, & quam propinquus Italiæ hos-
tis, suæque in destruendo consilia, extulit.

§. XX. (1) TACIT. *Annal.* L. II. c. 63.
Et Maraboduus quidem, Ravennæ habitus,
si quando insolescerent Suevi, quasi rediturus
in regnum ostentabatur. Sed non excessit
Italia per duodeviginti annos; consenuitque,
multum imminuta claritate, ob nimiam vi-
vendi cupidinem. Idem Catualdæ casus,
neque aliud perfugium. Pulsus haud multo
post Hermundurorum opibus, & Vibilio du-

ce; receptusque, forum Julium, Narbonensis
Galliæ coloniam, mittitur. Barbari, utrum-
que comitati, ne quietas provincias immix-
ti turbarent, Danubium ultra, inter flumina
Marum & Cusum, locantur, dato Rege, Van-
nio, gentis Quadorum. Vannius did there-
fore not retain all the Dominions of Marabo-
duus and Catualda, but only the Country inter
Marum Chusumque amnem, which was after-
wards constantly inhabited by the Quadi. Van-
nius may perhaps have extended his Kingdom;
but we do not find in History, the Names of
the People he added to it.

(2) TACIT. *de M. G.* c. 42. Marcoman-
nis, Quadisque, usque ad nostram memori-
am, Reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, no-
bile Marobodui, & Tudri, genus.

Difference between a powerful Prince, whose Vices are even frequently interpreted as Virtues, and a Prince without Dominions, to whom even the meer Strokes of Fortune are imputed as a Fault. *Tacitus* almost reckons it shameful in him, that he did not, by a voluntary Death, put an End to his Misery: But however magnanimous a Hero is in his Prosperity, he may, nevertheless, at the Change of his Fortune, put up with the Fate of common People, and is as unwilling to leave a Cottage as a Throne. *Drusus* was honour'd with the Ovation, or lesser Triumph (3), which, however, was deferr'd to the next Year.

The Death
of *Arminius*.

§. XXI. THE Advantage *Arminius* gain'd over *Maroboduus*, fail'd, likewise, of producing the expected Event. The more his Honour and Dignity was confirmed thereby, the more acceptable was the Command of an Army to him. How much he had gained the Hatred of some of his Neighbours, may be partly seen by an Offer *Adgandestrius*, a Prince of the *Catti*, made to *Tiberius* of Poisoning him, if he would send some Poison from *Rome* for that Purpose †. I am at a Loss, whether the Villany of this Treachery is more to be detested, or, the honest Simplicity of those Times, in *Germany*, to be admired, when a Prince, who offers to poison another, could not procure the Poison any where but from *Rome*. *Tiberius*, tho' pleased to see the *Germans* destroy one another, without endangering the *Romans*, magnanimously rejected the Proposal, probably because he thought, that if *Adgandestrius's* Hatred of *Arminius* was so great, as he pretended, he would, without Poison, find some Means of dispatching him: And *Arminius* did indeed lose his Life, soon afterwards, by the Treachery of his nearest Friends. For whether he actually aimed at the Regal Power, or was unjustly tax'd with it, certain it is, at least, that this occasioned a War, which was at first carried on, with alternative Fortune. As the Proceedings of *Segestes* and *Inguiomarus* sufficiently discover the Animosities reigning in his own House, we have the less Reason to wonder, that some have, by this Hatred, been led to the Murder of him. He was 37 Years of Age, when he was forced to resign his Breath, and had headed the Army from his 25th (1). Such were the Consequences of the good Fortune and Valour both of *Germanicus* and *Arminius*; since the former gained thereby the Hatred of the Emperor, and the latter brought upon himself the Jealousy of his own Nation, for that very Liberty, for which they were indebted to him. Both died by the Hands of their nearest Relations, at an Age, when they should have enjoyed the Fruits of the Labours of their Youth, and which would per-

† In the Consul-
late of M. Ju-
nius Silanus,
& L. Ner-
banus.

A. Chr. 19.

(3) *TACIT. L. II. c. 64.* Decevere patres, ut Germanicus, atque Drusus, ovantes ur-

hem introirent.

§. XXI. (1) *TACIT. Ann. L. II. c. 88.*

haps have been of much longer Duration, had they not thus strove to excel others. But if Mankind could foresee the Event of their Undertakings, many great Actions would remain unperform'd. *Tacitus* places *Arminius* next to the *Grecian* and *Roman* Heroes, and records him as a Prince, who dared to attack the *Romans*, when their Power was in its Meridian, and constantly asserted the Liberties of his Country, in Prosperity and Adversity (2). The *Germans* likewise soon forgot the Ambition he was charged with, and retained the Advantages they received from his excellent Qualities, longer in their Minds, than any Thing they had to fear from him. *Tacitus* mentions the Songs, which were sung to his Honour (3). It is highly probable, that the famous *Irmensäule*, which *Carolus Magnus* destroy'd at *Ehresburg*, was a Monumental Column erected to the Honour of *Arminius*, (or *Hermann*) where his Deeds were first sung, as those of an Hero, and afterwards, according to Custom, he was revered as a Deity.

§. XXII. THE *Cherusci* and their Neighbours were, after the Death of *Arminius*, involv'd in as many Troubles and Civil Broils, as the Fall of *Maroboduus* had occasion'd among the *Marcomanni*. *Tiberius* was therefore very secure with Regard to the *Germans*, and had not, after the Death of *Germanicus*, entrusted the Command in *Germany* to one, but divided it between two Lieutenants, one of whom he sent to *Upper*, the other to *Lower-Germany*, and each had the Command of four Legions: To the Intent, that they might not only be assistant to each other, but likewise, that if one should attempt any Innovations, the other might restrain him. A Commotion arose indeed soon afterwards † in *Gaul*, fomented by *L. Florus*, the most powerful among the *Treviri*, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a Person of Distinction among the *Edui*; but it was quell'd by the Deputies (1), before it could spread far enough for the *Germans* to take Part in it, and invade *Gaul*. Those Countries were after that Time in such a State of Tranquility, and *Tiberius* dwelt so securely, on that Account, the last ten Years of his Reign, in the Island of *Caprea*, that he did not even change either of his Lieutenants in *Germany*.

§. XXIII. THE *Frisii* alone occasioned, in the Year of our Lord 28, some Disturbance. *Drusus* had, more by Art than Power, brought this valiant Nation under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, and required no other

(2) *TACIT. Ann. L. II. c. 88.* Liberator haud dubie Germaniæ, & qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges, ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacefferit; præliis ambiguus, bello non invictus, septem & triginta annos vitæ, duodecim potentæ

explevit: caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes; Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur.

(3) See the 11 Book, §. 35.

§. XXII. (1) *TACIT. Annal. L. III. c. 40 & seq.*

R 2

Tribute

Germany
in a State of
Tranquility.

† A. V. C.
774. In
the Con-
sulate of
Tib. Aug. IV.
and *Drusus*
Cæsar II.

A successful
Revolt of
the *Frisi*.
A. V. C. 781.

Tribute from them, than annually a certain Number of Bullocks-Hides, for the Use of the *Roman* Army: And no great Regard had hitherto been had to the Size and Strength of these Hides, if they did but deliver the Number stipulated. But now one of the *Primipilares*, named *Olenius*, who was set over *Friesland*, resolving to enrich himself by his Office, required those Hides to be of the Size of wild Bullocks. These the *Frisii* found it impracticable to deliver; not being at that Time arriv'd to the Perfection in breeding of Cattle, as their Successors are since; and when any were excepted against, they were obliged to make up what was deficient, with their Cattle, Lands, and even their Wives and Children, who were made Vassals. All Remonstrances and Complaints were ineffectual, 'till Necessity, and the Severity of the *Romans*, having turn'd their Patience into Despair, they crucified the Soldiers, who collected the Tribute. *Olenius* escaped their Fury by Flight, and fled to the Sea Coast, to the Fort of *Flevum*, where a considerable Number of Troops were garrison'd; but could not hinder the *Frisii* from attempting the Siege of the Castle. *L. Apronius*, who commanded, as *Proprætor* (1), in *Lower-Germany*, re-inforced his Legions by those from *Upper-Germany*, and led them down the *Rhine*, against the *Frisii*, who, when they heard of his March, rais'd the Siege, and retreated into their own Country, there to wait the Coming of the *Romans*. *Apronius* order'd the *Ala Caninafatis*, and the *German* Infantry, to march round and fall upon their Rear, but the *Frisii* made a vigorous Resistance, on every Side, and, by the Description *Tacitus* gives of this Battle, the *Romans* seem to have had the least Advantage. They found, the next Day, a Party of 900 *Romans* in a Wood (2), and cut them in Pieces. Another Company of 400 Men retreated to the Seat (3) of a *Frisian* Nobleman, who had formerly serv'd under the *Romans*, but when they found, that they should meet but with little Safety there, they took the desperate Resolution of killing one another. Thus did the *Frisii*, by their Valour, cast off the *Roman* Yoke, and had no farther Concern with the *Romans*, 'till *Corbulo* commanded under *Claudius* in *Germany* (4). *Tiberius* was loth to enter into a War, being jealous of entrusting a considerable military Force to any one Person; he, therefore, neglected taking any Revenge of

§. XXIII. (1) *Proprætores* was the Title of those who commanded in *Provinciis Cæsaris*, videatur *Savilius* ad *Tacitum* Hist. L. I. c. 8.

(2) *Tacitus* L. IV. c. 75. *Apud lucum, quem Baduhennæ vocant. Menso Altingius* l. c. p. 14. shews, with great Probability, that this Wood is in *West-Friesland*, in the District of *Seevenvolden*; where Part of a Forest to

this Day retains the Name of *Holt-Pade*, which, according to his Opinion, is derived from that of a Goddess's Bade, or *Baduwe*, who was worshipp'd there.

(3) *Tacitus* l. c. *Ocupata Cruptoricis, quondam stipendiarii, villa. Menso Altingius* attempts l. c. to point out where this Seat was.

(4) *Tacit. Annal.* L. IV. c. 72, 73:

the

the *Frisii*, and was satisfied that they made no Attempts on any of the Roman Provinces (5).

§. XXIV. TIBERIUS'S Successor, *Caligula*, could not but be the more inclin'd to a War with the *Germans*, as his Father *Germanicus*, and his Grandfather *Drusus*, had acquired so much Glory in the Battles they fought with them, and as he himself was born and educated, in his Youth, in the Army then in *Germany* (1). But the *Germans*, besides this, gave him Opportunities enough to remember them, by invading *Gaul*; and the *Caninafati*, in particular, by their insolent Behaviour (2). But *Caligula* was very singular in all his Actions; he marched † unexpectedly over the *Alps* (3), where he muster'd *Sergius Galba*'s Troops, and finding them in excellent Order, sent daily for Legions from all Parts; but it was rather to a kind of *Saturnalia*, than an Expedition. He indeed cross'd the *Rhine*; but no sooner heard the Enemy named, than he retreated, and *Suetonius* relates Facts so extraordinary of him, that they would be thought Fables, if *Caius* was not known to have been sometimes little better than delirious. Another Time, he sent privately a Part of his *German* Life-Guard over the *Rhine*, and, at Table, one Day, gave the Signal, as if the Enemy was approaching, then pursued the imaginary Enemy with Part of the *Prætorian* Band, and spent some Hours in the Wood, where the Soldiers were order'd to fell Trees, and erect Trophies, and, at his Return, he reproached those, who would not follow him, with Cowardice, and distributed to the Rest Garlands, which he termed *Coronæ exploratorie* (4). The next Year †, he made Preparations to invade *Britain*, † V. C. 793.

C. Caligula's Transactions with the Romans.

(5) TACIT. *Annal. L. IV. c. 74.* Clarum inde, inter Germanos, Frisium nomen: dissimulame Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret

rent. And it appears by Tacitus *H. L. IV. c. II.* that the *Caninafati*, in particular, were male-content. A. Chr. 40.

§ XXIV. (1) TACIT. *Annal. L. I. c. 41.* Infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo *Caligulam* appellabant, quia plerumque, ad concilianda vulgi studia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur.

† V. C. 792. A. Chr. 39. *Caio Cæfare II. L. Apronio Cæsiano, Cos.*

(2) *C. Caligula had first made Sergius Galba, Legatus in superiori Germania, in the Room of C. Lentulus Gætulicus. Suetonius in Galba, c. 6. says of him, Veteranum, ac tironem militem opere assiduo corroborabat, matureque barbaris, qui jam in Galliam usque proruperant, coercitis, præsentis quoque Caio, talem se, & exercitum, approbavit, ut inter innumeras, contractasque ex omnibus provinciis copias, neque testimonium, neque præmia ampliora, ulli perciper-*

(3) SÜETONIUS in *Caio c. 43.* Militiam, resque bellicas, semel attigit, neque ex destinato, sed cum ad visendum nemus, flumenque Clitummi, Mevaniam processisset: admonitus de supplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat, expeditionis Germanicæ impetum cepit.

(4) SÜETONIUS in *Caio c. 45.* Quo facto, proripuit se, cum amicis, & parte equitum prætorianorum in proximam silvam, truncatisque arboribus, & in modum tropæorum adornatis, ad lumina reversus, eorum qui secuti non essent timiditatem, & ignaviâ corripuit: comites autem, & participes victoriæ, novo genere, coronarum donavit, quas exploratorias appellavit.

and

and conquer that Island, but when he came to the Sea-Coast, the Army was placed in Battle-array, and whilst every one expected the Event, he, on a sudden, order'd them to go and gather Muscles, which he would offer to *Jupiter* in the Capitol, as Trophies of his Conquest of the Ocean. He promised to each Soldier, at the same Time, 100 *Denarii*, and, as it were, in Token of his Victory, caused a high Tower to be built on the Sea-Coast, on which a Fire was kept burning in the Night, to serve Sailors, in the Nature of our modern Light-Tour d'Or-
Houles (5). *Bucherius* imagines this to be the Tower near *Bologne* †, which was restored by *Carolus Magnus* (6). *Caius* expected nevertheless a Triumph, and persuaded himself that he should be equal to the ancient Heroes, if he received the same external Honours; not considering, that the inward Esteem of the People is the most valuable Part of a Triumph. He had provided, for this Purpose, the Deserters, and German Prisoners, whom he found in *Gaul*, and even chose the tallest Men in that Country, to pass for *Germans*. Some of the Chief of the *Gallick* Nobility were oblig'd to paint their Hair, and let it grow, and to learn the *German* Language, that they might add to the Pomp of this Triumph, as subdued *German* Princes (7). But coming to *Rome*, sooner

(5) SÜETONIUS c. 46. Postremo, quasi perpetraturus bellum, directâ acie in littora Oceani, ac hallistis, machinisque dispositis, nemine gnaro, ac opinante, quidnam cœpturus esset, repente ut conchas legerent, galeasque, & sinus, replerent, imperavit: spolia Oceani vocans, Capitolio, Palatioque debita. Et in indicium victoriæ altissimam turrem excitavit: ex qua, ut ex Pharo, noctibus ad regendos navium cursus, ignes emicarent: pronunciatoque militi donativo, centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemplum liberalitatis supergressus: abite, inquit, læti, abite locupletes. Orosius L. VII. c. 5. Hic siquidem magno, & incredibili apparatu profectus quærere hostem viribus otiosis, Germaniam, Galliamque percurrrens, in ora Oceani, circa prospectum Britanniae, restitit. Cumque ibi Minocynobellinum, Britanno- rum regis filium, qui, a patre pulsus, cum paucis oberrabat, in deditionem recepisset, deficiente belli materia, Romam rediit.

(6) BUCHERIUS L. IV. c. 10. § 13. Extat adhuc, ad Bononiam nostram, in litore Marinarum, ea turris, incolis hodie dicta, la Tour d'ordre, his, aut ter, a me annis

Christi 1616 & 1624. cum stupore visa, discussaque, opus cum aliis ejus generis in Belgio nostro, Gallicisque comparatum, plane, Romanum, vetustate mirandum. Quod non solum probant oculi, sensusque nostri, sed & Eginhardus, vitæ Caroli M. annaliumque scriptor; cum de eodem Carolo ad A. C. 811. ita loquitur: Carolus ipse, propter classem, quam anno superiore imperaverat, videndum, ad Bononiam, Gallicam civitatem maritimam, accessit. Pharumque ibi, ad navigantium cursus dirigendos antiquitus (nota) constitutam, restauravit; & in summitate ejus nocturnum ignem accendit. And then §. 15. he confutes Hadrianus Junius, who in his Batavia c. 10. pretends, that it was the Britten Haus, of which the Ruins are to be seen in the Sea near Calwyk.

(7) SÜETONIUS in Caro c. 47. Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi, præter captivos, & transfugas, barbaros, Galbarum quoque procerissimum quemque, & ut ipse dicebat, ἀξιόθιδυμνόν, ac non nullos ex principibus, legit, ac seposuit, ad pompam: cœgitque non tantum rutilare, & submittere comam, sed & sermonem Germanicum addiscere, & nomina

sooner than the Preparations for this intended Solemnity, which we may rather term a Turnament, than a Triumph, could be finished, he was contented, in the mean Time, with the *Ovation*, or lesser Triumph †. † *Natali suo*, His monstrous Course of Life occasioned his being murder'd, the Be- Prid. Kal. ginning of the ensuing Year ††, in his own Palace, where, not one, Sept. A Chr. 40. excepting the *German* Life-Guard, made the least Motion to revenge †† A.Ch. 41. his Death. d. 24. Ja-

§. XXV. His Father's Brother, *Tiberius Claudius Drusus Caesar*, suc- nuar. ceeded him, contrary to the Expectation of all Men (1). *Galba*, who Galba suc- commanded in *Upper-Germany*, was, indeed, excited, by some of his cessful against the Friends, to endeavour attaining to the supreme Power; but declined Catti, and it (2), and by his Discretion gained the constant Favour and Confidence Galbinus against the of *Claudius*. He render'd, on the other Hand, his Lieutenancy famous, Marfi. this Year, by a Victory over the *Catti*; while *P. Gabinius* subdued the *Marfi*; and *Dio* relates of him, that he recover'd the last of those Eagles, which had been lost at *Varus's* Overthrow, that still remained in the Enemy's Hands (3). And *Claudius*, for both these Victories, was proclaimed *Imperator* (4).

§. XXVI. THE *Germans*, on the right Side of the *Rhine*, especially The *Germans* the *Batavi*, were no less distinguished for their warlike Actions, under serve the Ro- his Reign, in the Service of *Rome*: *Claudius* resolved A. 43 †, to invade mans in Britain, that he might have an Opportunity of meriting a Triumph. Britain. *A. Plautius* commanded the Fleet, which did, indeed, land in *Kent*, but met with a vigorous Resistance. *Dio* speaks in Praise of the Ser-

nomina barbarica fere. Persius treats the Preparations to this Triumph in the Manner they deserve. Sat. VI. v. 43.

- - - - - missa est a Cæsare laurus
Insignem ob cladem Germanæ pubis, &
aris

Frigidas excutitur cinis: ac jam postibus
arma,

Jam chlamydes regum, jam lutea gau-
sapa captis

Effedaque, ingentesque locat Cæsonia
Rhenos,

§. XXV. (1) A. C. 41. d. 25. Jan.

(2) Suetonius in *Galba* 7. Cæda Caii nuntiata, multis ad occasionem stimulantibus, quietem prætulit.

(3) We meet indeed with Coins of *Claudius* for the Year 41 and 46, or 47 (TR. POT. VI.) which represent a Triumphal Arch, with the Inscription DE GERMANIS, as may be seen upon the Coins of his Father *Drusus*. But it is uncertain, whether he coined those to the Memory of his Father *Drusus*, and consequently to

the Honour of his Family only, or whether they were occasioned by the Victories, his Generals gained over the *Catti* and *Marfi*, and in the Year 47 over the *Chauci*.

(4) Dio L. LX. p. 670. E. Eodem anno Sulpitius Galba Chattos vicit, ac P. Gabinius Marfos, qui inter alia, quæ laudi ipse essent, militarem aquilam, quæ sola a clade Variana adhuc superesset, recuperavit, quibus utrisque verum Imperatoris nomen Claudio partum est. The Greek Text is indeed Mauris. But it is evident, that this is an Error, for the Maurisii dwelt in Africa. It must therefore be read Marfi. Others imagine, that Dio did not himself give the right Name, and should have call'd them *Chauci*, because Suetonius writes, in *Claudius* c. 24. Gabinio secundo, *Chaucis*, gente Germanica, superatis, *Chaucius* cognomen usurpare concessit. *Gabinus*, however, may have subdued the *Chauci* at another Time.

§. XXVI. † A. V. C. 796. Tiberio Claudio Augusto III, L. Vitellio II, Coss.

vices the *German Auxiliaries* did the *Romans*, especially, that they ventur'd to swim over the Rivers, and in particular the *Thames* (1). *Claudius* did not come to the Army, 'till it had reach'd that River, which he then cross'd, defeated the *Enemy's Army*, and took the Capital of King *Cynobellinus* (2). After this Victory, he left *A. Plautius*, as his Lieutenant, and hastened himself to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumph, and obtained the Surname of *Britannicus*, for himself and his Posterity (3), which became, however, extinct by his Death. Among other Trophies of his Triumph, he placed a Rostral Crown of Gold over the Imperial Palace, to denote his Conquest of the Ocean (4).

§. XXVI. (1) *Dio p. 678. B* Igitur Plautius Germanos misit, solitos etiam arpidissima flumina facile in armis tranare. Hi hostem inopinatum invadentes, neminem virum fauciarunt, equis tantum, qui currus traherent, vulneratis: quibus turbatis, ne sessores quidem constare valebant. Tum Flavium Vespasianum, qui summo post imperio potitus est, hujusque fratrem, Sabinum: legatum misit; qui ipsi etiam, trajecto amne, permultos barbaros improvise interfecerunt. Neque vero reliqui fugæ se dederunt, sed iterum, postero die prælium, incerta victoria, conserverunt, donec C. Sidius Geta, quum prope in hostium potestatem venisset, ita eos vicit, ut ei propterea honores triumphales, quanquam consul non fuisset, dati sint. Inde se barbari ad fluvium Tamesin, qua is in Oceanum se exonerat, eoque affluente stagnat, receperunt; eumque facile transierunt, locorum, quæ firma, & pervia, essent, gnari, eos Romani insequentes, periclitati sunt, mox, quum iterum Germani tranavissent, ac superiori iloco, per pontem quidam transgressi essent, undique barbaris circumfusi, magnam stragem ediderunt: reliquos vero inconsultius consectantes, in paludes invias inciderunt, multosque suorum amiserunt. His de causis, & quia Togodumni, interitu non modo nihil remiserant Britani, sed acrius ad vindicandum ejus cladem bellum parabant, veritus Plautius, ultra non processit; sed custodia eorum, que tenuisset, posita, Claudium accersit: jussus id facere, si quid violentius eveniret, ad quam expeditionem, cum omnia multa parata erant, tum elephantum con-

tracti. Claudius, accepto nuntio, res urbana, ac milites etiam, Vitellio collegæ suo (cui consularum itidem, ut sibi, ad sex menses dederat) mandavit, ipse ab urbe Ostiam devehens est navigio, inde Massiliam; reliquoque itinere, partim terra, partim mari facto, ad Oceanum venit, transmisitque in Britanniam, & ad copias, ad Tamesin se expectantes, perrexit. Quibus ad se receptis, transgressus fluvium cum barbaris, qui ad ejus adventum convenerant, signis collatis dimicavit, victoriaque potius est, & Camalodunum, Cynobellini regiam, cepit, multosque inde vi, alios deditione, in suam potestatem accepit. Ob hæc aliquoties Imperator dictus est, contra institutum Romanorum neque enim sæpius, quum semel licet uno de bello id nomen adsumere. Porro Britannis, Claudius arma ademit, Plautioque eos regendos subigendosque reliquos, mandavit: ipse Romam contendit.

(2) Camalodunum, at present Malden in Essex.

(3) Suetonius in Claud. c. 17. Expeditionem unam omnium suscepit, eamque modicam cum decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus, leviorē majestati principali titulum arbitraretur, velletque justī triumphī decus: unde acquireret, Britanniam potissimum elegit.

(4) Suetonius ib. Inter hostilia spolia, navalem coronam fastigio Palatinæ domus juxta civicam fixit, trajecti & quasi domiti Oceani insigne. Aureani ei IX pondo & a Gallia comata collatam scribit PLINIUS. H. N. L. XXXII. c. 3.

§. XXVII. THE

§. XXVII. THE *Cherusci*, who, for several Years, are not men-^{*Italus*, Son of}tioned in the *Roman* Histories, had, after the Death of *Arminius*, been^{*Flavius*, is} continually engaged in bloody Civil Wars, in which their whole Race^{chosen King} of Princes was extinguished, insomuch, that *Italus*, the Son of *Fla-^{*Cherusci*}*-*dius*, who dwelt at *Rome*, was the only surviving Prince. Here the surprizing Events which Faction and Party-Animosities can effect in a State, were truly discover'd. A Nation, which had for so many Years asserted, to the utmost, their Liberty against the *Romans*, and among whom *Arminius* had lost his Life, by aspiring to the Regal Power, now sent an Ambassy to *Rome*, of their own Accord, to offer *Italus* the Crown †. *Claudius* lent him all the Assistance he could; he presented † A. Chr. 47. him with a Life-Guard, and a considerable Sum of Mony, to defray V. C. 800. the Expences of his Journey, and exhorted him, at his Departure, always In the Con- to remember that he was a *Roman* born. The new Government could f. *Claudius*, not have a more favourable Appearance. *Italus* was not a Creature of IV. and L. any of those Factions, which had 'till then divided the Nation, and *Vitellius*, III. one had as much to expect of him as the other. He was, besides, of a Majestick Appearance, and was so dextrous, both in the *Roman* and *German* military Exercises, that he could not only satisfy the Curiosity of the Young, but likewise please the Old, who commonly despise what they have not learned themselves. Politeness and Temperance, which he had learned at *Rome*, were his Delight; yet he shew'd no Aversion to the Manners of his Subjects, and could, upon Occasion, make one at a *German* Festival: But this Happiness was of a short Duration. *Italus* was at first universally admired; but when those, who were, as the Heads of Factions, in publick Esteem, perceived that began to lessen, they excited some of the neighbouring Nations to fall upon him. *Italus*, did, indeed, rid himself of these Enemies by a bloody Victory; but when he took Measures to secure himself from future Attempts of that kind, his Subjects thought he intended to assume a greater Power, than was his Due, and therefore made an universal Insurrection against him, which obliged him to have Recourse to the *Longobards*, by whose Assistance he was afterwards restored. *Tacitus* relates these Circumstances, in the Beginning of his History, at his Accession to the Throne *, and makes no farther Mention of him (1); we have therefore no certain Account of the Years, when these Events happen'd.

§. XXVII. * *TACITUS Annal. L. XI. c. 16.* *atque Italicus, Reges Suevorum, and L. cod.*
 17. *c. 21. Sido, atque Italicus, Suevi, cum de-*
 (1) *We find indeed a King, Italicus; Histo-* *lectis popularium, primori in acie versantur.*
riar. L. III. c. 5. Trahuntur in partes Sido, *Put he is not the same with our Italus.*

Corbulo en-
deavours to
subdue the
Chauci,
and gain the
Frisii.

† A. Chr. 47.
V. C. 800.
In the Con-
sulate of
Claudius Au-
gustus IV.
and L. Vi-
tellius, III.

§. XXVIII. THE *Chauci* were turbulent, about the same Time. *Gannascus*, one of the *Caninafati*, who had for many Years served the *Romans*, fixed his Residence in their Country, and, with light Vessels, committed frequent Piracies on the *Gallick Coasts*. A whole Swarm of *Chauci*, at Length, invaded *Lower-Germany*, about the same Time, the *Cherusci* chose *Italus* for their King. *Domitius Corbulo*, who, that Year †, enter'd upon the Lieutenantancy of *Lower-Germany*, made Preparations to repel them. He re-equip'd the Fleet, the Gallies were sent down the *Rhine* into the Sea, and the other Vessels were order'd to sail thro' the *Fossa Drusi*, and over the *Zuyder Zee*, to join them. The *Chauci* could not keep the Sea, against the *Roman Fleet*; *Corbulo* sunk their Ships, and *Gannascus* fled farther into the Country (1). *Corbulo* made it his Business to restore the former military Discipline among the *Roman Soldiers*, and thereby brought the *Roman Arms* into such Reputation again, that the *Frisii*, who had, since their last Rebellion, remained in a free and uninterrupted State, returned to their former Allegiance (2). He strove, at last, to bring the *Chauci*, who dwelt farther in the Country, to a Submission, and sent some Men out to murder *Gannascus*. But his Death so enraged the *Chauci*, that even those, who were before in a Treaty with the *Romans*, resumed their Arms, and a bloody War was like to ensue. At *Rome*, the Court was so perplexed at this General's Fortune and Valour, that the Emperor *Claudius* sent him an Order to make no farther Progress against the *Germans*, and to bring, not only the Legions, but those Soldiers likewise, who were, here and there, in Garrisons, back again over the *Rhine*: *Corbulo* was already enter'd the Enemy's Country, when he received this Order. He soon perceived the Cause of it, but obeyed it instantly, and took no Notice to those about him, but by saying, *How fortunate were formerly the Roman Generals!* But tho' he was not suffer'd to carry on the War, yet the

§. XXVIII. (1) TACITUS *Annal.* L. XI. c. 18. Per idem tempus Chauci, nulla defensione domi, & morte Sanquini alacres, dum Corbulo adventat, inferiorem Germaniam incurfavere, duce Gannasco, qui natione Caninefas, auxiliare æs diu meritis, post transfuga, levibus navigiis prædabundus, Gallorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dites, & imbelles, esse. At Corbulo, provinciam ingressus, magna cum cura, & mox gloria, cui principium illa militia fuit, triremes alveo Rheni, cæteras navium, ut quæque habiles, per æstuaria, & fossas, adegit: lintribusque hostium depreffis, &

exturbato Gannasco, ubi præsentia satis composita sunt, legiones, operum, & laboris ignavas, populationibus lætantes, veterem ad morem reduxit.

(2) TACITUS *Ann.* L. XI. c. 19. Et natio Frisiorum, post rebellionem, clade L. Apronii cæptam, insensa, aut malefida, datis obsidibus confedit apud agros, a Corbulone descriptos. Idem Senatam, Magistratus, legis imposuit, ac ne jussa exuerent, præsidium immunivit. Altingius *supposes* l. c. p. 48. that this Monumentum Corbulonis may perhaps have been the present Gröningen.

Emperor

Emperor allowed him all the Honours, bestowed on those who really triumph'd (3). Thus was that Arm of the *Rhine*, which fell into the Sea, above the present City of *Leyden*, made the Borders to separate the *Romans*, and their Allies, the *Batavi*, from those *German Nations*, who enjoyed a perfect Liberty. *Corbulo* hereupon cut a broad Canal between the *Maes* and the *Rhine* (4). It has generally been supposed to be that which runs from *Leyden* to *Helvoet-Sluis*. But the famous *Menſo Altingius* has confuted this Notion (5). *Curtius Rufus's* Undertaking, who first ventur'd to dig Mines in *Germany*, in the present *Wetterau*, might be placed about this Time. But as that Passage of *Tacitus*, by which he attempts to prove this, is somewhat dubious, I shall leave it to the Reader's Determination (6).

§. XXIX. *Agrippina*, the Consort of *Claudius*, to extend the Marks ^{*Agrippina*} of her Fortune and Power to the *Rhine*, and add them to the Monu-^{establiſhes} ments in Honour to her Father *Germanicus*, and her Grandfather *Drusus*,^{a Roman} in the Year of our Lord 50, prevailed upon her Husband to detach a Colony a-^{mong the} Colony of Veterans into that City of the *Ubii*, which *M. Agrippa* her ^{*Ubii*} Grandfather, was the first Founder of, and in which she was born (1).

(3) *TACITUS Ann. L. XI. c. 19, 20.* Missis qui majores Chaucos ad deditionem pellice: rent, simul Gannasum dolo aggredierentur nec irritæ, & degeneres insidiæ fuere adversus transfugam, & violatorem fidei. Sed cæde ejus motæ Chaucorum mentes, & Corbulo semina rebellionis præbebat; ut læta apud plerosque, ita apud quosdam sinistra fama: Cur hostem conciret? adversa in rempublicam casura: sin prospere egisset, formidolosum paci virum insignem, & ignavo principi prægravem. Igitur Claudius adeo novam in Germanias vim prohibuit, ut referri præsidia cis Rhenum juberet. Jam castra in hostili solo molienti Corbuloni, hæ litteræ redduntur. Ille re subita, quamquam multa simul offunderentur, metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris, ludibrium apud socios: nihil aliud prolocutus, quam beatos quondam duces Romanos! signum receptui dedit. *Dio L. LX. p. 685. A. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, in Germania exercitui præfectus, milites exercuit, ac barbaros, imprimis autem Chaucos, vexavit: cujus ubi virtutem, ac studia, Claudius cognovit, non passus majora augmenta accipere, ex hostico revocavit. Et rediit Corbulo dicto parens, hac tantum voce emissa, felices fuisse quon-*

dam exercituum duces, quo ostenderet, priſcis illis licuisse, citra periculum, præclare rem gerere, suæ virtuti imperatoris invidiam officere. Triumphavit tamen nihilominus.

(4) *TACITUS Annal. L. XI. c. 20.* Ut tamen miles otium exueret, inter Mosam, Rhenumque, trium & viginti millium spatio, fossam præduxit, qua incerta Oceani varentur: insignia tamen triumphi indulſit Cæsar, quamvis bellum negavisset. *Dio L. LX. p. 685.*

(5) *Altingius notit. German. Inf. P. I. p. 48.*

(6) *TACITUS Ann. L. XI. c. 20.* Nec multo post Curtius Rufus eundem honorem adipiscitur, qui in agro Mattiaco recluserat specus quærendis venis argenti, unde tenuis fructus, nec in longum fuit. *LIPSIUS Saturnal. L. II. supposes, that instead of Mattiacus must be read Maziacus, which was a Nation in Africa. Cluverius has indeed attempted to confute Lipsius, but not been able to remove all Doubt.*

§. XXIX. (1) *TACITUS Ann. L. XII. c. 27.* Sed Agrippina, quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamque deduci impetrat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius.

This Colony has transmitted her Name to Posterity in the still-flourishing City of *Cologne* (2). *Paulus*, the famous Civilian, observes this Colony to have been *Juris Italici* (3). The *Roman* Soldiers did indeed marry among the *Ubi*, but the latter, notwithstanding this Change, esteemed themselves a *German Nation* (4).

The Catti
plunder Up-
per-Germany.

§. XXX. A FRESH Swarm of *Catti* crossed the *Rhine*, the same Year †, and plunder'd *Upper-Germany*; but they paid dearly for this Undertaking to *L. Pomponius* the *Roman* Lieutenant (1). He sent the *Vangiones* and *Nemetes*, with a Part of the Cavalry, to pursue them, or at least to cut off their Retreat. He himself went, in the mean Time, over the *Rhine*, and encamped at *Mount Taunus*; to hinder the Rest of the *Catti*, who remain'd in their own Country, from going, with a greater Force, to assist their Companions. The *Romans* divided themselves into two Bodies, and both were so successful, that they recover'd the Booty the Enemy had taken. One of them turn'd to the left, and met with a Party of the *Catti* on their Return, who had made themselves so merry with their Booty, that they were still half drunk and overcome with Sleep. Nothing could afford the *Romans* a greater Pleasure, than the Opportunity they had of setting some *Roman* Soldiers at Liberty, who had been Captives ever since the Overthrow of *Varus*, which was 41 Years. The other Body of *Romans* had found a nearer Way on the Right, and met the *Catti*, who ventur'd indeed to make some Resistance, but were at last obliged to quit the Field of Battle. Both Parties then joined *L. Pomponius*. But the *Catti* were afraid

(2) *STEPHANUS BROELMAN*, a Civilian at *Cologne*, has, in his *Specimen Historiæ Civitatis Ubiorum*, mentioned somewhat of the *Roman Antiquities* of this Place of his Nativity; but it is very little, in Comparison with what might be expected of so ancient and famous a City.

(3) *PAULUS L. 2. §. 2. de Censibus* in *Germania inferiore Agrippinenses juris Italici sunt*.

(4) *v. inf. §. 49.*

§. XXX. † *A. C. 50. C. Antistio vetere, M. fimbrio Nerviliano. Coss.*

(1) *TACITUS Ann. L. XII. c. 27, 28.* *Iisdem temporibus in superiore Germania trepidatum, adventu Cattorum, latrocinia agitantium. Deinde L. Pomponius, legatus, auxiliares Vangionas ac Nemetas, addito equite alario, monuit, ut anteirent populos, vel dilapsis improvisi circumfun-*

derentur. Et secuta consilium ducis industria militum, divisique in duo agmina, qui lævum iter petiverant, recens reversos, prædaque per luxum usos, & somno graves, circumvenere. Aucta lætitia, quod quosdam e clade Variana, quadragesimum post annum, servitio exemerant. At qui dextris, & prioribus compendiis, ierant, obvio hosti, & aciem auso, plus cladis faciunt. Et præda, famaue, onusti ad Montem Taunum revertuntur, ubi Pomponius cum legionibus operiebatur, si Catti, cupidine ulciscendi, casum pugne præberent. Illi metu, ne hinc Romanus, inde Cherusci, cum quis æternum discordant, circumgrederentur, legatos in urbem, & obsides, misere, decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famæ ejus apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria præcellit.

of having their Country invaded by the *Cherusci*, their inveterate Enemies, on the one Side, whilst they were engaged with the *Romans*, on the other. They therefore sued for Peace of *Pomponius*, and sent an Embassy, with Hostages, to *Rome*: where this War was esteemed so glorious, that they decreed *Pomponius* Triumphal Honours. *Tacitus* indeed records *Pomponius* for having gained a greater Renown, by his excellent Poems, than by these Honours; but Time has altered the Case; for his Poems are all lost, but the Memory of this Expedition is retained by Posterity.

§. XXXI. I HAVE before observed, that the turbulent *Suevi*, who followed *Marobdeus* and *Catualda*, had the Country between the Rivers *Mark* and *Wage* † assign'd to them, and that *Vannius* was appointed their King. *Vannius* had reign'd 30 Years with great Honour, and extended his Borders considerably; but his good Fortune made him proud, and his Haughtiness render'd him odious not only to his Subjects, but to all his Neighbours: which proved the more fatal to him, as his own Sister's Sons rebelled against him. *Vibillius*, King of the *Hermunduri*, and the *Lygii*, fomented this Faction, which soon broke out into an open War. *Vannius* could obtain no other Succour from the *Roman* Emperor, *Claudius*, than the Grant of a secure Refuge in the *Roman* Provinces. *Vannius*'s Force consisted chiefly in Infantry, but he had taken into his Service, of his Neighbours (1), the *Jazyges*, a People of *Sarmatia*, who were excellent Horsemen (2), a Body of Cavalry, and at the same Time depended very much upon his Fortresses. But the *Jazyges* were too fiery, and came directly to Action with the *Lygii* and *Hermunduri*, which obliged *Vannius* to venture into the Field to their Assistance. He was defeated, fled to the Ships which lay ready for him in the *Danube*, and escaped to *Pannonia*. The *Roman* Lieutenant gave him a favourable Reception, and his Wounds sufficiently testified that he had not left his Kingdom before he had ventured his Life in its Defence.

§. XXXI. 1. *How they border'd on each other is described by PLINY, H. N. L. IV. c. 25. Inter Danubium, & Hercynium saltum, usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnuntum, Germanorumque ibi confinium, campos, & plana, Jazyges, Sarmatæ: montes vero & saltus, pulsi ab his Daci, ad Pathyssum amnem, a Maro; sine is Duria est, a Suevis regnoque Vanniano dirimens eos: adversa Basternæ tenent, alique inde Germani.*

(2) *TACITUS H. L. III. c. 5. Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitum asciti, plebem quoque, & vim equitum, qua sola valent, offerebant. He says, in another Place, Hist. l. i. c. 79. of the Sarmatæ, in general. Namque mirum dictum, ut si omnis Sarmatarum vis velut extra ipsos: nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum, ubi per turmas advenire, vix ulla acies obstiterit.*

His Adherents were likewise provided for in *Pannonia*, but the Romans held, at the same Time, a good Understanding with his Conquerors, who had shared his Dominions (3). *Tacitus* praises their Fidelity to the Romans, and we find *Sido* particularly mentioned as having given memorable Proofs of his Zeal for them, in the Wars between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* (4). And the Roman Friendship was highly expedient to these Princes, not only on *Vannius's* Account, during his Life, but likewise on Account of their own Subjects, who were ever uneasy at having a Lord over them (5). The *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* will again be mentioned under the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, when we shall find the latter extended to the River *Grana*.

Pompeius
Paulinus
makes a
large Dam
on the Rhine.

§ XXXII. THE Romans enjoyed, for some Time, a perfect Tranquillity on the *Rhine*, as well as on the *Danube*, and the Roman Generals were not very eager after War, since the Triumphal Honours, for which they had formerly ventur'd all, could now be obtained without War or Bloodshed. But lest the Soldiers should too much accustom themselves to Indolence, *Pompeius Paulinus*, who commanded the Army in *Lower-Germany*, ordered the great Dam, which *Drusus* had begun to raise on one Arm of the *Rhine*, to stop the Inundations which were frequent on the Side of *Gaul*, to be continued. † This Dam is generally thought to have been begun above the present *Iyck te Duverstede*, and to be the same which *Civilis* afterwards razed (1). *L. Vetus*, Lieutenant in Upper-

† A. C. 55.

(3) The Roman History does not indeed plainly express how *Sido* and *Vangio* shared *Vannius's* Kingdom, but if we may venture a Conjecture, the *Hermunduri* seem to have freed themselves, when *Catualda* was banished, and *Vannius* to have afterwards obtained the Government of the *Marcomanni*. After his Fall, *Vangio* may have obtained the Supremacy over the *Quadi*, and *Sido* the Kingdom of the *Marcomanni*, who border'd on the *Hermunduri*. For he and the King of the *Hermunduri* are always mentioned together in those Roman Wars, which they took Part in. It appears from that Passage of *Tacitus* not. 5. that these Princes were related to the ancient Royal House, but that at the Time when *Tacitus* wrote his Book de M. G. Foreign Princes reigned over both Nations.

(4) *TACITUS* H. L. III. c. 5. 'Trahuntur in partes *Sido*, atque *Italicus*, Reges Suevorum, qui vetus obsequium erga Roma-

nos: & gens fidei commissæ patientior. IDEM, c. 31. *Sido*, atque *Italicus*, Suevi, cum delectis popularium, primori in acie versabantur.

(5) *TACITUS* de M. G. c. 42. *Marcomannis*, *Quadisque*, usque ad nostram memoriam, Reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum nobile *Marobodui*, & *Tudri*, genus: jam & externos patiuntur. Sed vis, & potentia, Regibus ex autoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, sæpius pecunia juvantur. Some Editions have *Trudi* instead of *Tudri*. We find several Traces of this latter Name in the German Language, in which the Names *Trudmann*, *Gertrud*, *Adeltrud*, &c. are well known. The Name *Marobod* was likewise long in Use in *Silesia*, of which Examples are produc'd by *Sommer*, de regno *Vannii* c. 11. §. 5. not. 4.

§. XXXII. (1) Conf. *M. Altingius* l. c. Tab. IV. p. 55.

Germany,

Germany, undertook a greater Work, and attempted, by a Canal, to join the *Saone* and the *Mosel*, which have their Source at no great Distance from each other, in the present *Lorrain*, to facilitate the Navigation from *Italy*. By this Design, the *Roman* Armies might have been brought over the *Mediterranean*, thro' the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, and afterwards thro' this Canal, and the *Mosel*, to the *Rhine*. But *Ælius Gracilis*, the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Belgick Gaul*, to which belong'd the District where both these Rivers take their Rise, would not suffer *Vetus* to bring the Legions into his Province, and objected, that this Project would be more advantageous to the *Gauls* than the *Romans*, and render him suspected to the Emperor *. *Henry IV*, King of *France*, formed the same Design, after the Peace concluded with *Spain*, in 1598, but did not execute it (2).

§. XXXIII. THE Tranquility of the *Romans* lessened, by Degrees, ^{Contentions} the Apprehensions they had hitherto caused in the *Germans*. The ^{with the Fri-} *Frisi* had almost begun a Quarrel. A great Tract of Land lay deso- ^{si. Verritus} late, on the left Banks of the *Rhine*, above the Canal, which *Drusus* ^{and Malorix,} had made from the *Rhine* into the *Yffel*; and had formerly been ^{two Frisian} inhabited by the *Chamarii*, afterwards by the *Tubantes*, and last of ^{Princes, go} all by the *Usipetes*. The *Romans*, who thought it Part of their Safety not to have those Borders too much inhabited, would not suffer it to be cultivated, and the Legions in *Lower-Germany* grazed their Cattle and Horses there. But the *Frisi* now took Possession of it; and when *Avitus*, who had, in the mean Time, succeeded *Paullinus* in *Lower-Germany*, gave them Notice, that they must either obtain Leave from *Rome*, or he must proceed to Hostilities with them, the two *Frisian* Princes, *Verritus* and *Malorix* undertook themselves a Journey to *Rome*. As they did not so immediately receive their Answer from *Nero*, they view'd, in the mean while, all the Rarities in the City. They were, in particular, conducted to *Pompey's Theatre*, that, by the Crowd of Spectators there, they might judge of the Number of the Inhabitants. The two *Frisian* Princes were more earnest in beholding the Spectators than the Play it self; and enquired who they were that sat in the *Cavea*, where the Senat and *Roman* Knights were placed? and seeing some Strangers seated among the Senators, they asked, how they came there? When they were told, that they were Foreign Ministers, and that some Nations, by their Valour and Friendship towards the *Romans*, were allowed that Honour; they removed from their Seats,

* TACITUS *Ann.* L. XIII. c. 53.

(2) Vid. Aurelius ad h. l. Taciti.

and

and said, with an audible Voice, that no People in the World exceeded the *Germans* in Courage and Integrity, and then directly seated themselves among the Senators, who were the more willing to make Way for them, as so laudable an Assurance was a Novelty to them. They were likewise elegantly entertained at Court, and *Nero* presented both with the Freedom of *Rome*. But their main Request was refused, and when the *Frisii*, nevertheless, would not quit their Possession, *Avitus* sent the foreign Cavalry among them, who forced them to it *.

The *Anfibarii* are extirpated.

§. XXXIV. But a new Pretence to this Tract of Land was soon after made by the *Anfibarii*, who had just before been driven from their Country, on the right Banks of the *Ems* (1), by the *Chauci*, and were in Search of a new Habitation. *Bojocalus*, who headed them, hoped he should the sooner obtain this Grant, as he had been serviceable to the *Romans*: But *Avitus* refused it, and did indeed offer *Bojocalus* privately, a Piece of Land sufficient for himself and his Family; *Bojocalus* was however too honest, for any personal Advantage, to forsake a People who had placed their Confidence in him. He therefore resolved to attempt the Conquest by Force, to which the *Brueteri*, *Teneteri*, and other neighbouring Nations offered him their Assistance. But *Avitus* quash'd this Design in it's Birth. He wrote to *Curtilius Mancina*, who commanded the Army on the *Upper-Rhine*, to cross the River, and put the *Germans* in Fear, on that Side. He invaded the Country of the *Teneteri* himself, and threatened to destroy them, Root and Branch, unless they broke the Ties of Friendship between them and the *Anfibarii*. The *Brueteri* were terrified in the same Manner, and the unfortunate *Anfibarii* retreated to the bordering *Usipetes*, *Tubantes*, *Catti* and *Cherusci*. They were repulsed every where as Enemies, and the whole Nation, after having undergone all the Miseries of Want and War, and after all those who could bear Arms were slain in the Field, and the rest dispersed in Slavery, was entirely extirpated (2).

§. XXXV.

§. XXXIII. * TACITUS *Ann.* L. XIII. c. 54.

§. XXXIV. (1) Conf. Menso Altingius L. c. Tab. 2. & p. 6. Who imagines the Name of *Anfibarii*, *Anfibarii*, &c. to be derived from the German Word *Ems-Bauern*, of Peasants about the *Ems*.

(2) TACIT. *Ann.* L. XIII. c. 55. Eisdem agros *Anfibarii* occupavere, validior gens,

non modo sua copia, sed adjacentium populorum miseratione: quia pulsi a *Chaucis*, & sedis inopes, tutum exsilium orabant. Aderatque iis clarus per illas gentes, & nobis quoque fidus, nomine *Bojocalus*, victum se rebellione *Cherusca*, jussu *Arminii*, referens, mox *Tiberio*, & *Germanico*, ducibus, stipendia meruisse. Quinquaginta annorum obsequio id quoque adjungere,

§. XXXV. THIS Summer † likewise happen'd a bloody Battle ^{A bloody} betwixt the *Catti* and *Hermunduri*, about certain Salt-Springs, which ^{Battle be-} lay on the Borders of both Nations, and each of them laid Claim ^{tween the} to. The *Catti* had made a Vow, if they gained the Victory, to ^{Catti and} sacrifice the Enemy to their Deities; a horrid Superstition which ^{Hermunduri.} usually cost the Lives of every Thing that breath'd. But the Event ^{† A. Chr. 58.} proved different, and the more doleful for the *Catti*, as they under- ^{U. C. 811.} went the Fate they had design'd for their Enemies (1). ^{In the Confu-}

§. XXXVI. I CANNOT here omit those Commotions which arose ^{Nero III. and} about this Time in *Gaul*, and among the Legions on the *Rhine*, ^{Valerius} upon which the Imperial Dignity itself depended; because these Mat- ^{Messala.} ters were chiefly transacted in Places, which now appertain to the *German* Empire, and in many of which, the *Germans* themselves had a considerable Share. *Nero's* Tyranny had render'd the *Roman* Government odious and contemptible to all the Provinces. *Julius* ^{Julius Vindex} *Vindex*, a Nobleman of *Gaul*, took therefore the dangerous Resolu- ^{attempts to} tion of delivering his Country from this Monster. He had the In- ^{free Gaul, but} ^{is defeated} ^{near Besançon.}

jungere, quod gentem suam ditioni nostræ subjiceret. Quotam partem campi jacere, in quam pecora & armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur? Servarent sane receptus gregibus inter hominum famam; modo ne vastitatem, & solitudinem, mallet, quam amicos populos. Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum, & post Usipiorum, fuisse. Sicut cælum Diis, ita terras generi mortalium datas, quæque vacuæ, eas publicas esse. Solem inde despiciens, & cætera sidera vocans, quasi coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane solum? potius mare superfunderent adversus terrarum ereptores. Et commotus his Avitus: patienda meliorum imperia. Id Diis quos implorarent, placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romanos maneret, quid darent, quid adimerent: neque alios judices, quam se ipsos, paterentur. Hæc in publicum Ansibariis respondit; ipsi Bojocalo, ob memoriam amicitiae, daturum agros. Quod ille, ut proditiōis pretium, aspernatus addidit: deesse nobis terra, in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur, non potest. Atque ita, infensis utrimque animis, discessum. Illi Bructeros, Tenchteros, ultiores etiam nationes, socias bello, voca-

bant. Avitus scripto ad Curtilium Manciam, superioris exercitus legatum, ut Rhenum transgressus, arma a tergo ostenderet; ipse legiones in agrum Tenchterum induxit, excidium minitans, nisi causam suam dissociarent. Igitur abstantibus his, pari metu exterriti Bructeri. Et cæteris quoque, aliena pericula deferentibus, sola Ansibariorum gens retro ad Usipios, & Tubantes, concessit: quorum terris exacti, cum Cattos, dein Cheruscos petissent; errore longo, hospites, egeni, hostes, in alieno, quod juventutis erat, cæduntur, imbellis ætas in prædam divisa est. Menso Altinius l. c. p. 7. observes, that even after Tacitus's Times some Remains of the Ansibarii are met with in History.

§. XXXV. (1) TACITUS *Annal. L. XIII. c. 57.* Sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Cattis exitiosius fuit, quia victores diversam aciem Marti, ac Mercurio, sacrare, quo voto equi, viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur. Et minæ quidem hostiles in ipsos vertebantur. LIPSIVS † supposes this to be the Saale. in his notes on this Passage. How these Deities, which are by Tacitus here termed Mars and Mercurius, were called among the Catti, I leave to others to determine.

habitants of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Viennensis* on his Side (1), and many Adherents among the *Sequani* and *Ætui* (2): But other Nations in *Gaul*, particularly the *Belgæ*, *Lingones* and *Treviri*, opposed their Designs (3). It therefore chiefly depended upon what Party the Legions on the *Rhine* would take. *Verginius Rufus* commanded in *Upper-Germany*, and *Fonteius Capito* on the *Lower Rhine*. The former was nearest the Commotions, and would not suffer the Fate of the *Roman Empire* to be in the Hands of the *Gauls*. He therefore marched against *Vindex*, and as in his Way *Besançon*, the Capital of the *Sequani* shut its Gates against him, he besieged that City. *Vindex* came to relieve it, and the two Generals made several Proposals to each other in Writing, till they at last had a personal Interview privately, at which *Verginius Rufus* was afterwards suspected to have shewed himself not averſe to a Change. The two Armies could not, however, be restrained, by their Commanders, from coming to a Battle, and the Legions fought ſo deſperately, that 20,000 *Gauls* were ſlain on the Spot (4): Which unfortunate Beginning ſo confounded *Vindex*, that, in Deſpair, he made away with himſelf (5).

Sulpitius Galba assumes the Imperial Dignity in *Spain*:

§. XXXVII. BUT his Death could not put a Stop to the Infurrection. *Vindex* knew very well, that he muſt make Uſe of a *Roman* to excite the *Romans*, and had, to that End, made a League with *Sulpitius Galba*, who commanded in *Spain*, and was univerſally admired for being endued with all the Qualities requiſite in a Monarch. *Galba*, tho' he publickly declared againſt *Nero*, would not aſſume the Name of *Cæſar*, but ſtiled himſelf *Legatus S. P. Q. Romanæ*. All *Spain* readily embraced his Party, and particularly *Otho*, Lieutenant in *Luſitania*, who ſent all his Plate to the Mint for *Galba's* Uſe. The Army on the *Upper-Rhine*, conſiſting of three Legions,

§. XXXVI. (1) *Conf. Tacitus L. I. c. 66. & paſſim al.*

(2) *The Sequani and Ætui appear to have been of Vindex's Party by Tacitus.*

(3) *IDEM. L. IV. c. 69. Conſtat obſtiſſe Treviris Lingonibusque, quod Vindiciſſe motu, cum Verginio ſtetiſſent.*

(4) *Dio L. LXIII. p. 725. D. Quumque Vindex eo animo eſſet, Rufus, qui Germaniam obtinebat, inde proſectus eſt, ut Vindici bellum inferret. Is poſtquam Veſontionem venit, cœpit eam urbem obſidere, quod ab ea non fuiſſet exceptus. Vindex ad opem urbi ferendam contendit, nec procul caſtra poſuit. Tandem ambo, miſſis ad ſe litteris,*

in colloquium ſoli venerunt, remotis arbitris. Ibi ſuſpicio fuit, eos una contra Neronem conjuraſſe. Poſt hæc Vindex properat cum exercitu, quaſi ſcituſſet urbem capere, quorum adventum ubi cognoscunt milites Ruſi, rati, eos aperte contra ſe venire, injuſſi impetum faciunt, imparatoſque, & parum inſtructos, invadunt, ac poſtremo magnum numerum eorum concidunt.

(5) *PLUTARCHUS in Galba p. 1055. D. Verginii & Vindiciſſe legiones, vi quodammodo duces, ſicut autigas, habenarum impotentes, concitavere. atque atroci collidere prælio, ac Vindex cæſis XX. millibus Gallorum, ſibi ipſi manus intulit.*

revolted

revolted about the same Time. The Soldiers tore *Nero's* Image from their Ensigns, and trod it under Foot; but they were, nevertheless, little devoted to *Galba*, because they thought it too mean to have the Imperial Dignity disposed of by one Legion, they therefore offer'd it to *Verginius*; but he steadfastly refused it, and with much Difficulty prevailed upon the Soldiers to wait for the Resolution of the Senat; either because he had actually not Ambition enough to usurp the Empire, or because he hoped to obtain it by the Consent of the Senat, to whom this Mark of his Respect could not but be agreeable*.

§. XXXVIII. *NERO* was at *Naples* when he heard the News of *Vindex's* Rebellion †, and made so light of it, that nothing affect-^{And is ac-}ed him more in the Manifesto, whereby *Vindex* justified his Con-^{knowledg'd}duct, than the Ridicule with which he treated the Skill he pretend-^{after Nero's}ed to in Musick. But when an Account was brought him at *Rome*, of *Galba's* Revolt in *Spain*, he begun to prepare for a Campaign. His Preparations were very ill devis'd, and ceas'd at once, when Letters arriv'd from the *Rhine*. *Nymphidius Sabinus*, and *Sophonius Tigellinus*, his *Præfæcti Prætorio*, were the first that forsook him; the former perswaded the *Prætorian* Band, that *Nero* intended to retire privately into *Egypt*, and, in *Galba's* Name, offer'd them considerable Sums (1) to swear Allegiance to him. All this was transacted in one Night, and *Nero*, when he awaked, found himself so abandon'd, that he took to the Flight, and laid violent Hands on himself, when he heard the Senat had declared him an Enemy to his Country, and that the Horsemen, who were sent in Pursuit of him, to put him to an ignominious Death, were at the Door. Several Members of the Senat may have been inclined to *Verginius Rufus*, yet, as the *Prætorians* declared for *Galba*, and as his Party encreased hourly, insomuch that no other could, without Danger of a bloody War, be elected, the Senat nominated him Emperor, and sent this Decree to him by a splendid Ambassy, entreating him to hasten his Journey to *Rome*. *Verginius*, on his Part, knew so well how to comply with the Times, that he now oblig'd his Legions to pay Homage to the new Emperor.

§. XXXIX. BUT *Galba* not placing too great Confidence in *Verginius*,^{The Armies} took him with him to *Rome*: The Armies on the *Rhine* were quick-^{on the Rhine}ly factious, and their Discontent ended in an open Rebellion. The^{desert Galba.} 4th and 18th Legions, which lay together in Winter Quarters, not

§. XXXVII. * *TACITUS* l. c.

mille sesterium in singulos, & quinquies in

§. XXXVIII. (1) *TACITUS* l. c. Trigesies

exteros.

Vitellius pro- far from *Mentz*, begun it, on the first of *January* †, tore *Galba's*
 claimed Em- Image from their Ensigns, and took an Oath to the *Roman* Senat
 peror at Co- and People. This News no sooner reach'd *Bonn*, where the first
 logn. † A. Chr. 69. Legion was quarter'd, than the Lieutenant *Fabius Valens*, *Galba's*
 V. C. 812. secret Enemy, who had before earnestly entreated *Vitellius* to assume
 In the Confu- the Imperial Dignity, went to *Cologne*, where *Vitellius* then resided.
 late of S Sal- He found him half drunk, and the Wine excited him to agree im-
 picus Gal- mediately to a Proposal, which he would perhaps, if sober, have
 ba, Aug. 11. taken Time to consider upon. He was proclaimed Emperor the
 and T. Vi- same Evening, presented with *J. Caesar's* Sword, which was depo-
 nius Rufinus. sited in the Temple of *Mars* at *Cologne*, as a Token of his new
 Dignity, and carried in Procession through the principal Streets
 of the City. The other Legions in *Lower-Germany* were as ready
 to join in this Rebellion as those on the *Upper-Rhine*, who tore
 their *S. P. Q. R.* as gladly from their Ensigns as they had fix'd it
 on. They gave him the Surname of *Germanicus*, which the former
 Emperors, from *Tiberius* to *Nero*, had taken, and which he gladly ac-
 cepted of, but as yet refused the Title of *Augustus*. The *Ubi*,
Treviri (1), *Lingones*, and other *Gallick* Nations, *Valerius Asiaticus*, Lieu-
 tenant in *Belgica*, *Junius Blæsus* Lieutenant in *Gallia Lugdunensi*,
 and the Army which was in *Britain*, took his Party. It was agreed,
 that in their March to *Italy*, *Fabius Valens* should pass thro' *Gaul*,
 and over the *Alpes Cottiae*; and *Cæcina* go the nearest Way thro'
 the Country of the *Helvetii* *. Both Armies had *German* Auxiliaries
 (2), and the Services of the *Tungri* and *Batavi* are recorded, as par-
 ticularly memorable (3).

§. XL. THEY found however an Enemy different from him a-
 gainst whom they marched; for *Galba*, so soon as he heard of the
Vitellius's Ar- Conspiracy on the *Rhine*, adopted *Piso Licinius* as his Son, hoping
 my defeats thereby to establish his Throne. But *M. Salvius Ottho*, who had
Otho. contributed so much to his Accession, that he thought this Honour
 in Gratitude due to him, raised such a Tumult, that he was pro-

§. XXXIX. (1) The *Treviri* are hitherto mentioned, not as Subjects, but as Allies of the Ro-
 mans. TACIT. L. I. c. 12. Et Treveros quid-
 dem, ut socios, securi adierunt.

* TACIT. Hist. L. I. c. 51-70.

(2) TACIT. Hist. L. I. c. 64. Adita utri-
 que Germanorum auxilia.

(3) TACIT. Hist. L. II. c. 15. Tungra-
 rum cohortium præcæti, sustentata die acie,
 telis obruuntur. Idem c. 27. Cohortes Ba-

tavorum, quas bello Neronis, a quarta de-
 cima legione digressas, cum Britanniam pe-
 terent, audito Vitellii motu, in civitate Lin-
 gonum, Fabio Valenti adjunctas, retulimus,
 superbe agebant; ut cujusque legionis ten-
 toria accessissent, coercitos a se quarta deci-
 manos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque om-
 nem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam,
 jactantes.

claimed

claimed Emperor, and both *Galba* and *Piso* were murder'd on the same Day †. He therefore marched against *Vitellius's* Army, and † 15. Jan, A, they came to a pitch'd Battle near *Bedriac* (1), where *Otho's* Ar- C. 69. my was defeated, and he in Despair slew himself (2). *Vitellius*, in the mean while, was set out from *Cologn*, with the rest of the Army, and heard by the Way, at *Tull*, of the fortunate Success of his Arms. At *Lions* he found the Heads of both Parties, and there, with great Solemnity, gave his Son the Surname of *Germanicus* (3). When he arrived in *Italy*, he divided his Army, and among others, sent the *Cobortes Batavorum*, and the Auxiliaries, which had been raised in *Garl*, back over the *Alps* (4); but kept a Part of the *Germans* in his Service: He passed through *Cremona*, and visited the Plain near *Bedriac*; from whence he sent the Dagger with which *Otho* had kill'd himself to *Cologn*, to be preserved in the Temple of *Mars* (5). He arrived at *Rome* in *July*, where the *Germans*, in their Skins of wild Beasts, with their monstrous Arms, made a frightful Figure (6). But *Vitellius* reposed a great Confidence in the Superstition of the *Germans*, as well as their Valour: For tho' he persecuted all Mathematicians, even to Death, yet was a certain *German* Sorceress as much esteemed by him, as ever *Velleda* and *Aurinia* were by the *Germans* themselves (7).

§. XLI. THE Rebellions in *Germany* had hitherto weaken'd the *Roman* Empire; but now the Eastern Countries alarmed not only *Rome*, but likewise the *Rhine*, and the *German* Nations inhabiting either Side of it. *Flavius Vespasianus* had, for several Years, been employed against the *Jews*, and had, at every Revolution, shew'd such Indifference, that he oblig'd his Army to swear Allegiance to *Galba*, *Otho*, and at last to *Vitellius*. But now the Troops in *Egypt*, *Judea* and *Syria* elected him Emperor, and were follow'd by those in *Illyricum*. *Antonius Primus*, who commanded the latter, undertook to

Claudius C-
vilis excites
his Batavi to
a Rebellion
against the
Romans.

§. XL. (1) *Vicus inter Cremonam & Veron-*
nam.

(2) *Circa d. 19. April. cum 95 dies im-*
proisset. SUTONIUS in Otton. c. 11.

(3) *TACIT. Hist. L. II. c. 59. Perlatum-*
que filium suum, paludamento opertum, sinu
retinens, Germanicum appellavit, cinxitque
fortunæ principalis insigniis.

(4) *TACIT. L. II. c. 76. conf. §. XLV.*
v. l.

(5) *SUTONIUS in Vitell. 10. Pugionem-*
que, quo se is occiderat, in Agrippinensem
coloniam misit, Marti dedicandum.

(6) *TACIT. L. c. c. 88. In urbe trepida-*
tum, præcurrentibus passim militibus. Fo-
rum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi lo-
cum, in quo Galba jacuisset. Nec minus
sævum spectaculum erant ipsi, tergis fera-
rum, & ingentibus telis, horrentes, &c.

(7) *SUTONIUS in Vitell. c. 14. n. 7. Sus-*
pectus & in morte matris fuit, quasi ægræ
præberi cibum prohibuisset: Vaticinante
Catta muliere, cui velut oraculo acquies-
cebat, ita demum firmiter diutissime impe-
raturum, si superstes parenti extitisset.

invade

invade *Italy*, and to attack *Vitellius* even at *Rome*. He took a good Number of *Suevi* and *Sarmatæ* into his Service: And, as the Lieutenant in *Rætia* was a zealous Adherent of *Vitellius*, he stirr'd up the *Norici* against him, to keep him from *Italy* (1). He fomented, besides this, with great Care, a rising Rebellion on the *Rhine*, which, as he intended, hinder'd the *Roman* Legions from going to the Assistance of *Vitellius*, but had afterwards very near dismember'd all *Gaul* from the *Roman* Jurisdiction. This arose first among the *Batavi*. The *Romans* had hitherto demanded nothing else of them, but, instead of a Contribution, a certain Number of Horse-men; who were of great Use to the *Romans*, as well for their Valour, as their Skill in Swimming, which was so great, that whole Squadrons would cross the most rapid Streams; and they were serviceable not only against the *Germanæ*, but particularly in *Britain*. The *Romans* kept constantly a considerable Number of *Batavian* Cavalry in that Island, whose Officers were all of their own Nation, which was a good Opportunity for the young Persons of Distinction to qualify themselves for the Command. The *Batavi* had, beside these, in their own Country, a standing Army of select Horse-Men. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis* (2), who were of Royal Blood, distinguish'd themselves, among their Nobility: But this their Superiority had almost cost them both their Lives. *Fonteius Capito* caused *Julius Paulus* to be accused of a Rebellion, and under that Pretence to be murder'd; but *Civilis* was sent Captive to *Rome*, where he was afterwards set at Liberty by *Galba*, with Leave to return Home, but under *Vitellius* narrowly escaped with his Head. These Attempts made him ripe for any Undertaking conducive to his future Security; And as he was a Prince of such excellent Qualities, that *Tacitus* compares him to *Hannibal* and *Sertorius*, (whom he likewise resembled, as having but one Eye) no Enterprise appear'd too difficult to him. The Division in the *Roman* Empire soon afforded him a good Opportunity, when

§. XLI. 1. TACIT. L. III. c. 5. Ac ne inermes provinciæ barbaris nationibus exponerentur, principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitium adsciti. Plebem quoque, & vim equitum, qua sola valent, offerebant: remissum id munus, ne inter discordias externa molirentur, aut majore ex diverso mercede, justasque exuerent. Trahuntur in partes Sido, atque Italicus, Reges Suevorum, qui vetus obsequium erga Romanos, & gens fidei commissæ patientior. Opposita in latus auxilia,

infesta Rætia, cui Portius Septiminius procurator erat, incorruptæ erga Vitellium fidei. Igitur Sextilius felix, cum ala Aurana, & octo cohortibus, ac Noricorum juventute, ad occupandam ripam Æni fluminis, quod Rætos Noricosque interfluit, missus. Nec his, aut illis, prælium tentantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.

(2) SAVILIUS ad TACIT. H. L. IV. c. 13. observes, that *Civilis* is, by *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, sometimes termed *Julius*.

he received Letters from *Antonius Primus*, who entreated him, to raise some Commotion in his Part, whereby the Legions on the *Rhine*, which *Vitellius* had order'd to *Italy*, might be detained from that March; and when *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who was not averse to *Vespasian's* Party, had given to understand that he would be glad of a Pretence to be exempted from that March. *Civilis* resolved therefore, at first, to conceal his Revolt, under the Colour of a Zeal for *Vespasian's* Party, to which the *Romans* the more readily gave Credit, as a Friendship had subsisted between *Vespasian* and him (3): And as the *Batavi* were besides disgusted, on Occasion of the new Levies, he invited a Company of the Chiefs and most valiant of the Nation, to a Banquet, in a consecrated Grove, and when they were merry, and warm with Liquor, communicated his Design to them, into which they all eagerly enter'd, and swore Fidelity to each other (4).

§. XLII. THE *Caninafati*, who border'd on the *Batavi* (1), and dwelt towards the Sea, were hereupon drawn into the Faction. They immediately chose for their Leader one *Brinno*, whose Father had already been famous, in the Reign of *Cajus*, for his Enmity to the *Romans*; they placed him, according to Custom, upon a Shield, and proclaimed him their General (2). *Brinno* was the first who took to Arms: He was joined by the *Frisii*, who were only separated from him by the *Rhine*, and plunder'd two *Cohorts*, who lay in Winter-Quarters in the Neighbourhood (3). The *Roman Cohorts*, in the Island *Betavia*, were in very bad Order. *Vitellius* had taken out the best Soldiers, and supplied their Places partly with *Germans* and partly with *Nervi*. As therefore their *Tribunes* were diffident of their own Force, they set Fire to their Castles, and retired, under the Conduct of *Aquilus*, to the upper Part of the Island. And now *Civilis*, likewise, began Hostilities, placed himself at the Head of his People, and

Draws the *Caninafati* over to his Party.

(3) *Ipsæ Cohortæ ap. Tacitum Hist. L. V. c. 26. Erga Vespasianum vetus mihi observantia, & cum privatus esset, amici vocabamur. This Friendship was perhaps cultivated in Britain, as Vespasian serv'd under Claudius in that Island. See above § XXVI. not. 1. and Civilis was probably among the Batavi, who distinguish'd themselves in the same Expedition.*

* Tacitus II. IV. 12-14.

(4) *Ibid. L. IV. c. 15. Barbaro ritu, & patris execrationibus, omnes adigit.*

§. XLII. (1) Tacitus II. L. IV. c. 15. Ea pars infule colit, origine, lingua,

virtute, par Batavis, numero superantur.

(2) *Ibid. Erat in Caninafatibus, stolidæ audaciæ Brinno, claritate natalium insigni: pater ejus multa hostilia ausus, Cajanearum expeditionum ludibrium impune spreverat. Igitur ipso rebellis familiæ nomine placuit, impositusque scuto, more gentis, & sustinentium humeris vibratus, Dux deligitur.*

§. *Ibid. Duarum cohortium hiberna, proxima occupatu, irrumpit. Nec præviderant impetum hostium milites; nec si prævidissent, satis virium ad arcendum erat. Capta igitur & direpta castra, &c.*

ventur'd

ventur'd openly to fight the Romans, with whom he had hitherto dissembled: The *Batavi* and *Frisi* made each a separate Army. When the Romans had an Encounter, the *Cohors Tungroren* went over to *Civilis*, and contributed very much to the Defeat of the Enemy. The Sailors in the Roman Fleet, which consisted of 24 Ships, were most of them *Batavi*, who, on this Occasion, likewise declared for their Countrymen, deliver'd several of the Ships into their Hands, and were the Occasion that the others were the more easily taken. This Victory not only added to his Undertaking the Honour, that he was universally esteem'd the Author of his Country's Liberty, but likewise enabled him to pursue it with Vigour, as he had taken a Fleet, with a considerable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition. The neighbouring *Germani* immediately offer'd him their Alliance, and he himself sought to win the *Gauls*. He not only set the Captive *Præfecti Cohortium* at Liberty, without any Ransom, but likewise gave the Soldiers their Choice, whether they would enter into his Service, or go Home. Those who remained were well treated, and those, who desired to go, were presented with Part of the Booty, that the Tokens of the Roman Overthrow might be spread the farther, and a Desire of shaking off their Yoke, be thereby excited *. *Civilis* himself seldom discoursed with them upon any other Subject, than the Facility of such an Attempt (4).

A Battle with
the Romans.

§. XLIII. *Flaccus Hordeonius*, who commanded in *Germany*, had not opposed the first Insurrection of the *Batavi*: but *Mumius Lupercus* now marched, by his Order, against them. He sent two Legions over the *Rhine*, which he re-inforced with some Auxiliaries from the *Ubii*, by a Part of the Cavalry of the *Treviri*, and a Wing of *Batavi*, which latter was commanded by *Claudius Labeo*, a sworn Enemy of *Civilis*, in whom a great Confidence was therefore placed.

The *Batavian*
Cavalry de-
serts from
the Roman
Service, and
goes over to
Civilis.

But when they came to engage, the *Batavi*, who cover'd the left Wing, went immediately over to their Countrymen. The *Ubii* and *Treviri* were the first who took to the Flight, and while *Civilis* was in Pursuit of them, the Roman Infantry found an Opportunity of retreating to *Castra Vetera*. The Wing of *Batavi* seems actually to have deserted against the Inclination of their General. *Civilis*, who

* TACIT. H. L. IV. c. 15, 16, 17.

(4) TACIT. l. c. c. 17. quotes the Arguments, which he was suppos'd to make Use of: Gallorum societatem *Civilis* ante donisque affectabat, captos cohortium præfectos suas in civitates remittendo: cohortibus abire, an

manere, mallent, data potestate, manentibus honorata militia; digredientibus, spolia Romanorum offerebantur. Simul secretis sermonibus, admonebat malorum, quæ tot annis perpeffi, miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent, &c.

had

had now his Enemy in his Power, would not take away his Life, not to give Offence to his Friends, but could not well suffer him near his Person, wherefore a Pretext was found for sending him to *Friesland* (1). *

§. XLIV. THE eight *Cohortes Batavae*, who, in the mean while, had learnt what had pass'd, thereupon turned about, and directed their Course to the *Lower Germany*, without *Hordeonius*'s daring to interrupt their March. When they approached *Bonn*, where the first Legion was in Winter-Quarters, *Herennius Gallus*, the Legate, ventured to obstruct their Passage: But they valiantly fought their Way thro' (1), passed by *Cologne* quietly, and then join'd *Civilis*, who, now the Flames of War were fully broken out, thought it most secure, in Case of the worst, to make his whole Army swear Allegiance to *Vespasian*. He thereupon sent to the two Legions, who were retired to *Vetora*, an Invitation to do the same: But they replying that they were ready to venture their Lives, and all they had, in *Vitellius*'s Service, and making Use of opprobrious Language, in their Answer, he besieged the Place. The whole Nation of *Batavi* was now in Arms, and with them the *Bructeri*, *Tencteri*, and other German Nations. *Civilis* placed himself, with a select Army of *Batavi*, in the Center, and on both Sides, along the Banks, were the other German Nations, each of whom composed a separate Army. The Skins, and Images of wild Beasts, which they made use of for their Banners, revived the Memory of all the Romans had ever suffer'd by the Germans, as, on the other Hand, the Roman Banners, of those *Batavian* Regiments, who had been so long employed in their Service, made the Appearance of a Civil War (2). But *Civilis* met with a greater Resistance, than he probably expected (3): And *Hordeonius*

§. XLIII. (1) Tacitus describes the Disposition of *Civilis*'s Army, c. 18. *Civilis*, capitarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos, & hostes memoria cladis terrerentur; matrem suam, sororesque, simul omnium conjuges, parvosque liberos, consistere a tergo jubet: hortamenta victoriae, vel pulsus pudorem. Ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu, sonuit acies; nequaquam par a legionibus, cohortibusque, redditur clamor.

* TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 18.

§. XLIV. (1) Tacit. ib. 20. Illi veteres militiae, in cuneos congregantur, densi undique, & frontem, tergaque ac latus, tuti.

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(2) TACIT. c. 22. Hinc veteranarum cohortium signa, inde depromptae silvis luciferae ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti iniri proelium mos est, mixta belli civilis externique facie, obstupefecerant obsessos.

(3) TACITUS c. 23. gives a circumstantial Account of this Siege. Batavi, Transrhennique, quodiscreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt, eminus lacessentes. Post ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinnisque mœnium irrita hærebant, & desuper saxis vulnerabantur; clamore atque impetu, invasere vallum, apposis ple-risque scalis, alii per testudinem suorum. Scandebantque jam quidam, cum gladiis & armorum

deonius Flaccus begun, in the mean Time, to awake from his Lethargy. He sent *Dillius Vocula*, with the best Part of the Legions, before, not being able, on Account of his Infirmities, to keep Pace with them, and followed himself with the Remainder of the Roman Army. Just before his Departure he received a Letter from *Vespasian*, which, to remove all Suspicion in the Army, he order'd to be publickly read, and sent the Messenger in Chains to Rome, to *Vitellius*. At *Cologne*, he met with the Auxiliaries, which had been raised here and there in *Gaul*. But the common Soldiers were so disgusted at *Hordeonius Flaccus*, that he was obliged to resign the Command to *Vocula*: They were met at *Neus* by the thirteenth Legion, and *Herennius Gallus* was join'd in the Command with *Vocula*. They would not, however, hazard to encounter the Enemy, but encamped near *Gelduba* (4): And, undoubtedly, the Fear of *Civilis*, did not alone occasion this Backwardness, but, in some Measure, the Irresolution of the Roman Officers: For as zealous as the common Soldiers were for *Vitellius*, as much were many of the principal Officers devoted to *Vespasian*, for whom *Civilis* seemed to act. But that they might not, in the mean Time, be wholly unemployed, *Vocula*, with Part of them, made an Incurſion into the Country of the *Gugerni* (5), who had taken Part with *Civilis*. This the latter soon reveng'd, and as he received daily fresh Recruits from

armorum incussu præcipitati, sudibus & pilis obruuntur, præferoces initio, & rebus secundis nimii. Sed tum, prædæ cupidine, adversa quoque tolerabant. Machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi: nec ulla ipsis solertia: perfugæ captivique docebant struere materias in modum pontis, mox subjectis rotis propellere: ut alii superstantes, tanquam exaggere præliarentur; pars intus, occulti, muros subruerent. Sed excussa balistis saxa stravere informe opus, & crates vineasque parantibus, adactæ tormentis ardentes hastæ, ultroque ipsi oppugnatores ignibus petebantur; donec desperata vi, verterent consilium ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum inesse alimenta, & multum imbellis turbæ. Et cap. 3. Eduxerant Batavi turrim, duplici tabulato, quam prætorix portæ (is æquissimus locus) propinquantem, promoti contra validi asseres, & incussæ trabes perfringere, multa superstantium pernicie. Pugnatumque in percussos, subito & prospera eruptione. Simul a legionariis peritia & arte præstantibus plura struebantur. Præcipuum pavorem intulit suspensum & nu-

tans machinamentum, quo repente demisso præter suorum ora, singuli pluresque hostium sublimè rapti, verso pondere intra castra effundebantur

(4) *Castellum in Ubiis ad Rhenum*. CELLARIUS, *Orb. ant.* T. 1. p. 333. shews, with some Probability, That the Village *Gelb*, on the Rhine, eleven Roman Miles from *Neus*, retains the Name and Memory of this Place.

(5) The *Gugerni* were a German Nation, who dwelt on the right Banks of the Rhine, between the *Ubii* and *Batavi*. PLINIUS *Hist. Nat.* L. IV. c. 16. *Rhenum accolentes Germaniæ gentium, in eadem provincia Belgica, Nemetes Tribocci, Vangiones. Hinc Ubii, Colonia Agrippinensis, GUGERNI, Batavi.* CLUVERIUS l. 2. G. A. c. 18. imagines them to have been the *Sicambri*, whom *Tiberius* carried over the Rhine. GROTIUS l. VII. H. Belg. p. 339. says of them: *Retro* (where *Gelders* now is) *Gugernos* coluisse, vetus descriptio persuadet, & in hunc diem *Goga* (*Goch*) vicus. All which is proved more plainly and largely by *Altingius*, l. c. P. I. Tab. III. & p. 80.

Germany,

Germany, he made Use of some of them against the *Treviri* and *Ubii*; the latter of which were very zealous in the Service of the *Romans* (6); and others he sent even over the *Maes* to infest the *Menapii*, *Morini*, and the extream Parts of *Gaul*.

§. XLV. ABOUT this Time †, News came to the *Rhine* of a bloody Battle near *Cremona*, in *Italy* (1), in which *Vespasian's* Party had gained the Victory. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, and the Camp at *Gelduba*, instantly declared for him, and *Albinus Montanus*, a *Trevirer* by Birth, who was himself present at the Battle of *Cremona*, was sent to *Civilis*, to represent to him, that since they had now declared *Vespasian* Emperor, if he was sincere in his Pretensions for his Service, he should put a Stop to all Hostilities. The Case was now so plain, and, whatever he might pretend, it evidently appear'd, that he did not make War against *Vitellius's* Party, but against the *Romans*. He remained himself before *Vetera*, and sent 8 *Cohorts*, with the Choice of those *German Nations*, who were with him, against the Camp at *Gelduba*; This Army was commanded by *Julius Maximus* and *Claudius Victor*, his Sister's Son (2). They defeated by the Way an *Ala*, which was quarter'd near *Asciburg* (3), and had almost made themselves Masters of the Camp at *Gelduba*, when *Vocula* received a Re-inforcement, just in Time, to repel them. *Vocula* thereupon ventured on the Relief of *Vetera*. The Battle was still very dubious, when *Civilis* unfortunately fell from his Horse, which caused a Report to be spread in both Armies, that he was mortally wounded, and even dead, whereby the *Germans* were so disheartned, and the *Romans* so encouraged, that the latter put the former to the Flight: But *Vocula* would not venture to pursue them. He repaired the Fortifications of *Vetera*, and then returned by the Way of *Gelduba* and *Neus*, to the main Army. *Ci-*

(1) TACITUS *Hist. L. IV. c. 28.* At Civilem immensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat, societate nobilissimis obsidum firmata. Ille, ut cuique proximum, vastari Ubios, Treverosque, & alia manu Mosam amnem transire jubet, ut Menapios, & Morinos, & extremæ Galliarum, quateret. Actæ utrobique prædæ; infestius in Ubiiis, quod gens Germanicæ originis, ejurata patria, Romanorum nomen Agrippinenses vocarentur. Cæsar cohortes eorum, in vico Marcoduro, incuriosius agentes, quia procul ripa aberant. Nec quievire Ulis, quominus prædas e Germania peterent, impune, dein circumventi sunt, ut omne ad bellum meliore usi fide, quam fortuna.

§. XLV. (1) The Princes of the Suevi, above-mentioned, behaved themselves valiantly at this Battle. TACITUS *H. L. 3. c. 22.* Sido, atque Italicus, Reges Suevi, cum delectis popularium, primori in acie versabantur.

(2) TACITUS *H. L. IV. c. 33.* Civilis, parte copiarum retenta, veteranas cohortes, & quod e Germanis maxime promptum, adversus Voculam, exercitumque ejus, mittit: Julio Maximo, & Claudio Victore, Sororis suæ filio, ducibus; In other Editions we read: Sororis suæ viro.

(3) TACITUS *L. IV. c. 23.* Rapiunt in transitu hiberna alæ, Asciburgi sita. Asciburgum lay between Vetera and Gelduba, ALTINGIUS, *l. c. Tab. I. p. 11.*

vilis thereupon block'd up *Vetera* once more, hastened after *Vocula*, took *Gelduba*, and defeated Part of the Roman Cavalry near *Neus*. A Mutiny arose, about the same Time, among the Legions in the main Camp. They had murder'd *Hordeonius Flaccus*, and *Vocula* scarce escap'd their Fury by a Flight. In this Disorder, they did not wait for *Civilis*'s Arrival, but fled with Precipitation; and the whole *Rhine* would, at that Time, have become subject to the *Germans*, had not the 4th and 1st Legion returned to *Vocula*'s Command, and the *Treviri*, for the Security of their Borders, thrown up a Line, and defended it, with much Bloodshed, against the *Germans* (4). For, besides this Army under *Civilis*, another fell into *Upper-Germany*, and undertook even to besiege *Mentz* (5); but they soon found the Place too strong for them. *Vocula* came unexpectedly upon them, in their Retreat, and recover'd Part of their Booty *.

The Gauls submit to *Civilis* after *Vitellius*'s Death.

§. XLVI. *VESPASIAN*'s Army, in *Italy*, had, in the mean Time, approached the City of *Rome*, and appeared so formidable to *Vitellius*, that he had already begun to treat with *Vespasian*'s Brother, *Sabinus*, of the Surrender of the Empire: But the *German* Soldiers, who were constantly in *Vitellius*'s Service (1), dissuaded him from it. *Sabinus*, at so unexpected a Change, fled into the Capitol. *Vitellius*'s Soldiers besieged him there, and set Fire to this Sanctuary of the *Roman* Empire *. But *Antonius Primus* and *Petilius Cerialis* had no sooner enter'd

(4) *TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 37.* Quin & Iorricam vallumque, per fines suos Treviri struxere, magnisque invicem, claudibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga populum Rom. merita mox rebelles foedarunt.

(5) *TACITUS L. IV. c. 38.* Discesserant obseffores, mixtus ex Cattis, Usipiis, Mattiacis exercitus, satietate prædæ, nec incruenti. In via dispersos, & nescios, miles noster invaserat.

* *TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 31-37.*

§. XLVI. (1) *I observed before, that Vitellius took German and Batavian Troops with him to Italy. The Batavians were sent back: But the Germans are afterwards mentioned by Tacitus in several Places, H. L. II. c. 93. Adjunctia Tiberi Germanorum, Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora, fluminis aviditas, & æstus impatientia, labefecit. Idem H. L. III. c. 69. Igitur tanquam omnis respublica in Vespasiani sinum cecisset, primores Senatus, & plerique equestris ordinis, omnisque*

miles urbanus, & vigiles, domum Flavii Sabinii complevere. Illuc de studiis vulgi, & de armis Germanicarum cohortium, affertur. *Dio p. 741. C proves, that those Troops were chiefly instrumental in the Destruction of the Capitol. Sed quum incidissent in Germanos custodes Vitellii, misere affecti discedunt, atque in Capitolium perfugiant. Eodem Domitianum, Vespasiani filium, propinquosque ejus, accersunt, præditiisque muniunt. Postridie ejus diei Vitelliani contra eos irruere: hi impetum illorum propulsare aliquamdiu: sed quum incensis iis, quæ circum Capitolium erant, igni impedirentur. Vitelliani ascendunt in Capitolium, magnumque numerum eorum concidunt, direptisque omnibus, quæ in Capitolio reposita erant, ac præter alia loca, magno templo Jovis Opæ Max. incenso, Sabinum & Atticum, captos, ad Vitellium mittunt.*

* *TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 69-74.*

Rome,

Rome, than the Face of Affairs was a second Time changed. *Vitellius* was put to Death, in the most ignominious Manner, and, of all his Adherents, a single *German* was the only one, who attempted any Thing for his Delivery (2). Rome begun now to be in a tranquil State; but the Fury of War encreased twofold on this Side of the *Alps*. *Civilis* now acted openly against the *Romans*, and the Projects, which he had so long labour'd to persuade the *Gauls* to, begun to break forth. The *Treviri* and *Lingones* were the Chief among those, who took the Resolution of freeing *Gaul* from the *Romans*. *Classicus*, who was descended from the Royal Blood of the *Treviri*, and commanded an *Ala Trevirorum*, headed them, and under him *Julius Tutor* and *Julius Sabinus*, a *Lingo* of Distinction. Some *Ubii* and *Tungri* were likewise of the Faction. Besides the Perplexities, in which the *Roman* Empire was involved, and which were daily magnified by fictitious Reports, nothing excited the *Gauls* more, than that the Capitol at Rome was burnt down, which the *Druids* represented to them as a certain Forerunner of the Declension of the *Roman* Empire (3). They no longer consider'd the Greatness of their Enterprize, as they were assured, that the Gods had so decreed it. The first Conspiracy was formed in a private House at *Cologne*, and the Resolution taken to embrace the Opportunity of the present Divisions in the *Roman* Empire, to free *Gaul*, and to delude the *Roman* Generals, with a Prospect of Security, till an Opportunity could be found to murder them; after which, it would be an easy Matter to draw the common Soldiers, who were prejudiced against *Vespasian*, over to their Party. *Vocula* was indeed informed of their Design, and partly saw it, but did not think himself in a Condition, to oppose it, as he could not yet safely confide in his own Men. He therefore resolved likewise to dissemble, and went to *Cologne*. He there met with *Claudius Labeo*, who had found Means of escaping from *Friesland*, to come to him, and offer'd, if he could have an Army put under his Command, he would invade *Batavia*, and bring over the greatest Part of that Nation to the *Romans* again. *Vocula* agreed to it; but *Labeo* could not perform his Promise. He drew over to his Army some *Bethasii* and *Nervii*, but would not venture to undertake any thing against the *Batavi*,

(2) *TACITUS Hist. L. III. c. 85.* Vincæ pone tergum manus: Laniata veste, fœdum spectaculum ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo illacrymante. Deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat. Obvius e Germanicis militibus Vitellium infesto ictu, per iram, vel, quo maturius ludibriis eximeret, an tribunum appetierit, in incerto fuit: aurem tribuni amputavit, ac statim confossus est.

(3) *Idem Hist. L. IV. c. 54.* Sed nihil æque, quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperii adesse crederent, impulerat. Captam olim a Gallis urbem: sed, integra Jovis sede, mansisse imperium. Fatali nunc igne signum cœlestis iræ datum, & possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi, superstitione vana Druidæ canebant.

and

and only made Incurfions into the Countries of the *Caninafati*, and *Marfaji* (4). The *Gauls* ftill appear'd faithful and zealous; *Vocula* therefore marched againft *Civilis*, hoping, that, if he could fucceed againft him, they might perhaps be more fecurely confided in, or, at leaft, be the more eafily reftained: But even this accelerated the Rebellion. He was not far diftant from *Vetera*, when *Classicus* and *Tutor* rid before, under Pretence of getting Intelligence; but in Reality to conclude a Treaty with *Civilis* (5). At their Return, they feparated their Troops from the *Roman Army*, and *Vocula* needed then no longer to doubt of their Intention. He faw no other Method, than that of retiring to *Neus*. The *Gauls* encamped two *Roman Miles* from that Place, and the private good Underftanding, which they had cultivated in the *Roman Camp*, proved fo effectual, that they came over to them, one Company after the other. *Vocula* was, at length, flain, and *Herennius*, *Legatus I. Legionis*, with *Numifius Rufus*, *Legatus XVII Legionis*, were put in Irons. *Classicus* then went to the *Roman Camp*, with all the Pomp and Ceremony, ufual for a *Roman General* at the Army (6); and the *Roman Legions* fwore *pro Imperio Galliarum*. The Images of the *Roman Emperors* were tore from the Enfigns of the Legions (7), but thofe who order'd it knew not themfelves, what was to fucceed in the Place of them *.

The Roman
Legions near
Vetera fur-
render to *Ci-
vilis*.

§. XLVII. *TUTOR* and *Classicus* hereupon feparated. *Tutor* went to *Upper-Germany*, and by the way received the Homages of the City of *Cologne*, and of thofe *Roman Troops*, which were on the *Upper-Rhine*; and order'd feveral Officers of Difinction, who refufed to do it, to be put to Death, at *Mentz*. *Classicus* went down to the *Rhine*, and joined *Civilis*, who was ftill before *Vetera*, and fummone'd the two Legions to take Part with the *Gauls*. Thefe feing a Famine coming upon them, and all Hopes of a Relief, cut off, were under a Neceffity of capitulating. They were obliged likewise to fwear *pro Imperio Galliarum*, and only obtain'd leave to depart; but all their Ammunition was left a Prey. They had fcarce marched five *Roman Miles*, when they were attacked

(4) *TACITUS Hift. L. IV. c. 56.* Nihil apud Batavos aufus, quofdam Nerviorum, Bethafiorumque, in arma traxit. Et furtim magis, quam bello, Caninefates, Marfacofque incurfabat. Marfaji, or Marfatii, were thofe Frifii who dwelt from the right Arm of the Rhine along the Sea-Coaft, and from thence took the Name of Meerfaten. V. *MENSO ALTINGIUS, l. c. Tab. II. & p. 93.*

(5) *TACITUS L. IV. c. 57.* Cum ducibus Germanorum pacta firmaverat. Among whom are to be underftood the Chiefs of the Bruc-

teri and other Germans, who affifted *Civilis*.

(6) *TACITUS L. IV. c. 59.* Dein fumtis Romani imperii insignibus, in castra venit. Nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra suppeditavere, quam ut sacramentum recitaret. Juravere, qui aderant, pro imperio Galliarum.

(7) *TACITUS Hift. L. IV. c. 62.* Revulfa Imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa, fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis, filens agmen, & velut longæ exsequiæ.

* *TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 54-59.*

by the *Germans*, and partly slain on the Spot, partly dispersed. *Civilis* himself own'd this to be a Breach of the Publick Faith, and shew'd a great Dislike of it. He pretended it was not in his Power to restrain the the Fury of the *Germans*: But this was thought only a Pretext, and the whole Affair to have been so concerted. Their Camp was plunder'd and then set on Fire. *Civilis* had, since he had taken up Arms, according to the Custom of the *Germans*, especially of the *Catti*, from whom the *Batavi* were descended, made a Vow, to let his Hair grow, till he had perform'd some signal Exploit against the *Romans*. Now, he thought, he might with Honour dispense with that Vow (1). He is likewise accused of having given his Son, who was then a Youth, some Prisoners, to shoot to Death with Arrows for his Pleasure and Exercise. We have so much the less to wonder, that the *German Wars* were attended with some Barbarity in these Times, since their Heroes were bred up to them by these inhuman Exercises. A Part of the Booty, with some Prisoners, among whom was *Mumius Lupercus, Legatus Legionis*, was sent to *Velleda*. This *Velleda* was a single Woman, who was in so great Of *Velleda*. Esteem not only among the *Bruēteri*, her Country-men, but among all the neighbouring Nations, for her Predictions, that they were as much regarded as the *Silyllian Verses*, among the *Romans*. It is observed, as somewhat singular, by Historians, that among the *Germans*, the Art of Divination was chiefly practised by Women; and the Men were so credulous, that they sometimes adored those wise Women, as Goddesses (2). *Velleda* dwelt in the Country of the *Bruēteri*, somewhere about the *Lippe* (3), retired from the visible Conversation of all Mankind, except her own Relations, by whose Means only, she was to be consulted (4).

§ XLVII. (1) *TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 61.* *Civilis* barbaro voto, post cœpta adversus Romanos arma, propexum rutilatumque crinem, patrata demum cæde legionum, deposuit. *Of this Custom of the ancient Germans* *TACITUS de mor. Germ. c. 3. writes.* Aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum, rara & privata cujusque audentia, apud Catos in Consensum vertit, crinem barbamque summittere, nec, nisi hoste cæso, exuere notivum, obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. *And some Nations have since retained this Custom.* *PAUL. DIACONUS de gestis Langob. L. III. c. 3.* Sex millia Saxonum devoverunt se, neque barbam, neque capillos, rasuros, nisi se de Suevis hostibus ulciscerentur.

(2) *TACITUS de mor. Germ. c. 8.* Inesse enim sanctum quid, & providum, patant

feminis: nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt: vidimus, sub D. Vespasiano, Velledam diu apud plerisque numinis loco habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complures alias, venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent Deas. *See above, L. II. § XXXVI.*

(3) *See below, § LV. not. 5.* *Some have mentioned one, some another Place, as Jo. Georg. Keysser says in his Antiq. Septentr. p. 472. sqq. But the whole depends upon meer Conjectures, as does likewise, what is said of the Name of Velleda.*

(4) *TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 67.* Sed coram adire, alloquique, Velledam, negatum. Arcebantur conspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turri: delectus e provincis, consulta responsaque, ut internuntius numinis, portabat.

She

She now gained the more Credit, as she had prophesied the good Success of the *German Arms* (5), and we shall see below, of how much Weight her Predictions were esteem'd throughout the whole War. *

The Roman
Forts and
Camps a-
long the
Rhine are de-
stroyed.

XLVIII. THE 13th Legion, which lay at *Neus*, and that of *Bonn*, who both surrender'd, were, by *Claudius Sanctius*, conducted to *Triers*, which was to be the Capital of the new *Imperium Galliarum*. All the Camps and Quarters, where *Legions*, *Cohorts*, or *Alæ* had hitherto been station'd in Winter, were set on Fire and razed, excepting that at *Mentz* and *Vindonissa*, and the *Rhine* was thus at once freed from almost all its Bonds*.

Civilis's De-
signs. The
Ubi come in-
to the Ger-
man League.

XLIX. CIVILIS had not engaged himself to the *Gauls*, otherways than as an Ally (1), and fought daily to encrease the Number of his own Adherents, in hopes, that if once, by the Assistance of the *Gauls*, the *Roman Power* could be subverted, he could then easily deal with them. The *Colonia Ubiorum* was of great Importance. The *German Nations*, who came from the other Side of the *Rhine*, to assist *Civilis*, would gladly have had it given a Prey to them. The *Tencteri*, who were their nearest Neighbours, sent an Embassy to this Colony, and desired, that they would kill all the *Romans* they should find in their Dominions, and raze the Walls of the Town, that their former Community with other *German Nations* might be the sooner restored (2). The Inhabitants left it to the Determination of *Velleda* and *Civilis* (3), which was, that the Town should enter into the *German League*, and suppress the Duties on

(5) TACITUS *Hist. L. IV. c. 67.* Tuncque Velledæ auctoritas adolevit. Nam prosperas Germanis res, & excidium legionum, prædixerat.

* TACITUS *H. L. IV. c. 59-62.*

§ XLVIII. * TACITUS *H. L. IV. c. 61, 62.*

§ XLIX. (1) TACITUS *H. L. IV. c. 61.* Neque se, neque quenquam Batavum, in verba Galliarum adegit, fîsus Germanorum opibus, &, si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret, inclitus fama, & potior.

(2) TACITUS gives us the following Speech of the Ambassadors, *H. L. IV. c. 64.* Rediisse vos in corpus nomenque Germaniæ, communibus Deis, sed præcipuo Deorum, Marti, grates agimus: vobisque gratulamur, quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis. Nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras, & cælum quodammodo ipsum, clausierant Romani, ut colloquia congressusque nostros arcerent: vel, quod contumeliosius est, viris ad arma natis,

inermes ac prope nudi, sub custode & pretio coiremus. Sed ut amicitia, societasque nostra, in æternum rata sint: postulamus avobis, muros coloniæ, munimenta servitii, detrahatis. Etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur. Romanos omnes, in finibus vestris, trucidetis, haud facile libertas, & domini miscentur: bona interfectorum in medium cedant, ne quis occidere quidquam, aut segregare causam suam, possit. Liceat nobis, vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut olim majoribus nostris, quomodo lucem diemque omnibus hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. Instituta, cultumque patrium, reseruite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subjectos, quam armis, valent. Sincerus, & integer, & servitutis oblitus populus, aut ex æquo agetis, aut aliis imperitabitis.

(3) Their Answer may be met with in TACITUS *c. 65.* Quæ prima libertatis facultas data

on the *Rhine*, that a Commerce might be free. *Civilis* then went farther, and obliged the *Sunici* (4), to come in likewise. *Claudius Labeo* had levied an Army, in Haste, of *Tungri*, *Bethasii*, and *Nervii*, at *Maastricht*, to stop *Civilis*'s Progress. The Battle was scarce begun, when the *Tungri* went over to *Civilis*, and *Labeo* himself, fearful of falling once more into his Hands, fled. The *Bethasii* and *Nervii* followed the Example of the *Tungri*, and *Civilis* pursued *Labeo* to the farthest Part of *Belgick Gaul* *.

L. WHILEST Success thus attended all his Undertakings, *Julius Sabi-* *Julius Sabi-*
nus broke loose, on the other Side, among the *Lingones*, publicly viola- *nus* aspires to
ted the Treaty, in which his Nation was hitherto engaged with the Ro- the Imperial
mans, and assumed the Name of *Cæsar*; pretending, that *Julius Cæsar*, Dignity;
during the War in *Gaul*, carried on an Amour with his Grand-Mother, but is defea-
and by her had his Father. He marched against the *Sequani*, who con- ted by the
tinued loyal to the *Romans*, but was put to flight by them, and caused *Sequani*.
a Report to be spread, that he had kill'd himself *.

LI. MUCIANUS, to whom the Administration was left, in the *Mucianus*
Absence of *Vespasian*, no sooner had an Account of this Rebellion, at sends fresh
Rome, than he order'd *Gallius Annius*, and *Petilius Cerialis* to go to the Supplies to
Rhine: But when News grew daily worse, he prepared to go himself, the Rhine.
with *Domitian*, over the *Alps*. The 14th *Roman* Legion, which was Tutor is beat
in *Britain*, and the 6th and 8th, which were station'd in *Spain*, were near Bingen.
order'd to go to *Gaul*. But the Envy and Dissention, which reign'd
among that People, were of more Advantage to the *Romans*, than their
own Power. Those Nations, who sided formerly with *Vindex*, now
opposed the Undertakings of the *Treviri* and *Lingones*, because they
were then attach'd to *Verginius*. The Chiefs of these two Nations con-

data est, avidius, quam cautius, sumptimus, ut vobis, cæterisque Germanis, consanguineis nostris, jungeremur. Muros civitatis, congregantibus se cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis, quam diruere, tutius est. Si qui, ex Italia, aut provinciis, alienigenæ in finibus nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit: vel in suas quisque sedes refugere. Deductis olim, & nobiscum per connubium sociatis, quique mox provenere, hæc patria est. Nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus, ut interficia nobis parentes, fratres, liberos nostros, velitis. Vestigal, & onera commerciorum, resolvimus. Sint transitus incustoditi, sed diurni & inermes: donec nova, & recentia jura, in vetustatem

consuetudine vertantur. Arbitrum habebimus Civilem, & Velledam, apud quos pacta sancientur.

(4) The *Sunici* dwelt in the present Dukedom of Limburg, where is still a Place call'd Sunich, which seems to have borrow'd its Name from them. Menso Altingius treats of the Conjecture, that they were some of the Suevi dedititii, whom *Tiberius* led over the *Rhine*, (See above, B. III. §. 18.) as well as of their Habitation, with much Probability. L. c. P. I. Tab. V. & p. 118.

* TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 65-66.

§. L. * TACITUS H. L. IV. c. 67. Of his farther Adventures. See PLUTARCHUS in *Erotico* c. fin.

tended alternatively for the Supremacy, even before they had established their Liberty: And, at the Convention at *Rheims*, when News was brought of the Preparations of the *Romans*, tho' all others were inclinable to Peace, the *Treviri* and *Lingones* held out. The *Roman* Army approached in the mean time nearer. The 21st Legion took their Route by *Vindonissa*; and *Sextilius Felix* march'd, with his foreign Regiments, thro' *Rætia*, having with him *Julius Briganticus*, *Civilis's* Sister's Son, who commanded an *Ala Singularium*, and was as odious to his Uncle, as so near a Ty of Consanguinity should have render'd him agreeable. Tutor was guilty of a great Inadvertency, in not causing the Passes of the *Alps* to be immediately beset, and not covering, as he might have done, the *Upper-Rhine*. His Soldiers, however, at first, defeated a *Cohors* (1) which *Sextilius Felix* had sent before; but when the Army itself approached, most of them went over to the *Romans*, so that he found himself oblig'd to retire to *Bingen*. For his greater Safety, he order'd the Bridge over the *Naab* to be pull'd down: But *Sextilius* found a Ford, fell upon him, and drove him out of the Field. This so terrified the *Treviri*, that Tutor and *Julius Valentinus* could scarce dissuade them from surrendering. The two Legions that were at *Triers* declared once more for *Vespasian*, and join'd the *Mediomatrices*, who continued their Fidelity to the *Romans*.

Perilius Cerialis defeats the *Treviri* near *Rigola*.

LII. THE *Roman* General, *Cerialis*, arrived about this Time at *Mentz*, and immediately sent some Officers, to secure those two Legions, which were station'd about *Metz*. He went himself, with a Body of Troops, some of whom he had brought with him, and had found the rest at *Mentz*, towards *Rigola* (1), where *Julius Valentinus* had placed himself very advantageously, with his Adherents, the *Treviri* and other *Belgæ*. *Cerialis*, notwithstanding this, attack'd and destroy'd his Camp, and took *Valentinus* himself Prisoner: The next Day he march'd to *Triers*, which, by this Overthrow, lay open to him (2). The common Sol-

§ LI. (1) TACITUS *H. L.* IV. c. 70. Tutor, Treverorum copias, recenti Vangionum, Caracatum, Tribocorum delectu, auctas, veterano pedite, atque equite firmavit, corruptis spe, aut metu subactis legionariis, qui primo cohortem præmissam a Sextilio Felice interficiunt: mox, ubi duces, exercitusque Romani, propinquabant, honesto transfugio rediere: secutis Tribocis, Vangionibusque & Caracatibus. CLUVERIUS *L. II.* c. 12. reads, instead of Caracates, Nemetes. Ja. Gronovius, on this Passage, supposes it to be Tabernates.

§ LII. (1) Rigodulum. The Place is now call'd Rigol, and is situate on the Mosel, some-

what below *Triers*, opposite to the small Town of *Pfaltz*.

(2) TACIT. *H. L.* IV. c. 72. *Cerialis* postero die coloniam Treverorum ingressus est, &c. BROWERUS *Annal. Trev. I.* c. 131. p. 129. seq. thinks that Augustus settled a Colony at *Triers*, which, by what I have mentioned above, *B. III.* §. 1. not. 2, becomes dubious, for there it appears, that the *Romans*, in *Germanicus's* Times, look'd upon *Triers*, as a foreign Place. Browerus moreover produces, p. 130. a Coin, upon the Reverse of which is writ COLONIA AUGUSTA PATRICIA TREVERORUM, but which is neither met with in *Mezzabarba* nor *Vaillant*.

diers

diers were very eager to pillage the City: But the General chose rather to win the Affections of the People by Lenity, and himself made a Speech to the Heads of the *Treviri* and *Lingones*, in which he represented to them, how much more Advantage they would reap, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, than from a vain *Chimera* of *Liberty*, always exposed to the Ravage of the *Germans* (3). He then encamped with his Troops near *Triers* *.

LIII. *CIVILIS* and *CLASSICUS* tried hereupon, on their Part, whether *Cerialis* aspired to the Imperial Dignity, and offer'd to procure him the Sovereignty of *Gaul*, if he would leave them the Dominion over their Nations. This not succeeding, *Civilis* advised, not to attack the *Romans* immediately; but to wait for more Troops from the other Side of the *Rhine*. But his Motion was rejected, and immediate Preparations were made for a Battle (1). The Army was so disposed, that the *Ubii* and *Lingones* were in the Center; the *Batavi* on the Right, and the *Bruſteri* and *Tenſteri* on the left Wing. The Attack was so fortunate for the Allies, that they were already Masters of the Bridge over the *Mosel*: But *Cerialis* rallied the *Romans*, and Fortune so seconded his Valour, that he not only put the Enemy to Flight, but made himself Master of their

The Battle
of *Triers*.
The *Ubii*
join the *Romans*
again.

(3) TACIT. H. L. IV. c. 73. Terram vestram cæterorumque Gallorum, ingressi sunt duces, imperatoresque Romani, nulla cupidine, sed majoribus vestris invocantibus, quos discordiæ usque ad exitium fatigabant, et acciti auxilio Germani, sociis pariter, atque hostibus, servitutem imposuerant, Quot præliis adversus Cimbroſ, Teutonſque, quantis exercituum noſtrorum laboribus, quove eventu Germanica bella tractaverimus, satis clarum. Nec ideo Rhenum infedimus, ut Italiam tueremur, sed ne quis alius Arioviſtus regno Galliarum potiretur, An vos cariores Civili, Bativiſque, & Transrhenanis gentibus creditis, quam majoribus eorum patres, avique veſtri, fuerunt? Eadem ſemper cauſſa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia, mutandæ ſedis amor: ut relictis paludibus, & ſolitudinibus ſuis, ſecundiſſimum hoc ſolum, voſque ipſos poſſiderent. He tells them more-
over: ipſi plerumque legionibus noſtris præſidetis, ipſi haſ, aliasque provincias regitis: and concludes at laſt: proinde pacem, & ur-

bem, quam victi, victoresque, eodem jure obtinemus, amate, colite.

* TACIT. H. L. IV. c. 71-74.

§. LIII. (1) TACIT. H. L. IV. c. 76. Apud Germanos diverſis ſententiis certabatur. Civilis operiendas Transrhenanorum gentes, quarum terrore fractæ populi Romani vires obtererentur. Gallos quid aliud, quam prædam, victoribus? & tamen, quod roboris ſit, Belgas, ſecum palam, aut voto, ſtare. Tutor, cunctatione crefcere rem Romanam, affirmabat, coëuntibus undique exercitibus. Transveſtam e Britannia legionem: accitas ex Hiſpania: adventare ex Italia: nec ſubitum militem, ſed veterem, expertumque belli. Nam Germanos, qui ab ipſis ſperantur, non juberi, non regi, ſed cuncta ex libidine agere. Pecuniamque, ac dona, quis ſolis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos: & neminem adeo in arma pronum, ut non idem pretium quietis, quam periculi, malit: quod ſi ſtatim congregiantur, nullas eſſe Ceriali, niſi ex reliquiis Germanici exercitus, legiones ſcederibus Galliarum obſtriſtas, &c.

Camp. *Civilis* thought he should meet with a secure Refuge among the *Ubii*, in whose Dominions, at *Zülch*, lay his best Regiment, consisting of *Chauci* and *Frisii*. But the Inhabitants of *Cologn* had already reconciled themselves to the *Romans*, and to bespeak their Affection, had unexpectedly fallen upon *Civilis's* Soldiers at *Zülch*, and slain all the *Germans* they met with in their City. *Cerialis* hastened the more to their Assistance, because they had promised to deliver to him *Civilis's* Wife and Sister, and *Classicus's* Daughter, who had been left with them (2) to keep up a better Understanding*.

The Battle
of Vetera. *Ci-*
vilis retreats
over the
Rhine.

LIV. *CIVILIS*, however, was not yet disheartned. The *Caninafati* had been successful against the *Roman* Fleet, which sailed from *Britain*, and took or sunk most of the Ships. *Classicus*, on the other Hand, had defeated the Cavalry, which *Cerialis* had sent to *Neus* (1). *Civilis* himself drew as many *Germans* over the *Rhine*, as he possibly could, and encamped near *Vetera*, there to wait for the *Romans*. *Cerialis* fell upon him with his whole Army; the Force of which may be computed, from his having six Legions with him, besides the Auxiliaries. *Civilis* had omitted nothing, that could turn to his Advantage. *Tacitus* gives us a particular Account of this Battle (2); the Event of which proved fortunate to the *Romans*. *Civilis* would not now venture to continue longer in the Field, tho' Re-inforcements, from the *Chauci*, join'd him the Day after the Battle: He would not even hazard the Defence of those Cities, which the *Batavi* possess'd on the right Banks of the *Waal*, but retired to his Island; took, with him whatever he could, and set Fire to the rest (3). He knew

(2) *TACIT. Hist. L. IV. c. 79.* Orabant auxilium Agrippinenses; offerebantque uxorem, ac sororem *Civilis*, & filiam *Classici*, relicta sibipignora societatis. Atque interim dispersos in domibus *Germanos* trucidaverunt. Unde metus, & justæ preces, invocantium, antequam hostes, reparatis viribus, ad spem, vel ad ultionem, accingerentur. Namque & *Civilis* illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima cohortium suarum integra; quæ ex *Chaucis*, *Frisiisque* composita, *Tolbiaci*, in finibus *Agrippinensium*, agebat. sed tristis nuntius avertit, deletam cohortem dolo *Agrippinensium*; qui largis epulis, vinoque sopitos *Germanos*, clausis foribus, igne cremare. Simul *Cerialis* propero *Rhine* subvenit.

* *TACIT. Hist. L. IV. c. 75-79.*

§. LIV. (1) *TACIT. Hist. L. IV. c. 79.*

(2) *TACIT. H. L. V. c. 14. sqq.* I cannot here omit relating from him the Order of Battle. *Civilis* haud porrecto agmine, sed cuneis adstitit. *Batavi*, *Cugernique* in dextro, læva, ac propiora fluminis *Transrhenani* teneunt. After having related *Civilis's* Speech, he proceeds thus: *Ubi sono armorum, tripudiisque, (ita illis mos) approbata sunt dicta, saxis, glandibusque, & cæteris missilibus, prælium incipitur, &c.*

(3) *TACIT. L. V. c. 19.* Non tamen ausus opidum *Batavorum* armis tueri, raptis, quæ ferri poterant, cæteris injecto igni, in insulam concessit. *Lipsius* is dubious, whether this Reading may be retained, and *Batavorum* be understood; or whether, according to the *Codex Romanus*, we must read *Opida Batavorum*.

very well, that the *Romans* could not so soon pursue him, their Fleet not being in a Condition; and, for his Delivery, attempted another Project; whereby he removed the Limits which Nature had set to the Water and to the Land. *Drusus*, and after him, *Pompeius Paullinus*, had raised high Banks on the right Arm of the *Rhine*, which are supposed to have been begun where *Wyck te Duverstede* now is (4). These *Civilis* broke thro', and thereby laid the whole Tract of Land, to the *Waal*, under Water *: Which being afterwards confined, by new Banks, now makes the new Arm of the *Rhine*, which is call'd the *Leck*. The River thereby became so shallow, especially as new Canals were perpetually making, that there did not remain Water enough to reach the Sea (5).

LV. WITH *Civilis*, escaped *Tutor Classicus*, and a large Number of *Trevirian* Noblemen; among whom was *Alpinus Montanus*, of whom *The Romans* Mention is made above (1). They levied Men with such Success, among *thither* the *Batavi* and neighbouring *Germans*, that, when the *Romans* invaded the Island, they were opposed by four different Armies (2). The Battle of *Vada*, where *Civilis* commanded, was so warm, that his Horse was killed under him, and he was oblig'd to save himself by swimming over the *Rhine*. When *Cerialis* had thus made himself Master of the upper Part of the Island, he took a Turn to *Bonn*, and *Neus*, to view the Winter-Quarters, which were there assign'd the Legions. On his Return from thence, he pass'd down the *Rhine*, and by the Way, the *Germans* fell upon him unexpectedly in the Night, took his Yacht (3), and thought that they had secured his Person. But, as it was afterwards generally reported, he had luckily spent the Night with an *Ubian* Lady (4). His Ship was drawn up the *Lippe*, and given to *Velleda* (5) as a Present *.

(4) See above, §. XXXII.

* TACIT. H. L. V. c. 14-19.

(5) MENSIO ALTINGIUS L. c. p. 113.

§ LV. (1) See above, the XLV. §.

(2) TACITUS L. V. c. 20. Tantumque belli superfluit, ut præsidia cohortium, alarum, legionum, modicis vicis quadripartita, Civilis invaserit: decimam legionem Arenaci; secundam Batavoduri, & Grinnes Vadamque, cohortium alarumque castra: ita divisit copias, ut ipse, & Verax, sorore ejus genitus, Classicusque, ac Tutor, suam quisque manum traherent. Batavodorum is said to be the present Dürstede. Arenacum is by

some thought to be the present Arnheim; but this is confuted by Menso Altingius, L. c. p. 8, 9: he likewise endeavours to shew, where Grinnes and Vada are situate, p. 80 & 127.

(3) TACITUS H. L. V. c. 22. Prætoriam navem, vexillo insignem.

(4) TACITUS ib. Cerialis alibi noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob stuprum Claudiæ Sacratæ, mulieris Ubiæ.

(5) Ibid. Multa luce revecti hostes, captivis navibus, prætoriam triremem, flumine Luppia, donum Velledæ, traxere.

* TACITUS H. L. V. c. 20, 22.

A Sea-fight,
betwixt the
Roman and
Batavian
Fleet. A
Peace en-
sues.

LVI. *CIVILIS* had, in the mean Time, equipp'd a Fleet, which lay at the Mouth of the *Maes*, to intercept the Recruit and Provisions, which were brought from *Gaul*. The *Roman* Fleet was not so numerous as the *Batavian*, tho' the Ships were larger, and the Sailors more expert. But, when it came to an Engagement, neither one nor the other effected much (1). *Cerialis* continued, in the mean Time, Master of the Country of the *Batavi*, and ravaged it, as far as he could reach; but, as the Winter approach'd, in which he could not possibly remain in the Island, he privately gave, as well the *Batavi*, as *Civilis* himself, Hopes of an honourable Peace; and, by some Means, prevailed upon *Velleda*, and her Relations, to advise the *Germans* to it. Many of the *Batavian* Chiefs, who were disgusted at *Civilis*, tho' till then they had not dared to express it, now declared every where, that *Civilis*, for his private Views, had been the Occasion of all these Troubles. The common People were the more ready to accept of a Peace, as the *Romans* required no more, than the former Conditions. They said, that if they must have a Lord over them, better a *Roman* Emperor, than a *German* Woman, by whom they meant *Velleda*, to whom, they had ever paid a very great Deference, after *Civilis* had reposed his greatest Confidence in the Assistance of the *Germans* (2). The valiant *Civilis* himself, who very well knew, which way their Inclinations were bent, and who, instead of thinking farther of the Sovereignty, or even but of Liberty, had enough to do to secure his own Life, and the Safety of his Person, came likewise into it. He had a personal Interview with *Cerialis* (3), upon which

§. LVI. (1) *TACITUS H. L. V. c. 23.* Civilem cupido incessit, navalem aciem ostendendi. Complet quod biremium, quæque simplici ordine agebantur. Adjecta ingens lintrium vis, tricenis quadragenisque armamenta Liburnicis solita: & simul captæ lintres, sagulis versicoloribus, haud indecore, pro velis, invabantur. Spatium velut æquoris electum, quo Mosæ fluminis os, amnem Rhenum, Oceano affundit. Causa instrundæ classis, super insitam genti vanitatem, ut eo terrore commeatus, Gallia adventantes, interciperent. *Cerialis* miraculo magis, quam metu, direxit classem, numero impari, usu remigum, gubernatorum arte, navium magnitudine potiore. His flumen secundum: illi vento agebantur. Sic prævecti, tentato telorum jactu, dirimuntur,

(2) *TACITUS H. L. V. c. 25.* Si domino-rum electio sit; honestius principes Romanorum, quam Germanorum feminas, tolerari.

(3) *TACITUS H. L. V. c. 26.* Petitо colloquio, scinditur Nabaliæ fluminis pons, in cujus abrupta progressi duces, & *Civilis*, ita cœpit, &c. Some have imagin'd, that it might be read Vahalis fluminis pons. But according to *Tacitus's* Relation, it is improbable, that they met at the *Waal*, since it appears from the foregoing, that *Cerialis* remained Master of the Island of *Batavia*, and *Civilis* retired over the Rhine to the neighbouring German Nations. *Cluverius de Rheni alveis* p. 204. endeavours to prove, that the *Yssel* is to be understood, and he is seconded by *Menso Altingius* in this Opinion: L. c. p. 100. Sic igitur statuo, Civilem,

which ensued a Submission, and an entire Accommodation; of the Circumstances of which we are ignorant, since *Tacitus* here concludes his History. The *Batavi* continued afterwards loyal to the *Romans*, who made a very advantageous Use of that Island, in conquering *Britain*. But *Civilis's* Memory has been held in such Esteem by his latest Posterity, that to this Day they look upon it, as one of their greatest Glories, to have this War represented among the Monuments of their Nations (4), and their Historians compare *William*, Prince of *Orange*, the Fountain of the Liberties of *Holland*, to this immortal Hero (5).

lem, animadverso, Frisiorum animos, jam a Ceriali inclinatos: ab iis in Bructeros se contulisse, ultra fossam Drusianam, quam Germani, ex re, ceu alterum Vahalem, & Rhenni abactorem, sua lingua, de Nawale, id est, Vahalem posteriorem, admodum concinne vocare poterant; sed fortasse non totam, & ea tantum parte, quæ est inter Rhenum, & veterem Salæ alveum, qua & pontem colloqui fuisse, omnino verisimile fit.

(4) In the great Hall of the Assembly of the States-General, at the Hague, are twelve Pieces, done by the famous Painter Otto Veenius, which represent this War. We have of him, likewise, Batavorum cum Romanis bellum, a CORNELIO TACITO, Historico, olim descriptum, figuris nunc æneis expressum. Antverpiæ 1612.

(5) See H. Grotius's Preface to the Antiquitat. Reipubl. Batavorum.



T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K V.

The H I S T O R Y of the G E R M A N S to the Conclusion
of the War with P R O B U S.

SECT. I. **D**OMITIAN triumphs over the Catti. II. Charimer, King of the Cherusci, put to Flight by the Catti. III. Mafyus, King of the Semnones, goes to Rome. IV. War between the Quadi and the Lygii. V. L. Antonius revolts on the Upper Rhine, and makes a League with the Germans. VI. Domitian's War with the Marcomanni. The Goths assist the Dacii against the Romans. VII. Nerva takes the Surname of Germanicus. VIII. The War and Overthrow of the Bructeri. IX. Trajan's Exploits against the Germans. X. Some Transactions of the Germans in the Reign of Adrian. XI. Antoninus Pius sets a King over the Quadi. XII. The Wars of M. Aurelius with the Chauci and Catti. XIII. The Beginning of the German War on the Danube. XIV. M. Aurelius's second Expedition. XV. He marches into Pannonia, against the Marcomanni and Jazygi, and forces them to retire over the Danube. XVI. Pertinax defeats the Germans in Rætia. XVII. M. Aurelius's Victory over the Quadi. XVIII. A Peace with the Quadi and Marcomanni. XIX. How far the Gothini, Astingi, Narisci and Burii were concern'd in this War. XX. Peace made with the Jazygi. XXI. A general Peace with the Germans

mans and Sarmatæ. M. Aurelius's Triumph. XXII. *A new War with the Marcomanni. Aurelius takes the Field again.* XXIII. Commodus makes Peace with the Germans. XXIV. *His War with the Frisii. Monuments of Septimius Severus remaining in Germany.* XXV. The Alemanni wage War with Caracalla. XXVI. *He treats with several of the German Nations; and sows Dissentions between the Vandals and the Marcomanni.* XXVII. The Goths invade Dacia. XXVIII. *The Germans make Incursions into Gaul.* XXIX. Maximinus's Victory over the Germans. XXX. *His Wars on the Danube. The Senat at Rome declare him an Enemy to his Country. He takes Germans into his Army.* XXXI. *The first Mention made of the Franks. Their Original.* XXXII. *A Continuation of the History of the Goths.* XXXIII. The Goths pass the Danube. Fastida, King of the Gepidæ, overthrows the Burgundians; But is defeated by Oistrogotha. XXXIV. Decius kill'd in a Battle with the Goths. XXXV. Gallus makes Peace with them. XXXVI. Gallienus makes War with the Germans in Gaul. *The Roman Generals are successful on the Danube.* XXXVII. The Goths make an Irruption into Asia. Valerianus marches against them. XXXVIII. Valerianus taken Prisoner. Great Confusions ensue in the Roman Empire. Some German Colonies invade Italy. Gallienus makes a League with the King of the Marcomanni. XXXIX. Posthumus assumes the Imperial Dignity in Gaul. Gallienus leads Goths, Franks, &c. in Triumph. XL. Posthumus maintains his Ground in Gaul. *The Wars of Posthumus and C. Lollianus, with the Germans.* XLI. Victorinus assassinated at Cologne. A Roman Mint at Triers. XLII. The Goths sail a second Time into Asia. XLIII. The Goths sail up the Danube. The Heruli ravage the Coasts of Asia and Greece. XLIV. Claudius obtains a Victory over the Alemanni. The Goths sail from the Niester into the Black Sea. XLV. Claudius defeats the Goths. XLVI. A Remnant of them besieges Nicopolis. XLVII. The Alemanni invade the Roman Provinces. Aurelianus defeats the Iuthungi. XLVIII. *His War with the Marcomanni; XLIX. And the Vandals.* L. *His Actions with the Goths and Sarmatæ.* LI. He beats the Germans out of Gaul. Tetricus submits. Aurelianus's Triumph. LII. He drives the Germans out of Rætia: But abandons Dacia. LIII. *After the Death of Aurelianus, the Germans invade Gaul, and the Goths Asia again.* LIV. Probus drives the Germans out of Gaul. A Battle with the Franks, Lygii, Burgundians and Vandals. LV. *The farther Wars of Probus with the Germans and Goths.* LVI. *What Share the Germans had in the Wars between Probus, Proculus, and Bonofus.* LVII. Piracies of the Germans, particularly of the Franks. LVIII. The Inhabitants on the Rhine,

and on the Mosel, are indebted to Probus, for their Knowledge of planting Vineyards. LIX. Troubles in Germany under Carus and Carinus. Dioclesian. ascends the Imperial Throne.

Domitian triumphs over the Catti.

§ I. **T**HE History of *Domitian* affords us many Footsteps of Transactions between him and the *Germans*; but they are in Part so very uncertain, as scarce to admit of an Illustration. I mentioned before, that the *Batavian War* (1) was the Occasion, in the Beginning of *Vespasian's* Reign, of his crossing the *Alps*. After his own Accession to the Throne, he took another Journey to *Gaul*, and from thence fell, unexpectedly, upon the *Catti* (2); but retreated almost as soon as he saw the Enemy. A splendid Triumph was, nevertheless, prepared in Honour to this War (3), which the Poets of those Times did not fail to celebrate as glorious (4): And some of the Learned are of Opinion, that,

§ I. (1) Statius seems to mean this *Batavian War*. Sylv. L. I. c. 1. v. 79. sqq.

— Tu bella Jovis: tu proelia Rheni,
Tu civile nefas, tu tardum in fœdera
moltem,

Longo Marte domas.

(2) Suetonius in *Domit.* c. 6. Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario. Sponte in Cattos, necessario unam in Sarmatas, &c. To this Expedition seem likewise to appertain the Circumstances related by Frontinus L. I. Strat. c. 1. p. 6. edit. Plantin. de 1607. Tillemont, p. 119. & not. V. ad vit. Domitian places this Expedition in the Year 83. F. Pagi reckons it in the Year 85, in the XI. Consulate of Domitian, and refers to the Coins that remain of that Year, and are inscrib'd: CAES. DOMIT. AUG. COS. XI. CENS. POT. P. P. Upon the Reverse of them is the Figure of a Prisoner sitting, intended to signify Germany, with these Words: GERMANIA CAPTA. S. C. There are likewise Medals extant of the Year 86 (COS. XII.) on which the Words GERMANIA S. C. and the Figure representing Germany, shew that they were struck in Memory of a German Victory.

(3) Tacitus vit. Agricola c. 39. Domitiano inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emtis per commercia, quorum habitus, & crines, in captivorum speciem formarentur.

(4) Silius Italicus L. III. v. 607. seqq.

tu transcendes, Germanice facta tuorum.

Jam puer auricomo præformidate Batavo,
Nec te terruerint Tarpeii culminis ignes.
Sacrilegas inter flammæ servabere terris.
Nam te longa manent nostri consortia
mundi.

Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes
Submittet, vacuasque ostendent Bactra
pharetras.

Hic & ab Arctoo currus aget axe per orbem

Ducet & Eoos, Baccho cedente, triumphos.

Idem indignantem transmittere Dardana
signa

Sarmaticis victor, compescet sedibus Histrum.

He caused a magnificent Equestrian Statue to be erected for himself, on which Statius compos'd a Poem, and, amongst other Things, mentions this Expedition. Sylvar. l. I. c. 1. v. 5. sqq.

An Te Palladiæ talem Germanice nobis
Effinxere manus? qualem modo frena
tenentem

Rhenus, & attoniti vidit domus ardua Daci.
But that his Expedition against the Catti was not attended with much Blood-shed, may be inferr'd from Statius's turning it to his Glory: L. c. v. 26.

Qui nec in externus facilis sævire furores
Das Cattis, Dacisque fidem.

on this Occasion, the Surname of *Germanicus* (5) was confirm'd to him, (which he, indeed, bore in the Year 81, and) which, from that Time, he made Use of in all Inscriptions; and, to immortalize his Memory, he caus'd the Month of *September*, to be call'd by that Name (6).

§ II. *CHARIOMER*, King of the *Cherusci*, was, in this Reign, put to Flight by the *Catti*, for being in Alliance and good Harmony with the *Romans*. He met, indeed, at first, with Assistance from some *German* Nations; but was at last abandoned by them, and oblig'd to have Refuge to *Domitian* (1). We find no farther Account of him in History, except that a Passage in *Tacitus's* Book, of the Manners of the *Germans*, which was written in the Beginning of *Trajan's* Reign, gives Room to think, that the Event of this War prov'd advantageous to the *Catti* (2).

III. WE are yet more ignorant of the Motives that induc'd *Mafyus*, King of the *Semnon*es, and *Ganna*, a celebrated Augures among the *Germans*, who was now, after *Velleda* (1), rever'd as a demi-Goddes, to go to *Rome* (2). *Ganna's* Journey thither, was, perhaps, occasion'd by the great Confidence *Domitian* repos'd in Oracles, or it, at least, gained her that magnificent Reception from the Emperor, related by *Dio*. If we allow *Mafyus* to have been a Prince of the *Semnon*es (3), the Affairs of the *Suevi*, in which *Domitian* was several times entangled, may have been the Cause of his Journey.

IV. WE find the *Suevi* twice, in particular, at Variance with *Domitian*. Once in the Year 84, or 85 (1), when the *Lygii* made War against

(5) *Conf. TILLEMONT. in Domit. p. 12.*

(6) *SUETONIUS in Domit. c. 13.*

§ II. (1) *Excerpta THEODOSII ex DIONE Lib. I. XVII. p. 760.* Chariomerus autem, Rex Cheruscorum, a Cattis imperio suo, propter amicitiam, quam cum Romanis colebat, ejectus, primum socios sibi quosdam adjunxit & ita recuperando regno superior evasit. Postea desertus ab eis, quum Romanis obsides misisset, ac Domitianum supplex orasset, non impetratis auxiliis, pecuniam tamen accepit.

(2) *TACITUS de morib. German. c. 36.* In latere Chaucorum, Cattorumque, Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt, idque jocundius, quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes & validos falso quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac prohibitio nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni, æquique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur: Cattis victoribus fortuna in sapi-

entiam cessit. Taeti ruina Cheruscorum & Fosi contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent. *Where these Fosi dwelt is as yet uncertain. v. CL. Speneri notitia Germ. Antiq.*

§ III. (1) *Velleda has been mention'd above. She must, after this, have been unfortunate, as we may conclude from Statius: Sylv. L. I. c. IV. v. 90.*

Non vacat Arctos acies, Rhenumque rebellem

Captivæque preces Velledæ, &c.

(2) *Excerpta e DIONE, p. 761.* Mafyus, rex Semnonum, & Ganna virgo (ea post Velledam in Celtica vates oracula fundebat) Domitianum adierunt, & honorifice ab eo tractati, domum redierunt.

(3) *Vide TILLEMONT. not. V. ad vit. Domitiani.*

§ IV. (1) *TILLEMONT vit. Domit. L. VI. p. 126.*

some other *Suevian* Nations; and *Domitian* sent the former Succours. The *Suevi* were so enraged at this, that, being joined by their Neighbours, the *Jazygi*, they pass'd the *Danube* (2). These two Circumstances may ground a Conjecture, that *Dio*, by the Name of *Suevi*, particularly means the *Quadi*, whose King *Vannius*, before, kept up a good Understanding with the *Jazygi*. We may, moreover, conclude from some Passages in *Tacitus* (3), that these Incurfions prov'd highly prejudicial to the Province of *Pannonia*.

L. Antonius
revolts on
the Upper-
Rhine. His
League with
the *Germani*.

§ V. ANOTHER more dangerous Commotion arose, in the mean Time, † on the *Rhine*. *L. Antonius* commanded in *Upper-Germany*, and as he had been frequently injur'd by the Emperor, he resolved to revenge himself by an Insurrection. He drew the *German* Nations, beyond the *Rhine*, over to his Service, and thereby caused so great a Terror at *Rome*, that the Emperor marched against him in Person: But *L. Maximus* had, in the mean while, put an End to the War with *L. Antonius* (1): To which Victory a fortunate Accident did not a little contribute; for just as the *Germans* were marching over the frozen *Rhine*, it thawed on a sudden (2), and *Anthony* was thereby deprived of those Troops, on which he most depended.

§ VI. THE

(2) V. *Excerpta e DIONE*, 761. *Lygii*, a *Suevis* quibusdam in *Myfia* bello vexati, legatos miserunt, qui a *Domitiano* auxilia peterent, eaque consecuti sunt non tam numero valida, quam dignitate. Nam centum eis duntaxat equites dati sunt. At *Suevi* ob hanc caussam indignati, *Jazygum* populo suas ad partes traducto, se parabant, ut cum eis *Istrum* trajicerent. As it is not very conceivable, how the *Lygii* and *Suevi* could come at one another in *Myfia*, some have supposed the present *Misnia* to be here meant, and that it was at that Time inhabited by a Colony of *Myfii*, who came from *Asia* into *Europe*, and establish'd themselves near the *Danube*. V. *Phil. Melanchton* in *Tr. de Myforum tum regione, tum gente*. *Reinerus Reineccius* in *commentario*, quem de *Misenorum* origine *Germ.* edidit, & *Elias Reusnerus* *Latine* vertit: it. in *historia Julia* P. II. regno XIV. quod est *Myfium*. *Petrus Albinus* in *chron. Misniæ*. P. I. tit. III. & IV. ac auctores *chronicorum Thuringiæ* & *Misniæ* plerique. But they are already confuted by *Joh. Philip. Vorburg*, in *Hist. German.* T. II. ad annum 215. p. 481. seq.

(3) To this must be referr'd that Passage of *Tacitus*, *H. L. I. c. 2.* Coortæ in nos *Sarmatarum* & *Suevorum* gentes. And in *vita Agricolaë*, c. 41. Ea infecuta sunt *R. P.* tempora, quæ *sileri Agricola* non sinerent: tot exercitus in *Mœsia*, *Daciaque*, & *Germania*, *Pannoniaque*, temeritate, aut per ignaviam ducum, amissi, tot militares viri, cum tot cohortibus expugnati, & capti: nec jam de limite imperii, & ripa, sed de hibernis legionum, & possessione dubitatum.

§ V. † A. 88. Conf. *Tillemont.* ad vit. *Domit.* n. 8.

(1) This is perhaps that *German War* mentioned in an *Inscription*, in Honour to one *Maximus*, in *Gruterus*. CCCLIX. 5.

APPI. MAXIMI.
BIS. COS.
CONFECTORIS
BELLI
GERMANICI.

(2) *SUETONIUS* in *Domit.* c. 6. Bellum civile, motum a *L. Antonio*, superioris *Germaniæ* Præside, confecit absens, felicitate mira: cum ipsa dimicationis hora resolutus repente

§. VI. THE second Rupture, between *Domitian* and the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, was occasioned by the War with *Decebalus*, King of the *Daci*. The *Romans* had been often defeated by this Prince (1), and, according to *Jornandes*, the *Daci* seem to have been assisted by the *Goths* (2). *Domitian*, at last, marched against them in Person †: But lest the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* should rebel, whilst he was busied with the *Daci*, he resolved first to weaken them, and invaded their Country

The *Goths* assist the *Daci* against the *Romans*.

repente Rhenus, transiturus ad Anonium copias Barbarorum inhibuisset. Conf. MARTIALIS L. X Ep. 7. ad Rhenum.

Sic semper liquidis fruaris undis,
Nec te barbara contumeliosi
Calcatum rota conerant bubulci.

STATIUS, says Thebaid. L. I. v. 19. that *Domitian* twice subdued the Rhine. By the second Time is perhaps meant this Expedition: and there are several Medals extant of the VIII. Year of his Reign, which was in the 88 and 89 Years of our Lord, upon which he bears the Title of Imperator a fifth Time, (conf. Norisii ep. Conf. p. 175) and which relate to German Victories, as GERMANIA CAPTA, it. GERMANIA S.C. it. RHENUS. vid. Biragus, p. 157. But the real Occasion of their being struck is unknown: Some of them relate perhaps to the Wars against the *Marcomanni*, and *Quadi*.

§. VI. (1) SÜETONIUS in *Domitian*. c. 6. Expeditiones suscepit in Dacos duas: primam Oppio Sabino, Consulari, oppresso; secundam Cornelio Fusco, Præfecto cohortium prætoriarum, cui belli summam commiserat. Thus is the same *Fuscus* upon whom *Martial* made the following Epitaph: L. VI. Ep. 76.

Hic sacri lateris custos, Martisque togati,
Credita cui summi castra fuere ducis:
Hic situs est Fuscus, licet hoc, fortuna,
fateri:

Non timet hostiles jam lapis iste minas.
Grande jugum domita Dacus cervice recepit,
Et famulum victrix possidet umbra nemus.

(2) JORNANDES attributes this Overthrow to the *Goths*, de rebus Geticis, c. 13. Lon-

gum namque post intervallum, Domitiano Imperatore regnante, ejus avaritiam metuentes, foedus, quod dudum cum aliis principibus pepigerant Gothi, solventes, ripam Danubii, jam longe possessam ab Imperio Romano, dejectis militibus, cum eorum ducibus, vastaverunt, cui provinciæ tunc post Agrippam Poppæus præerat Sabinus. Gothi autem Dorpaneus principatum agebat, quando, bello commisso, Gothi, Romanis devictis, Poppæi Sabini capite abscisso, multa castella, & civitates, invadentes de parte Imperatoris publice deprædarunt: qua necessitate suorum, Domitianus, cum omni virtute sua, in Illyricum properavit, & totius pene reipublicæ militibus ductore Fusco prælato, cum electissimis viris, amnem Danubium consertis navibus, ad instar pontis, transmeare coëgit, super exercitum Dorpanei. Tum Gothi, haud segnes reperti, arma capessunt, primoque armati conflictu, mox Romanos devincunt. The Actions of the *Goths*, of which frequent Mention will be made in the Sequel, will require our particular Notice. For their Language, Religion, State, Manner of War, and of Living, sufficiently shew the Resemblance between them and the other German Nations. Tilletmont, indeed, imagines, p. 143, that *Jornandes* confounds the *Goths* with the *Getæ*, and applies to his Countrymen the Honour, due to the *Daci*, who were by the *Grecians* call'd *Getæ*. But the contrary appears in *Jornandes*, and it is besides not improbable, that some Gothick Nations, about this Time, extended their Borders nearer to the Danube, and were in Alliance with *Decebalus*. The *Romans* by Degrees obtained those Countries, which were situated Northwards over the Danube. In an Inscription written in Honour of T. Plautius, among other Exploits he performed in Mysia, the following is recorded: V. Gruter, 453.

IN.

Country from *Pannonia*; their Behaviour having sufficiently discovered how little the *Romans* could confide in them(3). The Face of Affairs however changed, and *Domitian* was defeated by the *Marcomanni*: Whereupon he granted *Decebalus* a Peace, on his own Terms: But was nevertheless so vain, not only to declare him King of *Dacia*, as if, without that, he had not been so; but likewise to hold a pompous * Triumph, on that Account, as if he had vanquish'd *Dacia* (4). The farther Circumstances of the War with the *Marcomanni* are unknown to us; but we find, that *Domitian* †† fought a Battle with

IN. QVA. PLVRA. QVAM CENTVM. MILL.
EX. NVMERO. TRANSDANUVIANOR.
AD. PRAESTANDA. TRIBVTA. CVM
CONIVGIB.
AC. LIBERIS. ET. PRINCIPIB. AVT. RE.
GIBUS SUIS.
TRANSDVXIT. MOTVM. ORIENTEM.
SARMATAR.
COMPRESSIT. QVAMVIS. PARTE. MA.
GNA. EXERCITVS.
AD. EXPEDITIONEM. IN. ARMENIAM.
MISISSET.
IGNOTOS. ANTE. AVT. INFENSOS. P. R.
REGES. SIGNA.
ROMANA. ADORATVROS. IN. RIPAM.
QVAM. TVEBATVR.
PERDVXIT. REGIBVS. BASTARNA
RVM. ET
RHOXOLANORVM. FILIOS. DACORVM.
FRATRVM.
CAPTOS. AVT. HOSTIBVS. EREPTOS.
REMISIT. AB
ALIQVIS. EORVM. OPSIDES. ACCEPIT.
PER. QVEM. PACEM.
PROVINCIAE. ET. CONFIRMAVIT. ET.
PROTVLIT.
SCYTHARVM. QVOQVE. REGEM. A
CHERONENSI.
QVAE. EST. VLTRA. BORVSTHENEM.
OPSIDIONE. SVMMOTO.

Those Nations, who are mentioned as unknown, and Enemies to the Romans, are probably those very Goths, who became afterwards, under Trajan and Mark Antony, daily more known.

† Circa A. 89. conf. PAGIUS ad A. 88. n. 12. & 89. n. 2.

(3) Conf. Excerpta e DIONE, p. 761.

* A. CHR. 90. ut contendit PAGIUS, in Critica annalium Baronii ad A. 88. n. 12. & ad A. 90. n. 3.

(4) Excerpta e DIONE L. LXVII. p. 762. Idem Domitianus, a Marcomannis victus, & in fugam coniectus, celeres ad Decebalum, Dacorum regem, nuntios misit, & ad pacem ineundam eum invitavit, quam saepius ante petenti non dederat. Decebalus autem, quod gravibus cum malis conflictaretur, admisit ille quidem oblatam paciscendi commoditatem; non tamen ipse cum Domitiano in colloquium venire voluit. sed Diegim cum comitatu misit, qui arma, cum captivis quibusdam, quos solos habere se praeferebat, traderet. Id ubi factum esset, Diadema Diegedi Domitianus imposuit, quasi reapse victoria potitus fuisset, ac regem Dacis dandi potestatem haberet. Inde militibus suis & honores, & argentum, donavit; ac Romam ceu victor quum alia misit, tum legatos a Decebalo, & epistolam ejus, ut ipse quidem agebat, (nam alii fictam a Domitiano perhibebant) multisque triumphum ferculis ornavit, non iis, quae cepisset ab hostibus, (erant enim omnia potius e contrario comparata) sed ad pacem obrinendam de suo quoque fecit impensas, quum magnam mox pecuniae vim, & opifces peritos variorum artificiorum, nam pace, quam bello, utilium, Decebalo daret, aliaque se plura daturum promitteret, ex Augustali tamen instructu atque supellectile. Nam his tanquam ex hoste captis semper utebatur; veluti qui etiam ipsum imperium servituti suae mancipasset.

†† A. CHR. 92. conf. PAGIUS ad h. a. n. 3.

their

their Neighbours, the *Sarmatæ*. *Suetonius* mentions, that, on Account of his Victory over them, he consecrated a Crown of Laurel in the Capitol (5). *Statius* (6), as well as *Martial* (7), exalt his Victories over the *Marcomanni* and *Sarmatæ*. But it is well known what Credit is to be given to Poets, in these Cases, if their Relations are not confirmed by other credible Testimonies.

§ VII.

(5) *SUETONIUS* c. 6. De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Jovi retulit.

(6) *STATIUS* mentions his Expeditions against the *Marcomanni* and *Sarmatæ* both together, *SYLV.* L. III. c. 3. v. 168.

Hæc est, quæ victis parcentia fœdera Carris
Quæque suum Dacis donat clementia montem

Quæ modo Marcomannos post horrida bella, vagosque

(pho. Sauromatas, Latio non est dignata triumphum)

(7) *MARTIALIS* L. VII. Ep. 2.

Invia Sarmaticis domini lorica sagittis,

Et Martis Getico tergo fida magis:

Quam vel ad Ætolæ securam Cuspide ictus,

Texuit innumeris lubricis unguis apri,
Felix sorte tua! sacrum cui tangere pectus.

Fas erit, & nostri mente calere Dei.

I comes, & magnos illæsa merere triumphos,

Palmatæque ducem, sed cito, redde togæ.

Ep. 5.

Si desiderium, Cæsar, Populique, Patrumque,

Respicias, & Latæ gaudia vera togæ,
Redde Deum votis poscentibus; invidet hosti.

Roma suo, veniat laurea multa licet.

Terrarum dominum propius videt ille, tuoque

Terretur vultu barbarus, & fruitur.

Ep. 6.

Ecquid Hyperboreis ad nos conversus ab oris

Ausonias Cæsar jam parat ire vias?

Certus ab est autor, sed vox hoc nuntiat omnis:

Credo tibi; verum dicere, Fama, soles.

Pública victrices testantur gaudia chartæ:

Martia laurigera cuspide pila virent.

Rursus, io, magnos clamat tibi Roma triumphos,

Invisusque tua, Cæsar, in urbe senas:
Sed jam lætitiæ quo sit fiducia major,

Sarmaticæ laurus nuntius ipse veni.

Ep. 7.

Hiberna quamvis Arctos, & rudis Peuce,

Et ungularum pulvis calens Ister,

Fractusque cornu jam ter improbo Rhenus,

Teneat domantem regna per fidæ gentis,

Te summe mundi rector, & parens orbis;

Absesse nostris non tamen potes votis.

Illis & oculis, & animis, fumus, Cæsar,

Adeoque mentes omnium tenes unus,

Ut ipsa magni turba nesciat Circi,

Utrumne currat Passerinus, an Tigris.

Ep. 8.

Nunc hilares, si quando mihi, nunc ludite Musæ;

Victor ab Odrysiō redditur orbe Deus.

Certa facis populi tu primus vota, Decem-ber:

Jam licet ingenti dicere voce, venit.

Felix sorte tua! poteris non cedere Jano,

Gaudia si nobis, que dabit ille, dares.

Festa coronatus ludet convicia miles,

Inter laurigeos cum comes ibit equos.

Fas audire jocos, levioraque carmina,

Cæsar,

Sit tibi; si lusus ipse triumphas amat.

Ep. 80.

Quatenus Odrysiōs jam pax Romana Triones

Temperat, & tetricæ conticuere tubæ.

Hunc Marcellino poteris, Faustine, libellum

Mittere, jam chartis, jam vacat ille jocis.

Sed si parva tui munuscula queris amici

Commendare, ferat carmina nostra puer.

Non qualis Geticæ satiatus lacte invencæ.

Sarmatica gelido ludit in amne rota.

Sed Mitylenæi roseus mangonis ephebus,

Vel

Nerva assumes the Surname of Germanicus.

§. VI. THE War in *Pannonia* was continued, and *Nerva* †, on Account of a Victory there obtained by the *Romans*, over the *Marcomanni*, assumed the Surname of *Germanicus*. When he consecrated the Crown of Laurels, which had been sent him, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he added to that Ceremony another, the Event of which prov'd fortunate for the *Roman* People. He adopted *Trajan*, who had, since the Year 93, been Lieutenant in *Lower Germany*, for his Son; and, in the Senat, dignified him with the Title of *Cæsar Germanicus*, and with the *Imperium Proconsulare* (1): He likewise nominated him his Partner in the Consulship, for the ensuing Year.

§ VIII.

Vel non cæsus adhuc matre jubente
Læcon.

At tibi captivo famulus mittetur ab Istro,
Qui Tiburtinas pascere possit oves.

Ep. 84.

Dum mea Cæcilio formatur imago Secundo,
Spirat & arguta picta tabella manu:
I liber ad Geticam Peucen, Istrumque
tacentem,

Hæc loca perdomitis gentibus ille tenet.
Parva dubis caro, sed dulcia dona sodali:
Certior in nostro carmine vultus erit,
Casibus hic nullis, nullis debilis annis
Vivet, Apelleum cum morietur opus.

Lib. VIII. Ep. 2.

Fastorum genitor, Parentisque Janus
Victorem modo cum videret Istri,
Tot vultus sibi non satis putavit,
Optavitque oculos habere plures,
Et lingua pariter locutus omni,
Terrarum Domino, Deoque rerum
Promisit Pyliam quater senectam:
Addas, Jane pater, tuam rogamus.

Ep. 11.

Pervenisse tuam jam te scit Rhenus in
urbem:

Nam populi voces audit & ille tui.
Sarmaticas etiam gentes, Istrumque, Ge-
tasque

Lætitiæ clamor terruit ipse novæ.
Dum te longa sacro venerantur gaudia
Circo,

Nemo quater missos currere sensit equos.
Nullum Roma ducem, nec te sic, Cæsar a-
mavit:

Te quoque jam non plus, ut velit ipsa,
potest.

Ep. 15.

Dum nova Pannonici narratur gloria belli,
Omnis & ad reducem cum litat ara
Jovem:

Dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat thura
Senatus,

Et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus:
Has quoque secretos memorabit Roma
triumphos,

Nec minor ista tuæ laurea pacis erit.
Quid tibi de sancta credis pietate tuorum?

Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.

§ VII. † A. CHR. 97. V. Kal. Nov. ut
putat PAGIUS ad h. a. *The Medal struck in the
Beginning of the next Year, on the Reverse of which
is VICTOR. GERM. relates to this Victory.*
Mezzab. p. 145.

(1) PLINIUS in pan. c. 8. Adlata erat ex
Pannonia laurea, id agentibus Duis, ut in-
victi Imperatoris exortum victoriæ insigne
decoraret: hanc Imperator *Nerva*, in gremio
Jovis collocarat quum repente solito major
& augustior, advocata hominum concione,
Deorumque, te filium sibi, hoc est unicam
auxilium fessis rebus, adsumsit. Inde, quasi
deposito imperio, qua securitate, qua gloria
lætus? nam quantum refert, deponas, an
partiaris imperium, nisi quod difficilius hoc
est. non secus ac præsentis tibi meis tuis
humeris se, patriamque suam

And, c. 9. Credentne poste
fulari, & Triumphali pat
fortissimum, amplissimu

§. VIII. **T**HE Revolution among the *Bruēteri* is computed to have happen'd about this Time. *Pliny* relates (1), that the Emperor order'd a Statue to be erected at *Rome*, in Honour of *Vestricius Spurinna*, because he had cast such a Terror on this powerful and warlike Nation, that they were obliged to restore their King, whom they had banished, without daring to venture one Engagement. *Tacitus*, who wrote his Book of the Manners of the *Germans*, at the Beginning of *Trajan's* Reign, relates, as a late Occurrence, that the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii*, with the Approbation of all the neighbouring Nations, invaded the Country of the *Bruēteri*, slew above 60,000 of them, and took Possession of their Country (2). This Overthrow seems therefore to have happen'd later (3) than the Revolution with their King. The Nation was, nevertheless, not so totally extirpated as *Tacitus* pretends: The Residue of them gather'd together in a Body farther up the *Rhine*, where we find the Name of the *Bruēteri* in much more modern Times, when they were incorporated with the *Franks* (4).

The War
and Over-
throw of
the *Bruēteri*.

sui exercitum regeret, Imperatorem non ab exercitu factum? eidem cum Germaniæ præfideret, Germanici nomen hinc missum? nihil ipsum ut Imperator fieret, agitaſſe; nihil feciſſe, niſi quod meruit & paruit? Paruiſti enim, Cæſar, & ad principatum obſequio perveniſti? nihilque magis a te ſubjecti animi factum eſt, quam quod imperare cœpiſti. Jam Cæſar, jam Imperator, jam Germanicus, abſens & ignarus, & poſt tanta nomina, quantum ad te pertinet, privatus.

§. VIII. (1) *PLINIUS* L. 2. Ep. 7. Heri a Senatu Veſtricio Spurinnæ, Principe auctore, triumphalis ſtatua decreta eſt: non ita, ut multis, qui nunquam caſtra viderunt, nunquam denique tubarum ſonum, niſi in ſpectaculis audierunt: verum ut illis, qui decus iſtud ſudore, & ſanguine, & factis, aſſequebantur. Nam Spurinna Bruētorum regem vi, & armis induxit in regnum; oſtentatoque bello ferociſſimam gentem (quod eſt pulcherrimum victoriæ genus) terrore perdomuit. The Words Principe Auctore, are generally underſtood of *Trajan*. But we cannot judge by *Pliny's* Epistles, whether they are meant of *Trajan*, *Nerva*, or even *Domi-*

tian. They cannot at leaſt be interpreted of *Trajan*, if we grant, that *Tacitus* wrote his Book of the Manners of the *Germans* in the firſt Year of *Trajan's* Reign, becauſe he there ſpeaks of the Extirpation of the *Bruēteri*: But *Pliny* ſtill repreſents them as a powerful Nation.

(2) *TACITUS* de Morib. Germ. c. 33. Juxta Tenchteros Bruēteri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos & Angrivarios immigraffe narratur, pulſis Bruēteris ac penitus exciſis, vicinarum conſenſu nationum, ſeu ſuperbiæ odio, ſeu prædæ dulcedine, ſeu favore quodam erga nos Deorum. Nam ne ſpectaculo quidem prælii invidere. Super LX. millia, non armis telisque Romanis, ſed quod magnificentius eſt, oblectatione oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat quæſo duretque gentibus, ſi non amor noſtri, at certe odium ſui: quando urgentibus imperii fatiſ, nihil jam præſtare fortuna majus poteſt, quam hoſtium diſcordiam.

(3) *CELLARIUS* in not. ad Epist. *PLINIUS* ſuppoſes it to have happened ſooner: But this Opinion is contradictory to the Circumſtances mentioned above, Not. (1).

(4) Conf. *MENSO ALTINGIUS*, L. c. p. 19.

Trajan's Ex-
ploits a-
gainst the
Germans.

§. IX. *NERVA* died soon after he had adopted *Trajan* †. The latter acceded to the Imperial Dignity at *Cologn* (1), and this City gained thereby, a second Time, the Honour of sending an Emperor to *Rome*. His Name render'd the *Roman* Arms now so formidable, that even the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, that Winter, abstain'd from their usual Incursions over the *Danube* (2). They were included among those foreign Nations, of whom *Pliny* writes, that they, in a Manner, vied with each other in sending Ambassadors, to establish Peace and a good Understanding with the new Emperor (3). We find indeed several Traces of the Care *Trajan* had, during his Reign, for the Affairs of *Germany*, and to secure himself against those *Germans* who dwelt beyond the *Rhine* (4). He established a *Roman* Colony † in *Lower-Germany*,

§. IX. † A. CHR. 98. The latter End of January. Tillemont. p. 262.

(1) VICTOR JUNIOR in *Trajano*. Hic imperium apud Agrippinam, nobilem Galliae Coloniam suscepit. Orosius L. 7. c. 12. Apud Agrippinam, Galliae urbem, insignia sumit imperii. Sidonii *chr.* 7. v. 114.

Ulpius inde venit, qua formidata Sicambriis Agrippina fuit.

With this agrees that Passage of AEL. SPARTINUS in *Hadrian*, c. 2. Trajano a Nerva adoptato, ad gratulationem exercitus missus, in Germaniam superiorem translatus est: ex qua festinans ad Trajanum, ut primus nuntiaret excessum Nervæ, a Serviano, sororis viro (qui & sumtibus, & ære alieno ejus prodito, Trajani odium in eum movit, diu detentus, fractoque consulto vehiculo tardatus, pedibus iter faciens, ejusdem Serviani beneficiarium antevenit. H. Dodwellus, in præfatione ad Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ, has nevertheless, in his Remarks on this Passage, endeavoured to prove the contrary, and introduces those Proofs with these Words: Non suscepit Trajanus imperium Coloniam Agrippinæ, ut male hætenus, Victore Epitomatore, & Eutropio, auctoribus, crediderunt viri eruditissimi: But his Demonstrations are hardly sufficient to prevail upon the Reader, to prefer his Conjectures to the express Testimony of the Ancients.

(2) PLINIUS *Panegy.* c. 12. At nunc rediit omnibus terror, & metus, & votum imperata faciendi. Vident enim, Romanum ducem u-

num ex illis veteribus, & priscais, quibus Imperatorum nomen addebant contexti cædibus campi, & infecta victoriis maria. Accipimus obsides ergo, non emimus: nec ingentibus damnis, immensisque muneribus, paciscimur, ut vicerimus: rogant, supplicant; largimur, negamus. Utrumque ex imperii majestate. Agunt gratias, qui impetraverunt: non audent queri, quibus negatum est. An audeant, qui sciant te adsedisse ferocissimis populis eo ipso tempore, quod amicissimum illis, difficillimum nobis, quum Danubius ripas gelu jungit, duratissime glacie ingentia tergo bella transportat: quum feræ gentes non telis magis, quam suo cælo, suo sidere armantur? Sed ubi in proximo tu, non secus, ac si mutatae temporum vices essent, illi quidem latibulis suis clausi tenebantur, nostra agmina percurrere ripas, & aliena occasione, si permitteres, uti, ultroque hiemem suam barbaris inferre gaudebant.

(3) PLINIUS L. c.

(4) EUTROPIUS L. 8. c. 2. Urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit. When, in the Year 1553, an ancient Tower was pulled down at Darmstadt, some Medals of Trajan were found at the Foundation. Winckelmann's Description of Hessen.

† This Colony is mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*: It is, likewise, to be understood in the Inscription, which was dug up near Vetera:

D I S

Germany, which, from him, was called *Colonia Trajana*. He raised two new Legions, which he station'd in Germany, one term'd *Ulpia*, the other *Trajana*: whence the *Castra Ulpia* (5), and *Trajana*. *Amianus Marcellinus* likewise mentions a *Munimentum Trajanum*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, on the *Mayn*. But the *Danube* retains much greater Monuments of this Emperor's Expeditions, in which he curb'd the *Sarmatæ*, and reduced *Dacia* to a Province (6). He establish'd, in the Capital *Zarmigesothusa*, the famous Colony call'd *Ulpia Trajana* (7), and laid a Bridge over the *Danube*, which River, to the very Mouth of it, became subject to the *Romans* (8). The People, who dwelt on the Coasts of the *Pontus Euxinus*, were at that Time in Friendship with the *Romans* (9), and had assisted them in the taking of *Dacia*; as we may see by those Medals, which *Sauromates*, King

DIS MANIBUS
M. VETTI SATUR-
NINI VET. LEG.
XXII. P. P. F. CIVI
TRAIANENSI M.
ANTONIVS HONO-
RAT.

i. e.

Diis Manibus
Marci Vettii Satur-
nini. Veterani Legionis
Duo & Vicefixæ, Primigeniæ, Piæ, Fidelis,
Civis Trajanensis. Marcus
Antonius Hono-
ratus.

The most learned Geographers agree, that this Colony was on the *Rhine* near *Cleves*, where the Village of *Kellen*, which derives its Name from thence, is now: And that most of the Inhabitants, by Reason of the Dangers they were exposed to by the *Rhine*, removed farther to a higher Situation, which gave Rise to the present *Cleves*. V. Menso Altingius L. c. p. 45. & Cl. Ditmahri note ad *Telchenmacheri Ann. Clivæ*, p. 24. & 27.

(5) The 30th Legion was called *Ulpia*, whence the *Castra Ulpia* borrowed its Name. Menso Altingius has plainly demonstrated, that it belonged to *Vetera*. He quotes several Inscriptions, relating to this 30th Legion, which were found at *Berthen*, near the Town of

Zanten. These *Mauritius*, Prince of *Nassau*, caused to be placed in his Seat at *Bergenthal*; whence that Place was named *ad Tricesimam*.

(6) EUTROPIUS, L. 8. c. 2. *Daciam, Decibalo victo, subegit, provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Thaphali habent, & Victophali & Theruingi. Ea provincia decies centena millia in circuitu tenet. In the Chronicon Alexandrinum, the Goths are, on Occasion of this War, mentioned instead of the Daci. ad A. 106. His Coss. gravi bello Romanis incumbente a Persis, Gothis, & aliis gentibus, Trajanus expeditione in hostes suscepta, suis gratiam tributorum quoad reverteretur, fecit. But the Grecians are known to use the Names of Getæ and Goths promiscuously, and often confound the Getæ with the Daci.*

(7) Hence the Colony is called by Gruterus cccxxxvii. n. 1. COLON ULPIA TRAJAN AUG. DACICA SARMIZGETUSA. It is only, at present, a small Village called *Varhel*.

(8) The Memory of this Victory is preserved not only by many Medals, but chiefly by the noble Column erected in Honour of him, which Jo. Ciacconius, and after him Jo. Petrus Bellori have illustrated briefly; but Fabretti more at large, in a Commentary upon it.

(9) EUTROPIUS, L. 8. c. 2. *Iherorum Regem, & Sauromatarum, & Bosporanorum, & Arabum, & Osdrænorum, & Colchorum, in fidem accepit.*

Transac-
tions of the
Germans, du-
ring the
Reign of
Adrian.

of *Bosphorus*, caused to be struck (10). But the *Goths* afterwards open'd a bloody Theatre of War, against the *Romans*, in these Countries.

§. X. *TRAJAN*'s Successor, *Æl. Hadrianus*, bears indeed, upon some Medals, the Surname of *Germanicus* (1): but he obtained it only as a Part of *Trajan*'s Titles, by Adoption. History informs us, that a certain *German* Nation was obliged to receive a King from him (2); but does not name it. He endeavour'd to preserve Peace, and probably, in a more particular Manner, with the *Germans*; for when the King of the *Roxolani* complained of a Diminution of his Subsidies, he instantly gave him Satisfaction (3). He resolved, in the Year 120, to take a Progress, thro' all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and, among the Rest, came to *Germany*. During his Stay there, he reviewed the *Roman* Army, and made them perform all the military Exercises (4); of which we find several Tokens on his Medals (5). In this Progress he established *Roman* Colonies, here and there, in the Provinces: and, one among the Rest, at *Juvavia*, the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum* (6), whose Ruins gave Rise to the present *Salzburg*. *Pighius* has (7) likewise attempted to shew the City of *Cleves* to be one of this Emperor's Colonies, but without sufficient Proof (8). In the Island of *Batavia* was a Place called *Forum Hadriani* (9): But it is uncertain whether it was built by *Adrian* himself, or in Honour to him, by one of his Successors. One of his principal Cares was to secure all the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire. The *Romans* endeavour'd always, if possible, to regulate them so, that they might

(10) *FABROTTI de Col. Trajan. c. 1. p. 23. Spanhem. de usu & præst. numism. T. I. diff. 8. p. 489. & T. 2. 13. p. 576.*

§. X. (1) *e. g. IMP. CÆS. TRAJAN. HADRIAN. OPT. AUG. GER. DAC. PARTIC. DIVI TRAJAN. AUG. F. P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P. vid. MEZZABARBA, p. 168. SCHATENIUS seems not to have thought of this, when he writes, in Histor. Westphal. L. 2. p. 133. Ac licet nullo prælio Germanos vicisset, Germanici tamen nomen, cæterorum affectatione, sibi vindicare ausus est.*

(2) *SPARTIANUS in Hadr. c. 12. Germanis regem constituit.*

(3) *Idem in Hadr. c. 6. Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum & Roxolanorum, præmissis exercitibus, Mœsiam petiit. Martium Turbonem, post Mauritaniae præfecturam, insulis ornatum, Pannoniae, Daciaeque ad*

tempus præfecit. Cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de imminutis stipendiis quærebatur, cognito negotio, pacem composuit. Yet some read instead of Roxolanorum, Alanorum.

(4) *Id. c. 10. Inde in Germaniam transiit: pacisque magis, quam belli cupidus, militem, quasi bellum immineret, exercuit.*

(5) *See the Medals with the Reverse. GERMANIA ap. BIRAG. p. 174. ad A. 122. EXERCITUS GERMANICUS. EXERCITUS RAETICUS. EXERCITUS NORICUS. ibid. p. 178.*

(6) *Conf. VAILLANT. de num. Colon. P. I. p. 153.*

(7) *PIGHIUS in Hercule Prodic. p. 40.*

(8) *Conf. CL. DITMARHUM ad Teschenmacheri annales, p. 72. not. 3.*

(9) *MENSO ALTINGIUS. l. c. Tab. 4. p. 57 & 66.*

be covered with Hills or Rivers, that the Safety of the Provinces and their Inhabitants might not depend alone upon Treaties: But, where this was not, *Adrian* now caused strong Fences to be made of *Palisadoes* (10). And as we have no Room to doubt, but he fortified the Borders towards *Germany*, likewise in this Manner, we may hence support the Conjecture, that, if he did not raise, he at least repaired the famous *Palisade* in *Franconia* and *Swabia*, of which I shall give a farther Account below, on Occasion of the Wars of the *Germans* with *Probus*.

§. XI. WE read indeed of *Antoninus Pius*, that he had Wars with the *Germans* (1), and of Differences between him and the *Scythæ* (2) and *Alani* (3); but meet with no Circumstances of those Transactions. There are moreover several Medals extant, of the Years 139 and 140, by the Reverse of which we find, that he set a King (4) over the *Quadi* (5).

(10) AEL. SPARTIANUS in *Hadrian*. c. 12. Per ea tempora, & alias frequenter, in plurimis locis, in quibus Barbari non fluminibus, sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepi, fundibus jactis, atque connexis, Barbaros separavit.

§. XI. (1) JUL. CAPITOL. in *Pio*. c. 5. Germanos, & Dacos, & multas gentes, atque Judæos rebellantes, contudit per Præsides ac Legatos. In Achaia etiam. atque Ægypto, rebelliones repressit. Tillemont, l. c. p. 557. is of Opinion, that this War ought to be placed in the first or second Year of his Reign, because in the Year 139, he bears the Title of Imperator, a second Time, on his Coins: And was after that never called Imperator. Schatenius indeed writes, L. 2. p. 134. Ipse, quod tum gloriosissimum erat, inter Imperatorios titulos, Germanici etiam nomen sibi sumsit. But we meet with no Monuments on which *Antoninus Pius* is mentioned with the Sur-name of *Germanicus*.

(2) CAPITOL. in *Pio*. c. 9. Rimethalcen in regnum Bosporanum, audito inter ipsum & curatorem negotio, remisit. Olbiopolitis contra Tauroscythas auxilia misit, & Tauroscythas usque ad dandos Olbiopolitis obfides vicit. Olbia was a famous City of Greece, at the Mouth of the Borysthenes. v. Arrian. de Ponto, p. 12, and seems to have been a free Common-Wealth. By the Name of Tauro-scythæ seem here to be meant, those Pro-

ple who dwell in Chersonesus Taurica. The Medal of the Year 139, with the Reverse SCYTHIA, ap. Birag. p. 193, relates perhaps to these Wars.

(3) JUL. CAPITOL. c. 5. Alanos, molientes sæpe, refrenavit. We find in Arriani Tactica, p. 69. a Fragment entitled, Acies contra Alanos: This is probably a Part of the History of the Wars of the Alani; which were in his Time, and of which he, as Lieutenant in Cappadocia, might have good Accounts.

(4) REX QUADIS DATUS. BIRAG. p. 193, 194. ad A. 139 & 140. SPANHEMIUS. T. 1. diff. 13. p. 582. Historians make no Mention of this King of the Quadi; but Capitolinus writes thus of other Nations, in *Pio*, c. 9. Pharasmanes Rex, ad eum Romam venit, plusque illi, quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Lazis dedit, Parthorum Regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris repulit. Abgarum Regem, ex Orientis partibus sola auctoritate deduxit. Spanhemius thought at first, that, instead of Lazis here, must be read Quadis: But in the aforesaid Place he afterwards retracted this Conjecture, and rather confirmed the common Reading.

(5) PIGHIUS in *Hercul. Prod.* p. 35. describes one of the Columnæ Mill. from the Inscription of which it appears, that *Antoninus Pius* caused the High-Way for the Army in Lower Germany to be repaired.

§. XII. BUT

M. Aurelius's
Wars with
the Chauci
and Catti.
† A. 162.

§. XII. BUT at the Beginning of the Reign † of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, surnamed *Philosophus*, the *Catti* passed the *Rhine*, and invaded *Germany*, while on their own Side of that River they made an Ir-ruption into *Rætia*; against whom *Aufidius Victorinus* was sent (1). He had farther Differences with them in the Sequel; for *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards Emperor, is noted, for having repelled the *Chauci*, when they attempted to invade *Belgica*, and obliged the *Catti* to sue for Peace (2).

The Begin-
ning of the
German War
upon the
Danube.

§. XIII. THE Wars this Emperor had with the *German* Nations on the *Danube* is, by the *Roman* Historians, represented, as the most terrible the *Romans* were ever engaged in. It is commonly called the *Marcomannian* War, because that Nation either begun, or chiefly distinguished itself in it. But, besides the *Marcomanni*, not only all the neighbouring *German* Nations, as the *Quadi*, *Narisci*, *Hermunduri*, *Suevi* and *Vandals*, but likewise the *Jazygi*, *Roxolani* (1), and other *Sarmatæ* were involv'd in it (2). This War seems to have been principally, if not occasioned, yet fomented, by the Expulsion of some *German* Nations, who dwelt in the Northern Parts of *Germany*, by their Neighbours, and their Retreat towards the South-East, in Search of new Habitations; where they caused a general Disturbance and Confusion. As much as these Nations otherwise differed, as great was their present Union against the *Romans* (3): Those who bordered on

§. XII. (1) JUL. CAPITOLINUS in *Marco* c. 8. Imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, & Catti in Germaniam, ac Rætiam, irru- perant: & adversus Britannos quidem Cal- phurnius Agricola missus est, contra Cattos Aufidius Victorinus,

(2) AEL. SPARTIANUS in *vita Juliani*: c. 1. Ædilitatem suffragio Marci consecutus est. Prætor ejusdem suffragio fuit. Post prætu- ram legioni præfuit in Germania vicefimæ secundæ, primigeniæ. Inde Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. Ubi Chaucis, Germaniæ Transrhenanæ populis, qui Albim fluvium accolebant, erumpentibus, restitit, tumul- tuariis auxiliis provincialium, ob quæ Con- sulatum meruit testimonio Imperatoris. Cat- tos etiam debellavit. Post Germaniam in- feriozem rexit.

§. XIII. (1) JUL. CAPITOLINUS in *vita Marci*, c. 22. Gentes omnes, ab Illyrici li-

mite usque in Galliam, conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, & Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatæ, Latringes, & Buri: Hi, aliique, cum Victovalis Sosibes, Sico- botes, Rhoxolani, Bastarnæ, Alani, Peu- cini, Costoboci. Imminebat & Parthicum bellum & Britannicum.

(2) In *Epit. VICTORIS* we find, Triumphus æsti ex nationibus, quæ Regi Marcoman- norum ab usque urbe Pannoniæ, cui Car- nuto nomen est, ad media Gallorum, pro- tendebantur. But *Tillemont imagines*, p. 631. n. 2. this to be a Mistake.

(3.) JUL. CAPITOL. l. c. c. 14. Profecti itaque sunt paludati ambo Imperatores. Victovalis & Marcomannis cuncta turbanti- bus: aliis etiam gentibus, quæ pulsæ a su- perioribus Barbaris fugerant, nisi recipe- rentur, bellum inferentibus. Among the Na- tions, mentioned by Capitolinus, not 1. were several

on the *Danube* ventured the sooner to pass over that River, as the *Romans* were then at War with the *Parthians*; and they actually penetrated as far as *Aquileia* (4): But the War with the *Parthians* was no sooner ended, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aelius* resolved to employ all his Forces, on the *Danube*, against the *Germans* and *Sarmatae*; and set out with *L. Verus*, about the Year 166 †, from *Rome* for *Aquileia*, to make the better Preparations for the ensuing Campaign. The *Germans* and *Sarmatae*, who did not expect a Peace so soon with the *Parthians*, were so terrified at these Armaments, that most of them retreated over the *Danube* (5); and some sent Ambassadors to *Aquileia*, to treat about a Peace. Among the latter were particularly the *Quadi*, of whom *Dio* says, that they then promised, to chuse no King without the Approbation of the *Roman Emperors*. Notwithstanding that Things had so good an Appearance,

several who were afterwards included under the Name of *Goths*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* expressly says, that these Nations joined in a Body against the *Romans*: L. 31. c. 5. Marco itidem moderante Imperium, unum spirando vesania gentium dissonarum, post bellorum fragores imensos, &c. cætera corrupta sunt.

(4) To this that Passage of *Lucian* seems to refer, in *Pseudomant. Operum* T. 1. p. 775. Cum jam non mediocre in Regiam, aulamque Cæsaream, aditum sibi patefecisset, ingressumque ad *Rutilianum*, inter cives celebrem; vigente Germanico bello, mittit oraculum, quando divus *Marcus* cum *Marcomannis* & *Quadis* confligebat. Illo jubebat, ut duos leones in *Danubium* immitterent, cum multis aromatibus, magnificisque victimis. Sed præstat ipsum oraculum referre:

Gurgitibus fluvii turgentis ab imbribus Istri,

Immisisse duos *Cybeles* edico ministros,
Monte feras alitas: tum quantum alit
Indicus aer

Florum atque herbarum bene olentum:
moxque futura est

Et victoria, pax & amabilis, & decus
ingens.

His factis, ut præscriperat, leones cum in regiones hostium enataissent, Barbari tanquam canes, peregrinosque lupos, fustibus

confecerunt. Tum protinus nostrorum magna strages est edita, viginti ferme millibus simul extinctis. Deinde secuta sunt ea, quæ in *Aquileia* contigerunt, quum parum abfuit, quin illa urbs caperetur. At is, ad id, quod evenerat, *Delphicam* illam defensionem, *Cræsoque* redditum oraculum, frigide detorsit: dicens, Deum quidem prædixisse victoriam, haud tamen explicuisse, utrum *Romanorum* esset futura, an hostium.

† Or in the Year 167, before the Beginning of Febr. Tillemont, in not. 10. ad vit. Marci, explains the Medals of this Year (TR.POT.XX.) which bear the Title of Imp. IV.

(5) *JUL. CAPITOLINUS* in vita Marci, c. 14. Nec parum profuit ista profectio, cum *Aquilejam* usque venissent. Nam plerique Reges, & cum populis suis, se retraxerunt, & tumultus autores interemerunt. *Quadi* autem, amisso Rege suo, non prius se confirmaturos eum, qui erat creatus, dicebant, quam id nostris placuisset Imperatoribus. *Lucius* tamen invitus profectus est; cum plerique ad Legatos Imperatorum mitterent, detentionis veniam postulantes. When the *Quadi* afterwards violated the Peace, *Dio* mentions, p. 8. 8. a King chosen by them: Ejecto quoque Rege suo, *Furtio*, *Ariogæsum* ipsi autoritate propria Regem sibi constituerant: & Imperator eis propterea nec hunc, quasi legitime factum, confirmare voluit, &c.

both

both the Emperors passed the *A'ps* into *Pannonia* (6), the better to secure the *Roman* Provinces on that Side : But when *Marcus* thought he might now confide partly in the warlike Preparations, and partly in the Treaties made, the Court returned to *Rome*, where *L. Verus*, who infinitely preferred the Pomp and Luxury of the Capitol, to the Fatigues of War, earnestly wish'd to be.

M. Aurelius's Expedition. § XIV. BOTH Emperors went again, in the Year 169, to *Aquileia* (1), that they might open the Campaign, the sooner, the ensuing Year: But the contagious Diseases raged to such a Degree, that they were obliged to return in the Midst of Winter, and *L. Verus* died suddenly on the Journey (2). The Medals, which were struck under *M. Aurelii potestas Tribunitia XXII*, soon after *L. Verus's* Decease, plainly shew, that there must have been a Battle; because on them *M. Aurelius* has, a sixth Time, the Title of *Imperator*, and in their Reverse their is express Mention of a *German* Victory (3). The Emperor himself is on them named *Germanicus* (4), which Appellation he gave afterwards, in the Year 172, to his Son (5). *Tillemont* places in this Year an Occurrence (6), which is related by a *Greek* Author, who wrote in the Reign of *Justinian*; viz. That an Army of *Lombards*, *Obii*, and other *German* Nations, passed the *Danube*, but met with so rough a Reception from the *Roman* Generals, *Vindex*, who commanded the Cavalry, and *Candidus*, who was at the Head of the Infantry, that they were forced to retreat in the utmost Disorder. That *Ballmaris*, King of the *Marcomanni*, came, thereupon, with

(6) JUL. CAPITOLINUS in *Marco*, c. 14. Denique transiens Alpibus procefferunt, composueruntque omnia, quæ ad munimen Italiæ, atque Illyriæ, pertinebant.

§. XIV. (1) JUL. CAPITOLINUS l. c. To this appertains perhaps the Medal in *Mezzabarba*, p. 221. with the Reverse PROFECTION AUGUSTI.

(2) GALENUS de libris propriis, c. 2. Verum brevi post tempore ex Aquileja mihi litteræ, ab Imperatoribus missæ, perferuntur, quibus illi me revocabant. Voluerant enim ex hibernis expeditionem contra Germanos facere——Cæterum ego Aquilejam cum pervenissem, postis, quantum antea nunquam, grassari cœpit. Unde Imperatores statim Romam, cum paucis militibus fugere coacti——In itinere autem, e vivis cum excessisset Lucius, Romam deportatus ab Antonino, funeratusque est.

(3) GERMANIA SUBACTA :
VICT. GERMANICA :
GERMANIA.

DIO, p. 803. Quum autem Marcomannis, in aliquo prælio bene successisset, ab iisque Marcus vindex, Præfectus, interceptus esset, tres ei statuas posuit: illis vero superatis, Germanicus appellatus est. Germanos enim eos, qui superioribus locis habitant, appellamus. Hinc Pagius ad A. 169. n. 4. asserts, that *M. Aurelius*, from that Time, always assumed this Title. *Tillemont* is indeed, p. 652. of a different Opinion: But his has as little Probability as that of Pagius.

(5) LAMPRID. in *Comm.* c. 2. Appellatus Germanicus, Idibus Herculeis, Maximo & Orphito Coss.

(6) Conf. TILLEMONT. p. 639.

ten other Ambassadors to *Ælius Bassus*, Lieutenant in *Pannonia*, to treat about a Peace (7).

§. XV. *M. Aurelius* continued, in the mean Time, the Preparations for the *German War* at *Rome*; and, as the Plague had carried off a great Number of Men, he mixed Slaves, Gladiators, and who ever else were capable of bearing Arms, among the Soldiers. A Par-don was even offered to the Robbers in *Dardania*, on Condition of their entering into his Service; and some *Germans* lifted with the *Romans*, against their Countrymen (1). And lest Mony should fall short, he disposed of all his Jewels, Pearls, Pictures, Statues and sumptuous Furniture in the Imperial Treasury and Palace; nay, even some of the richest of his Consort's Attire (2). He began this Expedition in the Beginning of the Year 171, and found so much Employment, that he was for several Years absent from *Italy*, and resided chiefly at *Carnuntum* (3); where, amidst the Difficulties of War, he applied himself sometimes to the Study of Philosophy (4). He drove the

M. Aurelius marches against the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*; and drives them back over the *Danube*.

(7). *Petrus Patricius de Legatis*, p. 24. in corpore Hist. Byz. Sex millia Langobardorum, & Obiorum Istrum trajecerunt, in quos Vindicis equites, & pedites, quorum dux erat Candidus, irruerunt, & in fugam versi sunt. Prima statim invasione terrore Barbari perculsi, legatos ad *Ælium Bassum*, qui *Pannoniam* provinciam obtinebat, mittunt, *Ballomarium*, Regem *Marcomannorum*, una cum aliis decem, ex una quaque gente uno electo. Sic pace jurejurando firmata, legati domum redierunt.

§. XV. (1) *CAPIT. in Marco*, c. 21. In-stante sane adhuc pestilentia, & Deorum cultum diligentissime restituit, & servos, quemadmodum bello *Punico* factum fuerat, ad militiam paravit; quos voluntarios, exemplo volonum appellavit. Armavit etiam gladiatores; quos obsequentes appellavit. Latrones etiam *Dalmatiæ*, atque *Dardaniæ*, milites fecit, armavit & *Diomitæ*; emit & *Germanorum* auxilia contra *Germanos*. Upon the Column erected in Honour of *M. Aurelius*, those German Auxiliaries are mentioned. v. Tab. 52 & 53.

(2) *CAPITOLINUS l. c.* Ne provincialibus esset molestus, auctionem rerum aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro *D. Trajani*; in qua præter vestes, & pocula, & vasa aurea, etiam signa, cum tabulis magnorum artificum, vendidit. Id. c. 17. Cum autem ad hoc bel-

lum omne ærarium exhausisset suum, neque in animum induceret, ut extra ordinem provincialibus aliquid imperaret; in foro *D. Trajani* auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit, vendiditque aurea pocula, & crystallina, & myrrhina, vasa etiam regia, & vestem uxoriæ sericam, & auratam; gemmas quin etiam, quarum multas in repository sanctiore *Hadriani* repererat: & per duos quidem menses hæc venditio celebrata est, tantumque auri redactum, ut reliquias belli *Marcomannici* ex sententia persecutus, postea dederit potestatem emtoribus, ut si quis vellet emta reddere, atque aurum recipere, sciret licere, nec molestus ulli fuit, qui vel non reddidit emta, vel reddidit.

(3) *EUTROPIUS l. 8. c. 5, 6.* Ingenti ergo labore & moderatione, cum apud *Carnuntum* triennio perseverasset, *Marcomanicum* bellum confecit. By *Philostrophus's Relation* it appears, that he was likewise at *Sirmium*: *Soph. 27. p. 558. Dio, p. 802. D.* Ipse barbaris, qui circum *Istrum* sunt, *Jazygibus* & *Marcomannis*, nunc his, nunc illis continenter, quamdiu vixit, bella intulit, in quibus *Pœnia* fuit receptaculum: (*ὁρμητήριον*) This ought to be read *Pannonia*; for *Pœnia*, which is a Part of *Macedonia*, is at too great a Distance.

(4) *Hitherto is refer'd the Passage in his Books, de se ipso*: Hæc apud *Quados*, ad *Granuam*.

A a

Marcomanni,

Marcomanni, Vandals, Quadi and Jazygi once more out of *Pannonia* (5). The Medals of the Years 171, 172, and 173, are filled with glorious Symbols of his *German* Victories. It would be difficult to assign distinct Times for these several Matters; but he seems to have driven the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi* back again over the *Danube*, in the Year 173.

Pertinax defeats the *Germans* in *Rætia*

§. XVI. We are in Doubt, whether those Coins, in which the Memory of a Victory gained over the *Germans* is preserved, all relate to the *Marcomannian* War: For much about the same Time, that *M. Aurelius* had to do with the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*, another Swarm of Nations, who dwelt on the *Rhine*, invaded *Rætia*, and had already reached the Borders of *Italy*. *Marcus* sent his Son-in-Law, *Pompeianus*, and *Pertinax* against them, by whom they were successfully repulsed. *Pertinax*, in particular, so eminently distinguished himself, that the Emperor soon after nominated him *Consul* (1), which raised the Envy of many of the chief Men of *Rome*, who little thought, that he was, by Fate, designed for Emperor. *Dio*, in his Relation of this War, observes, that there were Women in the *German* Army, who fought as valiantly as the Men (2).

Aurelius vanquishes the *Quadi*.

§. XVII. THE Year 174 is particularly remarkable, on Account of the famous Victory gained by *M. Aurelius* over the *Quadi*. After having humbled the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*, his next Thoughts were to subdue these their Neighbours: But they surrounded him unawares in a dry Wilderness, where his Army must have perished by Thirst, had not a sudden Shower of Rain refreshed the Soldiers, and, in a Manner, gave them fresh Force, to attack the *Quadi* (1), which they did

(5) *CAPITOL. in Marco, c. 17. Pannonias ergo Marcomannis, Sarmatis, Vandalis, simul etiam Quadis, extinctis, servitio liberavit. Dio, p. 804, 805. gives an exact Description of the Battle with the Jazygi on the Danube.*

§. XVI. (1) *Dio, p. 810. Pertinax autem ob res præclare gestas, Consul est factus: cujus causa multi indignati sunt, idque propterea, quia erat obscuro loco natus, &c. But he was only made Consul suffectus. Yet we do not certainly know the Year, which might enable us to give a better Account. Onufrius Panvinus places it in the Year 179: but Tillemont, T. 2. p. 691, makes it more probable, that Pertinax was Consul, before Cassius rebelled.*

(2) *Dio, p. 802. E. Eodem tempore Ger-*

mani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, venere usque in Italiam, attulereque Romanis maxima & gravissima incommoda: quibus Marcus occurrit, Pompeiano, atque Pertinace, Legatis exercitus factis, quo in bello optime se gessit Pertinax, qui postea Imperator factus est. Inter cadavera barbarorum, corpora mulierum armata reperta sunt.

§. XVII. (1) *Excerpta Xiphilini e DIONE, p. 805. B. sqq. Post hæc ei prælium acre, bellumque magnum cum iis, qui Quadi appellantur, fuit: quo ex bello victoria præter spem, vel potius Dei beneficio feliciter consecuta est: propterea, quod Romani, quum essent in prælio, atque in maximum periculum venissent, mirabiliter sane, ac divinitus, conservati sunt. Quum enim interclusi a Quadis in locis opportunis, confecti pugna-*

did so successfully, that they made themselves Masters of the Field of Battle; where the Emperor was a seventh Time proclaimed *Imperator* (2). That this Rain was looked upon by the *Romans* to be supernatural appears, not only from the Testimony of their Historians, but likewise from the Figure of *Jupiter Pluvius*, in the Representation of this War, upon that famous Column which was erected in Honour of *M. Aurelius* at *Rome*, and remains to this Day. What the *Pagan* Writers attribute partly to the Emperor's Prayer, partly to the Power of a Sorcerer, is, by the Tradition of *Christian* Authors, represented as a Miracle, whereby *GOD* granted the Prayer of the 12th Legion, which consisted wholly of *Christians*. But some intersperse this Relation with so many Circumstances (3), as render the whole suspected, and almost raise a Doubt, whether there was any Thing at all in it supernatural (4).

§. XVIII. THE *Quadi* were so humbled by this Overthrow, that they were forced to sue for Peace. *M. Aurelius* had indeed at first resolved not to sheath his Sword, 'till he had entirely reduced the Country of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* to a Province, and extirpated

A Peace concluded with the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*.

pugnarent fortiter, atque interim barbari differrent prælium, sperantes eos calore & siti perituros, quos circum occupatis locis omnibus sic concluderant, (erant enim multo plures) ut aquam habere nullo pacto possent: quumque Romani in tantas difficultates incurrissent, ut morbo, vulneribus, ardore solis, ac siti vexarentur, nec ob eas res pugnare possent, aut alio secedere, sed in acie stantes, atque iis in locis constituti arderent: multæ nubes derepente ita coactæ sunt, ut maximus imber ceciderit, non sine Dei beneficio. Fama est, Arnuphim, Magum Ægyptium, qui cum Marco erat, Mercurium, præsertim illum, qui est in aëre, aliosque Dæmones, quibusdam artibus magicis invocavisse, ac per eos pluviam elicuisse. P. Pagi mentions, ad A. 174. n. 2. a Silver Medal of this Year, in the Royal Cabinet, where Marcus's Head is seen, circumscribed M. ANTONIUS AUG. TR.P. XXVIII. and, on the Reverse, Mercury holding in his right Hand a Goblet, and in his left his Caduceus, with the Inscription: RELIG. AUG. IMP. VI. COS. III. Whence Morell attempts to prove, that the Rain was actually ascribed to Mercury, and that Dio's Relation is so far well

grounded. Capitolinus in Marco c. 24. Fulmen de cælo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent.

(2) Ibid. He bears that Title upon the Coins which were struck, TR.POT. XXVIII: whereby Eusebius's Chronology on this Head is confirmed.

(3) BARONIUS, for Instance, ad A. 176. §. 22. produces, as an incontestable Proof, a Letter supposed to be written by M. Aurelius to the Senate about this Occurrence: whereas Scaliger, in not. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 22. shews so many Marks of a Forgery, that the learned P. Pagi, ad A. 174. §. 2. and Tillemont, n. 15. ad vit. Aurelii, found themselves obliged to reject it. Xiphilinus says, that the 12th Legion, on Account of this Miracle, obtained the Surname of Fulminatrix, but it was so named on Inscriptions, which we meet with of Trajan's Times.

(4) HERM. WITSIUS in diss. de legione Fulminatrice, has not only exploded the false Circumstances, but likewise confirmed the Miracle of the Christians: Dan. Larroque rejects his Opinion: to whom Jo. Frickius answer'd, in Vindication of Witsius.

the *Jazygi*: But as he had hitherto lost many Men in this War, and the Army, as well as the Provinces, had suffered greatly by the Plague, he was contented with concluding the Affair as honourably as he could. He first made Peace with the *Quadi*, which they soon after broke (1). The *Marcomanni* next obtained a Peace, one Condition of which was, that they should retreat from the *Danube*, and traffick only at certain Places, and on certain Days, in the *Roman* Provinces (2). But, as he would not trust the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, upon the new concluded Peace alone, he put Garrisons, to the Number of 20,000 Men, to keep them in Awe, in the Castles, which he had built here and there in their Country. These Garrisons were a sore Burden to them, and the *Quadi* were so uneasy about them, that they resolved to leave their Country, and retire to the *Semnones*: But the *Romans* detained them, probably with the Assistance of the neighbouring *German* Nations, and cut off their Passage (3).

What share
the *Goths*,
Astingi, *Narisci*, and *Burri* had in
this War.

§. XIX. THIS War having extended all along the *Danube*, Numbers of People, and among them some whole Nations, came thither from all Parts of *Germany* and *Sarmatia*, who either joined their Countrymen, or enter'd into the *Roman* Service, and obtained Grants of certain Parcels of Land in Return. Besides those, who partook of the Wars against the *Quadi*, *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*, many of them invaded *Dacia*, and partly destroyed one another by Civil Broils. Among the former, *Dio* particularly names the *Cotini*, who desired to join the *Romans* against the *Marcomanni* (1). Among the latter, the

§. XVIII. (1) *Petrus de Legat. p. 24.* *Quadi legatos miserunt ad Marcum, pacem peti-turos, & consecuti sunt. Itaque multos equos, & multos boves dederunt: & tredecim mille captivos, & plures etiam postea libertati restituerunt.*

(2) *Dio, p. 808. D.* *Marcommannis denique, quum per legatos ei significassent, omnia se imperata sibi, ægre illa quidem, ac vix, sed præstitisse tamen: tum dimidium finitimæ ipsius regionis, & agri partem concessit, uti scilicet, ad trigesium & octavum usque stadium ab Istro, sedes eorum ac domicilia distarent; tum loca quædam ac dies commerciorum, adsignavit, (prius enim discrimen nullum habitum fuerat) facta etiam obsides permurandi potestate.*

(3) *Dio, p. 810. A.* *Quadi vero, & Marcomanni per legatos Marco significarunt, viginti militum millia, quæ in castellis dege-*

rent, nec secure pascendi, nec agros colendi, nec alterius rei faciundæ copiam sibi facere: sed tum transfugas suos, tum captivos, ex suis complures suscipere, quum interim ipsi non admodum incommode vitam agerent, quod tum balinea, tum res necessarias omnes, affatim haberent. Unde factum esset, ut Quadi castellorum structuras minime ferentes, ad Semnones, tota cum gente sua, mutatis sedibus migrare conati fuerint. Antoninus autem, præcognito ipsorum instituto, itinera, quibus eis transcundum erat, obstruxit, & hoc modo eos impedivit.

§. XIX. (1) *Dio, p. 808. A.* *Cotini vero, quum similia Marco nuntiari jussissent, nacti Tarrunium Paternum, qui ei ab epistolis Latinas erat, tanquam in Marcomannos expeditiones cum eo suscepturi, non tantum id non fecere, sed etiam Paterno grave detrimentum intulerunt, ac deinceps quoque perierunt.*

the *Astingi* are remarkable (2). Besides these, the *Burii* (3), and the *Narisci* (4), are likewise mentioned among those *German Nations* who treated with the *Romans*; and they obtained Terms according as a League with them appeared beneficial or disadvantageous to the latter (5). It is impracticable accurately to connect all the Circumstances; since *Dio's* History of this Time is not transmitted to us entire, but only some Fragments of it, of which we are even at no Certainty, whether they are extracted in the Order in which they follow one another, in *Dio*.

§. XX. THE *Jazygi* likewise sued for Peace, and their King *Zanticus*, with some of their Chiefs, came in Person to treat about it. *Avidius Cassius*, Governor of *Syria*, having, at that Time, rebelled against the Emperor, in the East, *Aurelius* granted them better Terms, than they otherwise could ever have presumed to hope for. Among the Conditions, most of which were of the same Nature as those with the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, were these; that they should have no Ships on the *Danube*; but that they should be allow'd a free Passage thro' *Dacia*, for their Com-

A Peace
with the
Jazygi.

rierunt. *Instead of Cotini must probably be read Gotini. The Gotini, or Gothones, had been several Times before at War with the Marcomanni.*

(2) *Dio, p. 807. D. Astingi vero, qui Rhaum, Rhaptumque duces habebant, venire quidem & illi, ut Daciam incolerent, spe consequendi pecuniam, & agros, sub conditione scederis: at nihil horum adepti, uxores, ac liberos suos, apud Clementem deposuere, velut armis Costobocorum regione occupaturi: sed cum illos vicissent, Daciam quoque nihilominus infestabant. Itaque metuentes Dancrigi, ne timore illorum adactus Clemens, in agrum, quem incolebant ipsi, eos immitteret: nihil tale expectantes adorti sunt, & longe superiores eis facti, adeo quidem, ut Astingi nihil amplius hostile contra Romanos moliti sint, multisque Marcum precibus obtestati supplices, ut pecuniam, & agrum, ab eo acciperent, hac conditione rogaverint, si nationibus, tunc bellum cum eo gerentibus, elademintulissent. Ac præstiterunt sane non nihil eorum, quæ pollebantur. Pausanias says of the Costoboci, L. 10. c. 34. p. 886. That in his Time they invaded Greece: Quum vero ætate mea Costo-*

boci, (latronum hæc manus fuit) excursionibus in Græciam factis, Elatean usque penetrassent, Mnesibulus, comparata voluntariorum cohorte, quum magnam barbarorum stragem edidisset, & ipsi fortiter dimicans, cecidit. *Sylburgius indeed supposes ad h. l. that this must be read Tolistoboi, but does not support his Conjecture by any ancient Writings; whereas Pausanias, Dio, and Julius Capitolinus write every where Costoboci.*

(3) *Dio, p. 809. C. Neque tamen vel hi, (scil. Jazyges) vel BURII, societatem cum Romanis prius inire voluerunt, quam Marcus eis sancte cavisset, perpetuo se bellum cum hostibus gesturum.*

(4) *Dio, p. 810. B. They are indeed called Ναρῖσαι; but their Name must without Doubt be read Ναρῖσαι.*

(5) *Dio, p. 809. D. Cæterum Marcus populos, qui cum ipso per legatos agebant, non omnes iisdem conditionibus admittebat: sed prout quilibet eorum digni erant, uti vel jus civitatis Romanæ, vel immunitatem, vel perpetuam, temporalemve remissionem tributi, vel annonas perennes, consequerentur.*

merce

merce with the *Roxolani* (1), and that they should furnish the *Romans* a certain Number of Troops. They deliver'd accordingly 8,000 Horse at first, 5,500 of which *Marcus* sent instantly to *Britain* (2).

A general
Peace ensues
with the
Germans and
Sarmatæ.

§. XXI. THO' *Cassius* was soon afterwards murder'd, *M. Aurelius* proceeded on his Journey to the East, and entrusted *Pertinax* with the Command of the Army in *Illyricum*, and on the *Danube* (1). After his Departure, an Action or two happened, either because the Treaties above mention'd, were not immediately executed, or because some Nations rais'd fresh Commotions: For *Marcus* not only assumed the Title of *Imperator* an 8th Time, in the Year 176, but several Medals likewise of that Year expressly mention a Victory gained over the *Germans* and *Sarmatæ* (2). We find, on the other Hand, by a Medal, with the Reverse, PAX AUG. AETERNA, that an entire Peace was concluded the same Year (3). *M. Aurelius* was, in the mean Time, returned, thro' *Greece* to

§ XX. (1) *Dio. p. 809. D. Et quoniam Jazyges erant ii, quos utilissimos sibi experiebatur, multa de illis etiam, quæ ipsis imperata fuerant, vel omnia potius, remisit: exceptis iis partibus, quæ ad conventus eorum, & commercia, spectarent: utque navibus propriis, non uterentur, & ab insulis, quæ in Istro sunt, abstinerent. Concessis etiam ipsis, ut per Daciam, commerciorum causa, Roxolanos adirent, quoties id princeps horum eis permetteret.*

(2) *Dio p. 809. B. Præterea statim ei nomine societatis octo equitum millia concedebant, ex quibus ad quinque millia quingentos in Britanniam misit.*

§ XXI. (1) *CAPITOLINUS in vita Petrin. Cassiano motu composito, e Syria ad Danubii tutelam profectus est: atque inde Mœsiæ utriusque, mox Daciæ, regimen accepit. HEROD. L. 2. c. 9. p. 96. Minime ignarus excubare adhuc memoriam Pertinacis apud Illyricos exercitus: quoniam sub Imperatore Marco multa illius ductu adversus Germanotropæa excitaverant: & quum præfectus Illyrico foret, nullum non exemplum virtutis in prælio ostentaverat.*

(2) *De GERMANIS, de SARM. ap. BEL-LOR. ad columnam M. Antonini n. 16.*

(3) *M. ANTONINUS. AVG. GERM SARM. TR. P. XXX. and on the Reverse*

PAX. AVG. AETERNA. Conf. p. PAGE ad A. 176. n. 4. *We have an Oration of Aristides, the famous Orator of Smyrna, spoken probably about this Time in Honour of the Emperor. The following Passage in that Speech may be very well applied to this Peace. ARISTIDES Orat. 9. p. 118, 119. Quæ cum nec Rex ignoret, non putat, insulos ac temerarios homines, sibi imitandos esse, sed consilii præstantia securitatem a Barbaris comparandam. Quin nec in pugnis ita se gessit, ut eum hostes contemnerent, quibus abunde ostendit, se non prudentia tantum, & aliis disciplinis, sed etiam fortitudine ipsorum potiri posse. Cum enim partim Celtæ, maximæ omnium homines & crudelissimi, post multa variaque facinora, Regem nunc venerentur, postquam cognoverunt, quantum bello quies præstet, & obedientia; partim quæcunque ultra Euphratem, & Tigridem, gentes Orientem accolunt, post tumultus in ordinem sunt redactæ, & præstantioribus parere didicerint; omnis præterea continens pacem agat, terra vero ac mare dominum coronent: Græci quoque cum Barbaris concordent, regnum denique totum instar turris aut muri alicujus extructum sit & munitum, sui-que fructum tranquille capiat: quæ major fortitudo, vel quis melior, & utilior rerum status optari possit?*

Italy,

Italy, and in the Year 176, on the 23d of *December*, celebrated, together with his Son, a splendid Triumph at *Rome* (4). But however the Grandeur of it may then have affected the Minds of the Populace, it would now have been buried in Oblivion, had not that noble Column, on which the chief Exploits of this War are carved, remain'd; in which we see the Arms, Dwellings, Assemblies, and Battles of the *Germans*, with many other Pieces of Antiquity (5).

§. XXII. BUT the Peace was of a short Duration; and as we find *M. Aurelius* to have been a ninth, and *Commodus* a third Time proclaimed *Imperator*, it seems to have been on Occasion of a Victory obtained in this War. The Emperor's Presence being thought necessary, he set out from *Rome*, in the Year 178, on the 5th of *August*, accompanied by his Son, after having, in a solemn Manner, declared War against the Enemy (1). *Dio* mentions a pitch'd Battle (2), between *Paternus* and the *Germans*, in which the former gained a compleat Victory, and in Honour thereof *Marcus* assum'd, a tenth Time, the Title of *Imperator*. But he died during this War, in the Month of March, *Anno* 180, according to some Historians, at *Vienna* (3), which was, at that Time, an inconsiderable Town in

The War
with the
Marcomanni
renewed.
Aurelius takes
the Field a-
gain.

(4) AUREL. VICT. c. 15. Triumphi acti ex nationibus, quæ Regi Marcomaro ab usque urbe Pannoniæ, cui Carnuto nomen est, ad media Gallorum protendebantur.

(5) SIXTUS V. raised it again, and dedicated it to the Apostle Paul. It is engraved in a Copper Cut, and illustrated with brief Historical Remarks, by Jo. Petr. Bellori.

§. XXII. (1) DIO L. 71. p. 814. C. Postquam res Scythicæ præsentiam ejus iterum postulare visæ sunt, Crispinam celerius, quam vellet, ob hanc causam filio in matrimonium collocavit. Nam Quintilii, etsi uterque eorum valebat prudentia, & fortitudine, ac usu maximarum rerum, tamen id bellum conficere non potuerunt. Quamobrem ipsi Imperatores necessario profecti sunt. Tum Marcus pecuniam ex ærario petivit a Senatu, non, quia ea non esset in Principis potestate: sed quod diceret, eam, cæteraque omnia, esse Senatus Populique Romani. Nos enim inquit (id dicebat in Senatu) usque adeo nihil habemus proprium, ut etiam vestras ædes habitem. Quumque hæc dixisset, hastam sanguinolentam, quæ

in templo Martis reposita erat, versus agrum hostium (ut accepi ex iis, qui aderant præfentes) contorsit, deinde contra hostes proficiscitur. CAPIT. in Marco c. 27. Filio suo Brutii Præsentis filiam junxit, nuptiis celebratis exemplo privatorum: quare etiam congiarium populo dedit. Deinde ad conficiendum bellum conversus, in administratione ejus belli obiit. Triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis, Hermunduris, Sarmatis, Quadis etiam egit.

(2) DIO, l. c. Paterno magnas copias dat, eumque ad prælium committendum mittit. Resistere Barbari totam diem: tandem vero omnes a Romanis cæsi sunt. Marcus decimum Imperator appellatus est.

(3) AUREL. VICTOR. c. 15. Anno imperii octavo decimoque, ævi validior, Vendobonæ interiit, & in Epir. c. 16. Ipse vitæ anno quinquagesimo nono, apud Vendobonam, morbo consumtus est. TERTUL. says, Apol. c. 25. p. 27. that he died at Sirmium; but Lambeccius endeavours to prove, that Eutropius and Victor deserve more Credit here.

Pannonia,

Pannonia, but is at present, under the auspicious Government of the House of *Austria*, the Imperial Residence.

Commodus
concludes a
Peace with
the *Germans*.

§. XXIII. His Son *Commodus* took more Delight in the Diversions of *Rome*, than in vanquishing the Enemy, by laborious Expeditions. Some of his Courtiers, observing this Disposition (1), persuaded him the more earnestly to a Peace; which was, the same Year, concluded with the *Burii*, *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and other *German* Nations. As he had laid aside the Thoughts of reducing their Country to a Province, and, they on their Side, were very much debilitated, the Conditions were easily agreed on, and *Commodus* spared no Expence, of Mony, to obtain what could not be effected by Force. The chief Articles were, that the *Germans* should deliver up all Deserters and Prisoners, and the *Romans* withdraw their Soldiers out of their Country and give up the Castles; the *Germans* were, likewise, obliged to hold their future general Conventions but once a Month, at a certain Place, and in the Presence of a *Roman* Officer, that they might have the less Opportunity of hatching new Disturbances; and the *Romans* get an Insight into their Designs. The *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* were forc'd to deliver up a Part of their Arms, and to furnish a certain Number of Troops, pursuant to which the *Quadi* alone gave him 13,000 Men, for their Share. They were moreover engag'd, never to wage War with the *Fazygi*, *Burii*, or *Vandals*, who were then already reconciled to the *Romans*. The *Romans* retained there Borders on this Side the *Danube*, but quitted the Castles, which they had built farther up in the Country, and withdrew their Troops (2). The *Burii* and others, whose Borders

§ XXIII. (1) HERODIANUS relates, how *Commodus* was persuaded by some of his Courtiers to retreat: Ah hæc ripas Istri, ut omni tempore incommodas vituperabant, quæ neque pomiferos haberent frutices, & perpetuis rigoribus nubibusque obtinerentur. Nunquamne, Imperator, (aiebant) concretam gelu, atque effossam potare aquam desines? alii callidis fontibus, rivorumque fluentium frigore, aurisque, & cælo illo fruentur, Italiæ peculiari? He afterwards speaks of the German Peace (p. 18.) in the following Manner. Dein vero ministris illius magis magisque instantibus, nihil jam ad amicos retulit, sed datis Romam litteris, ac præpositis, quos visum esset, tuendæ Istri ripæ, & Barbarorum insultibus coercendis, protectionem

continuo edicit. Illi igitur, demandata sibi munia obeuntes, haud ita longo tempore multis armis Barbaros subegerunt, quosdam autem ex iis magnis præmiis in amicitiam sibi adjunxerunt. Quod quidem haud difficile factu fuit. Quippe Barbari, suapte natura pecuniæ avidi, periculorum despicientes, aut incurfibus populationibusque victam parant, aut proposita mercede venalem pacem habent. Quod intelligens *Commodus*, ut pecunia, qua maxime abundabat, securitatem redimeret, nihil videlicet petentibus denegabat.

(2) Dio L. 72. p. 817. C. Is vero cum eos ad internecionem delere nullo negotio posset, homo fugiens laboris, & urbanas ad tranquillitates properans, quum aliis conditionibus,

Borders joined landwards to those of the *Dacii*, were obliged not to approach them nearer than five *Roman Miles* (3). But as to the *Danube*, the *Romans* retained their Lines on the other Side of that River. *Commodus* returned thereupon to *Rome*, and made a triumphal Entry.

§. XXIV. His War with the Nations bordering on *Dacia* was nevertheless renewed, in which *Clodius Albinus*, and *Pescennius Niger*, who were both afterwards Emperors, acquired great Renown (1). *Albinus* had likewise, in the Sequel, Variance with the *Frisii* (2). Some attribute the Medals, on which *Commodus* bears the Title of IMPERATOR VIII +, to a Victory, which he is supposed to have obtain'd at that Time. History is silent, as to the *Germans*, after *Commodus's* Death, for some Time. The *Roman Empire* was involved in so many Perplexities, that their Historians had enough to do with their domei-

tionibus, tum his præterea pacem fecit: Ut transfugas, & captivos, quos ab illo tempore accepissent, Commodo restituerent: & frumentum quoddam certum quotannis penderent, quod eis postea remisit. Etiam ab ipsis arma quædam exegit, & 13000 militum a *Quadis*, pauciores a *Marcomannis*: pro quibus tamen permisit, ut singulis annis aliquos darent. Hoc etiam eis dedit in mandatis, ut neque sæpius, neque pluribus in locis regionis suæ congregarentur: sed semel duntaxat mense quolibet, ac unum in locum, centurione quodam Romano præfente. Præter hæc, ne vel *Jazygas*, vel *Buros*, vel *Vandalos*, bello peterent. His ergo legibus eis pacem dedit, & omnia castella, quæ erant in regione ultra limites iis adempta, deseruit.

(3) The *Burii* found it at first very difficult to obtain a Peace. *Dio. l. c.* *Buriis* quoque *Commodus*, quum legatos misissent, pacem concessit, Nam antea, sæpius licet rogatus, ut eam daret, id facere noluerat: tum quod vires iis adhuc essent, tum quod non pacem, sed laxamentum, ad faciundos apparatus, consequi volebant. Tunc autem, quod bello confecti & exhausti essent, reconciliationem admisit, acceptis obsidibus; & multos quidem captivos a *Buris*, a cæteris vero *xvciro*. consecutus. Coactis etiam aliis, ut sacramento promitterent, nunquam se, nec sedes, nec pascua quæsituros, in regione sua, *Daciæ* vicina limitibus, ad *V. miliarium*. *Sabinianus* autem *Dacorum* finitimorum ad *xii ciro* qui suo expulsi erant agro, & aliis opem la-

turi, suam in potestatem redegit: aliquam eis terræ partim, in *Dacia* cia se concessurum, pollicitus. The following Inscription seems to refer to an Expedition against the *Burii*.

I. O. M. STATORI

LEG. III. ITA. REVER
SVS AB EXPEDIT. BVRICA
EX VOTO
POSVIT.

V. MARCI VELSERI Monument. peregr. n. 23. p. 432. Some learned Men observe, that the Name of *Burii* is not afterwards mentioned in History. v. *Tillemont*, p. 765. They are perhaps included in the Name of *Goths*.

§. XXIV. (1) *Dio*, l. 72. p. 820. Fure *Commodo* etiam bella quædam cum *Barbaris*, qui ultra *Daciam* incolunt, ex quibus *Albinus* & *Niger*; qui postea bellum gesserunt cum *Severo Imperatore*, magnam gloriam consecuti sunt. *Lampridius in Commod*, c. 13. Victi sunt sub eo tamen, cum ille sic viveret, per legatos, *Mauri*: victi *Daci*: *Pannoniæ* quoque compositi: in *Britannia*, in *Germania*, & in *Dacia*, imperium eius recusantibus provincialibus. Quæ omnia ista per duces sedata sunt. And he says before, c. 6. Eo tempore in *Sarmatia* res bene gestas per alios duces, in filium suum *Pertennis* referebat.

(2) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Alb.* c. 6. Per *Commodum* ad *Gallias* translatus, in qua fuis *Frisiis Transrhenanis*, celebre nomen suum fecit.

† TR. POT. XI. COS. V. A. 186.

B b

tick

tick Matters. P. *Helvetius Pertinax*, the Successor of *Commodus*, was soon after murdered (3); and *Julian* was proclaimed Emperor by the Senat; *Pescennius Niger* by the Army in the *East*; *Albinus* by that in *Gaul*, and *Septimius Severus* by that in *Pannonia*, at *Carnuntum* (4); but the latter had the good Fortune to maintain himself in this Dignity. His Exploits in *Britain* make the best Part of his History. Some ancient Monuments, which were found near the Place where the *Rhine*, below *Leyden*, formerly discharged itself into the Sea, ground a Conjecture, that he sometimes embark'd there (5), as does likewise the Stone, which refers to a Vow made by the *Batavians*, for the good Voyage of his two Sons (6);

FORTUNAE. AUG. SAC.
PRO. SALUTE. ITU. AC.
REDITU. DD. N. N.
M. AURELII. ANTONINI. PH.
AUG. ET. P. SEPTIMII
GETAE. NOBILISS. CAES.
CIV. BATAVI.
FRATRES. ET. AMICI. POPVLI ROMANI.
V. S. L. M.

He had no Concerns with the *Germans*: But settled a Colony at *Passau*, in *Noricum* (7). And several *Columnæ Milliaria* which remain about *Augspurg*, and elsewhere, testify how careful he was to keep the *Roman Roads*, which led from the *Alps* thro' *Rætia*, in Repair, and to this Day are the Admiration of all Travellers (8).

The *Aleman-*
ni wage War
with *Cara-*
calla.

§. XXV. His Son, *Antoninus Caracalla*, went, about the Year 213, over the *Alps*, where, about that Time, he waged War with some *German Nations*. *Dio* calls them *Cenni* (1), and relates Wonders of their

(3) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Pertin*, c. 11. *Taufius* quidam, unus e *Tungris*, cum in iram & timorem milites loquendo adduxisset, hastam in pectus *Pertinacis* objecit. Tunc ille precatus *Jovem ultorem*, toga caput operuit, atque a cæteris confossus est.

(4) *SPARTIANUS*, in *Sever*. c. 5. Dehinc a Germanicis legionibus, ubi auditum est, *Commodum occisum*, *Julianum autem* cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus, repugnans, Imperator est appellatus apud *Carnuntum*.

(5) *V. MENSO ALTINGIUS*, l. c. p. 7, 8, 9. sqq.

(6) *GRUTER*: LXXIII. 9.

(7) *V. VAILLANT de numis coloniarum*, P. 2. p. 1.

(8) *V. MARCI VELSERI monum. agri August.* p. 400. *Gruteri Inscript.* CLVI. 6. CLVII. 2, 3, 4, 5.

§. XXV. (1) *Excerpta e DIONE*, p. 876. Bellum gessit cum *Cennis*, gente *Celtica*, quos ferunt tanta ira incitatos in Romanos irruisse, ut tela, quibus illi ab *Osrhænis* vulnerati

their Valour: And, among the Rest, that their Women preferred Death to Servitude. Most of the Learned are, however, convinced, that the *Catti* are here meant. But what is most remarkable, is, that among those Nations, which he vanquished, the *Alemanni* are likewise mentioned (2); this being the first Time, we meet with that Name in the *Roman History*. I observed before †, that this Nation took its Rise †L, 2. §. 19. from the *Suevi*, who remained after *Maraboduus's* Retreat, mixt with Strolers of all Nations. *Caracalla* assumed the Surname of *Germanicus*, which he, from this Time, bore on all Medals (3): And, besides this, he particularly assumed the Name of *Alemannicus* (4).

§. XXVI. BUT the Wars of *Caracalla* with the *Germans* seem not to have been attended with much Bloodshed. He had indeed the Ambition of being esteemed a second *Alexander*, but had neither the Inclination nor Courage to undergo the same Dangers. He chose rather to buy a Peace of the Savage Nations, than to subdue them by Force of Arms. The *German Nations* took Advantage of this Mixture of Fear and Pride, and we find, that even those, who dwelt round about the *Elb*, on the *North-Sea*, and, could molest the Navigation and Coasts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, with their Piracies, knew how to extort Money from him by those Means (1). He was yet more solicitous to maintain a Peace with the People, who dwelt opposite to *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, on the *Danube*, and boasted of it, as a great Piece of Policy, that he had fomented Civil Broils between the *Marcomanni*

Leagues between him and the Germans. Transactions of the Vandals, Marcomanni and Quadi.

vulnerati erant, dentibus evellerent ex corporibus, ne interea manus a cædendis Romanis averterent. Quin etiam nomine victoriæ, magnis ei vendito pecuniis, ut salvus se in Germaniam reciperet, permiserunt. Horum captæ a Romanis uxores, interrogatæ ab Antonino, utrum vendi, an occiderent, mori se malle responderunt: quumque essent postea venditæ, omnes mortem sibi consciverunt: nonnullæ una filios interfecerunt.

(2) AUREL. VICTOR. Alemannos, gentem populosam, ex equo mirifice pugnantes, prope Mœnum amnem devicit. Spartianus, in *Carac.* c. 10. Germanici, Parthici, Arabici, & Alemannici nomen adscripsit, nam Alemannorum gentem divicerat. The two Names of Germanicus and Alemannicus are therefore different. The Appellation of Germani is sometimes in particular given to those German Nations, who dwelt between the Rhine

and the Weser, or probably as far as the Elb. It is, on the other Hand, in general used to denote all the Germans, and then we find the Alemanni included in it. Conf. Ez. Spanhemius de usu & præst. numism. T. 2. diff. 12. p. 505.

(3) On the Medals, which were struck TR. POT. XVI. & sequ. We meet, in the same Year, with Medals, which have, on the Reverse, GER. VOTIVA. vid. BIRAG. 293.

(4) v. not. 2.

§. XXVI. (1) Excerpta e DIONE Valesiana, p. 751. Multi quoque ex iis gentibus, quæ ad ipsum Oceanum, circa Albis ostia, sitæ sunt, legatione ad eum missa, pacem postularunt, ut aurum acciperent. Quando enim agere ita instituerat, innumeri eum adorti sunt bellum minantes: quibus ille omnibus pecuniam dedit. Etsi enim quædam ipsis minus grata dicebat, tamen cum aureos viderent, mulcebantur, ac manus dabant.

and the *Vandals*, and thereby turned the Danger, which might have accrued to the *Roman* Empire, from their mutual good Understanding, upon themselves. We may conclude, that the *Quadi* acknowledged his Supremacy, from his calling their King, *Gaiovomarus*, to an Account, at their Complaint (2). He reposed, in general, a great Confidence in the *Germans*; kept a *German* Life-Guard, and admitted no foreign Ministers to so great an Intimacy, as those, who came from the *German* Nations: In Hopes it would add to his Security, if the *Romans* were apprehensive of an immediate Resentment from the *Germans*, for any Attempts made on his Person (3): And he sometimes, either out of Love for that Nation, and to honour them, or to gratify his own Fondness for new Fashions, wore a *German* Habit, and even false fair Hair, in Imitation of them (4).

The Goths
invade Dacia.

§. XXVII. BUT nothing renders this Reign so remarkable, as that the *Goths* are mentioned by Name in his History. They daily extended their Borders in the Neighbourhood of *Dacia*, and made frequent IncurSIONS into that Province. The Renown, they had acquired in War, was the Occasion that many other *German* Nations, who were either vanquished by, or allied to them, were included in the *Gothick* Name: whence it became so universal. But the *Goths* themselves are likewise sometimes named, by Historians, *Getæ*, after they had esta-

(2) *Excerpta e DIONE, Valesiana, p. 756.* Gloriabatur, quod Vandalos, & Marcomannos, ante hac amicos & socios, inter se commisisset; quodque Quadorum regem, Gaiovomarus, accusatum interemisset. Cum vero unus ex Regis familiaribus, qui una cum ipso accusatus fuerat, laqueo sibi gulam frengisset, Hujus cadaver Barbaris convulnerandum dedit, ne voluntaria morte, quod apud eos præclarum habetur, sed ut damnatorum exitu periisse crederetur.

(3) *HERODIANUS L. 4. c. 7. p. 192.* Igitur Italia decedens, ad ripas Danubii pervenit, ac partes Imperii Romani, Septentrioni subiectas. Ibi aut corpus exercebat aurigando, cædendisque comminus omne genus belvis: aut jus dicebat (rarius id tamen) statimque sententiam ferens, ac respondens, pauculis dumtaxat auditis. Cæterum Germanos illic sibi omnes adjunxit, atque in amicitiam conciliavit, sic, ut ex his socios bellorum, & custodes corporis, validissimum quemque, & pulcherrimum, sibi adsciverit. Sæpe etiam, Romano cultu deposito, vestem Germani-

cam induebat, atque in eorum sagulis, argento variegatis, conspiciebatur: etiam flavam capiti cæsariem imponens, ad modum Germanicæ tonsuræ. Quibus læti Barbari, mirifice eum diligere: gaudere etiam Romanus miles, quem scilicet ille amplissimis largitionibus prosequabatur, *Dio, L. 78, p. 891. A. B.* Quippe Scythas, & Germanos, non ingenuos modo, verum etiam servos, a liberis & uxoribus abstractos, armaverat, & circum se habebat, quod magis illis, quam militibus, fideret. Eosdem præter alia, centurionum officiis ornabat, & adpellare leones solebat. Quin etiam cum legatis, quotquot ab iis gentibus ad eum mitterentur, & colloquebatur sæpius, alio nemine præsentem, præter interpretes; & mandabat iisdem, ut si quid ipsi accidisset, in Italiam irruerent, & ipsam Romam, ceu captu facilissimam, peterent.

(4) *V. locus HERODIANI, not. 3. Dio, p. 890. B.* In Syria quidem, ac Mesopotamia, tam vestibus, quam subligaculis Germanicis, utebatur.

blished

blished themselves in the Country formerly inhabited by that Nation (1). *Caracalla* had more than once Differences with them, which arose on Occasion of his March to *Asia*, and the *Romans* found it ever as difficult to keep the *Goths* from *Dacia* and the *Danube*, as the *Franks* and *Alemanni* from the *Rhine*.

§. XXVIII. A TRAGICAL Scene open'd itself, on the latter of these Rivers, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. The *Germans* pass'd it, whilst *Alexander* was busied in *Asia*, and invaded *Gaul* (1). When *Alexander*, had fortunately ended the War with the *Persians*, at his Triumph (2), on that Occasion, the Populace joined in this Acclamation: ALEXANDER AUGUSTE, DII TE SERVENT. PER SICE MAXIME, DII TE SERVENT. PER TE VICTORIAM DE GERMANIS SPERAMUS. PER TE VICTORIAM UNDIQUE PRÆSUMIMUS. He marched, therefore, in Person over the *Alps* (3), A. 234. with a large Army, in which were many *Osrhæni*, *Armenians* and *Parthians*, who, on Account of their Agility and light Arms, seemed to promise eminent Services against the *Germans*, especially in the Forests and marshy

The *Germans* make Incursions into *Gaul*.

§. XXVII. (1) SPARTIANUS in *Caracal.* c. 10. Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, dicitur joco dixisse, adde, si placet, etiam Geticus Maximus, quod Getam occiderat fratrem, & Gothi Getæ dicerentur, quos ille dum ad Orientem transiit, tumultuariis præliis, vicerat.

§. XXVIII. (1) We find by HERODIAN, L. 6. c. 7. that *Alexander* was at Antioch, when he heard the News of the German Irruption. Statim nuntii, litteræque ab Illyricis procuratoribus adfuerunt, qui eum vehementer perturbarent, curamque animo majorem injicerent, quippe significabant: Germanos Rhenum Danubiumque transgressos, Romanos in fines hostiliter intrasse, oppugnareque jam exercitus, ripis insidentes, perque urbes & vicos magnis copiis excurrere. Quapropter haud leviter Illyricas nationes conterminas, vicinasque Italiae, periclitari: opus esse igitur ipsius præsentia, totoque, quantum secum exercitum haberet. Hæc & formidinem Alexandro, & Illyricis militibus mœstitiam, attulerunt. Quippe duplici calamitate usos intelligebant, quod & ipsi male accepti in acie adversus Persas fuerant, & suos domi caesos a Germanis audiebant.

(2) PAGIUS, in *Critica annal.* Bar. ad

h. a. n. 4. places this Triumph in the Year 230. A Medal is mentioned in *Biragus* with this Inscription on the Reverse: P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. DE GERMANIS. The Emperor is represented on a triumphal Char, and the Goddess of Victory placing on his Head a Crown of Laurels, in the Middle of which are the Words VIC. AUG. We meet with no express Mention of this in History. *Pagius* therefore refers to this that Passage of *Lamprid*, c. 25. Actæ sunt res feliciter, & in Mauritania Tingitana per Furium Celsum, & in Illyrico per Varium Macrinum, affinem ejus. He therefore supposes, that *Macrinus* was successful against the *Germans*, in *Rætia* or *Noricum*, in Honour of which Victory this Medal was struck. *Cardinal Norisius* is of the same Opinion, and illustrates it still more by another Medal, in *Dist. de Nummo Diocletiani & Maximiani*, c. 6.

(3) LAMPRIDIUS, in *Alex.* c. 59. Post hæc, cum ingenti amore apud Populum & Senatum viveret, & sperantibus victoriam cunctis, & invitis cum dimittentibus, ad Germanicum bellum profectus est, deducen-
tibus cunctis per centum & quinquaginta millia. Erat autem gravissimum reipublicæ, atque ipsi, quod Germanorum vastationibus Gallia diripiebatur.

Places.

Places. He arrived safely on the *Rhine*, and caused a Bridge of Boats to be made, for the Army to pass over to the *German Territories*. If we may give Credit to *Herodian*, he actually came to Action with the *Germans* (4) (probably those, who had invaded the *Roman Provinces*). But this Expedition took a melancholy End. *Alexander* was assassinated by his own Soldiers (5), and the Army proclaimed *Maximinus* Emperor.

§. XXIX. THIS *Maximinus* was born in the extream Borders of *Thracia*, of foreign Parents; for his Father was a *Goth*, and his Mother an *Alana* (1). He had raised his Fortune, by his uncommon bodily Strength and Courage, under *Severus* and *Caracalla*; he would, how-

(4) HERODIANUS, L. 6. c. 7. Confectoque celeriter itinere, constitit ad Rheni ripas, atque ibi res, ad bellum Germanicum necessarias, comparabat. Pontemque primo, junctis inter se navigiis, fecit in Rheno flumine, ut per eum exercitus transgrederetur. He afterwards farther describes both the Preparations for and Proceedings of the War. Alexander autem Mauros complures, ac vim ingentem sagittariorum, quos secum ex Oriente adduxerat, partim ex agro Osrhœnorum, partim e Parthia transfugas, pecuniave illectos, adversus Germanos instruebat. Quippe hujusmodi milites maxime Germanos infestant: quum & Mauri longius jacula intorqueant, sintque faciles ad incursum recursusque, utpote leves atque expediti, & sagittarii nuda Germanorum capita, prægrandiaque illa corpora facile eminens, veluti signum aliquod, contingant. Nonnunquam vero etiam collata acie res gerebatur, ex qua Germani persæpe haud impares Romanis abibant. Quum in his Alexander versaretur, decrevit tamen oratores ad illos de pace mittere, qui pollicerentur, omnia illis Principem Romanum, quorum foret opus, præbiturum, pecuniasque daturum magna copia. Sunt enim Germani pecuniæ imprimis avidi, nunquamque non auro pacem Romanis cauponantur. Quare Alexander pacem fœderaue potius ab illis emergari, quam periclitari bello tendebat.

(5) LAMPRID. L. c. Denique agentem eum cum paucis in Britannia, ut alii volunt, in Gallia, in vico, cui *Sicila* nomen est, non

ex omnium sententia, sed latrocinantium modo quidam milites, & hi præcipue, qui Heliogabali præmiis effloruerant, cum severum Principem pati non possent, occiderunt. Multi dicunt, a Maximino immisos tirones, qui ei ad exercendum dati fuerant, eum occidisse: multi aliter: a militibus tamen, constat, cum injuriose, quasi in puerum eundem, & matrem ejus avaram & cupidam, multa dixissent. *Herodian and Zosimus vary likewise in some Circumstances. According to Eusebius's and Cassiodorus's Chronicles, as well as the Chronicon Alexandrinum, this Assassination was perpetrated near Mentz. Lampridius calls the Place Sicila: and Aurel. Victor. says, likewise: Agentem casu cum paucis, vico Britanniae, cui nomen Sicila, trucidare. But both err in the Situation of this Place. Calvisius imagines, Sicila to be the present Sicklingen, which lies near Mentz. Ortelius reads, instead of Sicila, Ficelia, which is at present called Upper-Wesel in the Dominions of Triers, between Bingen and Boppard. Bucherius is of Opinion, that Alexander's Mother, Mamaea, was buried, and in Honour to him a Cenotaphium erected there. But Lamprid. says nothing more, c. 63. than, Cenotaphium in Gallia, Romæ sepulchrum amplissimum, meruit.*

§ XXIX. (1) CAPITOLINUS in Maxim. c. 1. Hic de vico Thraciæ, vicino Barbaris, Barbaro etiam patre & matre genitus; quorum alter e Gothis, alter ex Alanis genitus esse, perhibetur. Et patri quidem nomen Micca, Matri Ababa fuisse dicitur.

ever,

ever, serve neither under *Macrinus*, nor *Heliogabalus* (2), but lived, in the mean Time, on the Estate he had bought in his own Country, where he cultivated a Friendship with the neighbouring *Goths* and *Alani*. *Alexander Severus* entrusted him with a considerable Command; which Confidence he returned with a monstrous Piece of Ingratitude, if it be true, that he contrived his Death, or was otherwise accessory to the Treachery (3). *Maximinus* proceeded on the Expedition, for which Preparations had been made by *Alexander*, against the *Germans*, passed the *Rhine*, and penetrated farther into the Country, than any *Roman Army* had done a long while before (4). Hence he and his Son bear the Title of *Germanicus*, on the Coins of this Year

(2) *CAPITOLINUS* in *Maxim.* c. 4. Sub macrino a militia defuit, (quod eum, qui Imperatoris sui filium occiderat, vehementer odisset.)

(3) *CAPITOLINUS* himself writes very dubiously of it, in *Maxim.* c. 7. His rebus conspicuum virum *Alexander*, magnorum meritorum iudex, in suam perniciem omni exercitui præfecit, gaudentibus cunctis ubique tribunis, ducibus & militibus. Denique totum ejus exercitum, qui sub *Heliogabalo* magna ex parte torpuerat, ad suam militarem disciplinam retraxit. Quod *Alexandro*, ut diximus, optimo quidem Imperatori, sed tamen cujus ætas ab initio contemni poterit, gravissimum fuit. Nam cum in *Gallia* esset, & non longe ab urbe quadam castra posuisset, subito immissis militibus, ut quidam dicunt, ab ipso, ut alii, a tribunis barbaris, *Alexander*, ad matrem fugiens, interemtus est, *Maximino* jam Imperatore appellato.

(4) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Maxim.* c. 12. Ingressus igitur *Germaniam Transrhenanam*, per trecenta vel quadringenta millia barbari soli vicos incendit, greges abegit, prædas sustulit, Barbarorum plurimos interemit, militem divitem reduxit, cepit innumeros: & nisi *Germani* per amnes, & paludes, & silvas, confugissent, omnem *Germaniam* in *Romanam* ditionem rede-gisset. Ipse præterea manu sua multa faciebat, cum etiam paludem ingressus circumventus esset a *Germanis*, nisi cum equo inhærentem sui liberassent. Habuit enim hoc barbaricæ teme-

ritatis, ut putaret Imperatorem manu etiam sua semper uti debere: denique quasi navale quoddam prælium in palude fecit; plurimosque illic interemit. Victa igitur *Germania*, litteras *Romam* ad *Senatum* & ad populum misit, se dictante conscriptas, quarum sententia hæc fuit: Non possumus tantum, Patres conscripti, loqui, quantum fecimus. Per 40,000. Germanorum vicos incendimus, greges abduximus, captivos abstraximus, armatos occidimus, in palude pugnâvimus. Pervenissemus ad silvas, nisi altitudo paludum nos transire non permisissent. *Ælius Cordus* dicit, hanc omnino ipsius orationem fuisse: quod credibile est. Quid enim in hac est, quod non posset barbarus miles? Qui pari sententia & ad populum scripsit, sed majori reverentia, idcirco quod *Senatum* oderat, a quo se contemni multum credebat. Jussit præterea tabulas pingi, ita ut erat bellum ipsum gestum, & ante curiam proponi, ut facta ejus pictura loqueretur: quas quidem tabulas post mortem ejus *Senatus* & deponi jussit & exuri. *Capitolinus* has borrowed the greatest Part of his Relation from *Herodian*, who gives an Account of *Maximinus's Expedition*, L. 7. c. 2. p. 292. At vero *Maximinus*, hostilem ingressus agrum, diu nemine qui resisteret invento, (quippe omnes abscesserant Barbari) regionem illorum depopulabatur, maturis jam segetibus, vicosque omnes incendendos diripiendosque militibus tradebat. Sunt autem urbes ædificiaque illa maxime incendiis obnoxia. Rara enim apud *Germanos* structura e lapide, ac lateribus coctilibus:

Year (5). He caused these Battles to be represented in Painting, and sent them to *Rome*, to raise a Regard for and Confidence in his Administration, and they were placed over the Entrance of the Senat-House. But however great his Exploits may have been, yet the Senat, in which were many, who had nothing else to boast of, but their eminent Birth, and Experience in a luxurious Method of Living, could not be brought to revere, as Emperor, a *Goth*, whose Valour only, as they imagined, had raised him to that Dignity. *Maximinus* was not ignorant of this, and married his Son, who was esteemed the most beautiful young Person of his Time, and had been well educated, to a Princess of *Aurelius's* House, thereby to render his own more illustrious. But the frequent Mutinies rendered him so suspicious, and vindictive, that, on the least Shadow of Offence, he acted with the utmost Rigor, and thereby encreased the Hatred conceived against him.

§. XXX. *MAXIMINUS* went, at the Approach of Winter, to *Pannonia* (1). The Inscriptions, on which he and his Son are named

Sarmaticus

libus: densisque potius silvis, quorum confixis coagmentatisque lignis, quædam quasi tabernacula ædificant. Igitur Maximinus, in eam regionem grassatus, populatis segetibus, omnique pecore captivo militibus permissis, nullos adhuc hostes invenerat. Si quidem campestris regiones, locaque ab arboribus pura deserverant, atque intra silvas & paludes delituerant, ut inde præliarentur, atque eruptionem in hostem facerent. Etenim densitas illa, arborum sagittis jaculisque hostium allatura impedimentum, & paludum altitudo, periculosa Romanis, locorum ignavis; ipsis autem facilis expeditaque fore videbatur, non ignavis, quæ usquam pervia, quæ invia; & genuum tenuis quotidie per illas discursantibus. Sunt autem Germani peritissimi natandi, ut qui tantummodo in fluminibus laventur. In hujusmodi igitur locis pugna inita, ubi etiam Imperator ipse Romanus fortissime prælium inchoavit. Nam quum ad ingentem quandam vastamque paludem ventum esset, intra quam Germani fuga se receperant, verentibus Romanis eodem hostes insequi, prius Maximinus, equo paludem ingressus, quum quidem etiam supra alvum equus voragine hauriretur, magna vi repugnantes Barbaros contrucidavit. Quare exercitus reliquus pu-

dore instinctus, ne prodere pugnantem pro se Imperatorem videretur, ausus & ipse est paludem ingredi. Multique utrinque ceciderunt: ita tamen, ut nullus pene Barbarorum fuerit reliquus, dimicante insigniter Romano Principe. Quare & stagnum cadaveribus oppletum, & palus sanguine confusa, pedestris prælii navalem faciem præferebat. Hanc igitur pugnam, suæque ipsius fortia facinora, non solum per litteras Senatui Populoque Romano significavit, sed etiam depictam maximis imaginibus ante curiam publicavit; ut non tam audire quæ gesta forent, quam etiam subicere oculis Romani possent. Eam tabulam deinde una cum reliquis illius honoribus Senatus sustulit. Fuisse item alia prælia, quibus omnibus ipse manu pugnam capeffens, ac fortissime dimicans, exsplendescerebat. Multisque captivis, atque ingenti abacta præda, instante hieme in Pannoniam reversus est.

(5) *BIRAGUS*, p. 328. places them indeed in the Year 236. But *P. Pagi*, ad A. 235. n. 7. observes, that they are rather applicable to this latter Year.

§. XXX. (1) *CAPITOLINUS* in *Maxim.* c. 13. Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo habens, concupiens, usque ad Oceanum, septem-

Sarmaticus and *Dacicus* (2), give us Reason to believe, that he there vanquished the *Sarmatæ*. His good Success made him so elate, that he even pretended to extend the *Roman* Borders Northwards, as far as the Sea. He was at *Sirmium*, when News was brought him of a Rebellion, which we cannot here omit, by Reason of some Circumstances which relate to the *Germans*. This Rebellion arose in *Africa*, where *Gordianus*, whom *Alexander* had sent thither as *Proconsul*, was, with his Son, proclaimed Emperors. The Senat at *Rome* acknowledged † *Gordianus*, and declared *Maximinus*, who received this News in *Illyricum*, an Enemy to his Country. *Capelianus* had, in the mean while, taken up Arms against the Rebels, in *Africa*; *Gordianus*, the younger, died in the Field of Battle, and his Father, in Vexation and Despair, hanged himself. But the Senat at *Rome*, which could now expect nothing less than Revenge and Slaughter from *Maximinus*, chose, out of their own Body (3), *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus*, for Emperors; who, however, at the tumultuous Instances of the Populace, were obliged to declare young *Gordianus* (4) *Cæsar* (5). *Balbinus* remained at *Rome*, but *Pupienus*, who had, in many Expeditions, and, among the Rest, in those against the *Germans* (6), acquired the Fame of an experienced Warrior, marched against *Maximus*. The latter was, with his Army, in which were several *German* Troops (7) on his March to *Italy*, and had already passed *Hemona* (8), in *Pannonia*: But

†VI. Callun.
237

septentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem redigere: quod fecisset, si vixisset, ut Herodianus dicit, Græcus scriptor, qui ei (quantum videmus) in odium Alexandri plurimum favet. Herodian's Words, which Capitulinus followed, are, p. 294. Intraque urbem Sirmium, in hibernis agens, ad veram sese expeditionem comparabat: identidem minitans, (id quod etiam præstiturus videbatur) excisurum subacturumque Oceanotenus omnes Germaniæ barbaras nationes.

(2) Apud GRUT. CLI. 5.

(3) D. 9. Jul. v. TILLEMONT. not. 8. ad vit. Maximini.

(4) CAPITOLINUS in Maxim. & Balbino, c. 3. Hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filia, ut quidam, vel ut alii, ex filio, qui est in Africa occisus.

(5) IBID. Sed dum in capitolio rem divinam faciunt, populus Romanus imperio Maximi contradixit. Timebant vero severitatem ejus homines vulgares, quare factum est, ut Gordianum, adolescentulum, princi-

pem peterent, qui statim factus est, nec prius permitti sunt ad palatium stipati armis ire, quam nepotem Gordiani, Cæsaris nomine nuncuparent.

(6) HERODIANUS L. VII. c. 10. p. 321. Maximus, cum sæpe exercitibus præfuerat, tum præfectura urbis egregie gesta, maximam ingenii providentiæque, præterea vitæ continentis, opinionem de se præbuerat. That he acquired in particular much Renown among the Germans appears from not. 11. below.

(7) HERODIANUS L. VII. c. 8. p. 315. Sequabatur eundem etiam Germanorum haud quaquam negligendus numerus, quos vel armis subegerat, vel in amicitiam societatemque adsciverat. He likewise makes farther Mention of these German Troops, more than once.

(8) Hemona was a Roman Colony, in Pannonia, bordering on Italy. Joh. Lud. Schoenleben affirms, with some Probability, that it is the present Laubach, in the Duchy of Crayn.

Aquileia shut her Gates against him, the Inhabitants having been persuaded, that the God *Belenus*, who was, at that Time, the chief Object of their Worship, had declared against him (9). He therefore besieged the Place; but Want of Provisions in the Camp occasioned a Mutiny. The Conspirators slew him and his Son in their Tent, and exposed their Heads to the View of the Inhabitants of *Aquileia*, as an Earnest of the Agreement they offer'd them in order to obtain Provisions from the City (10). *Pupienus* was informed of this at *Ravenna*, when he was upon the Point of marching against *Maximinus*: A good Part of his Army consisted likewise of *Germans* (11), whose Assistance he stood no longer in Need of. He went thereupon to *Aquileia*, oblig'd the Army, which still encamped there, to swear Fealty to him, and sent them back to their respective Quarters. But the *Prætorian* Band, together with his *Germans*, he carried with him to *Rome*, where he entered, as it were, in Triumph (12): But the Happiness of this new Reign

(9) HERODIANUS L. VIII. c. 3. p. 340. Belem vocant indigenæ, magnaue eum religione colunt, Apollinem interpretantes: cujus etiam speciem, pro urbe ipsa pugnantem, quidam e militibus Maximini, visam sibi sæpe in cælo, affirmabant. *The celebrated Bishop of Adria, Philip a Turre, has writ a learned Treatise de Deo Belleno.*

(10) CAPITOLINUS, in *Maxim.* c. 23. Deficiebant commeatus, quia Senatus ad omnes provincias & portuum custodes litteras dederat, ne aliquid commeatum in Maximini potestatem veniret. Miserat præterea, per omnes civitates, prætorios & quæstorios viros, qui ubique custodias agerent, & omnia contra Maximinum defenderent. Effectum denique est, ut obsessi angustias obsidens ipse pateretur. Nuntiabatur inter hæc, orbem terrarum consensisse in odium Maximini. Quare timentes milites, quorum affectus in Albano monte erant, medio forte die, cum a prælio quiesceretur, & Maximinum, & filium ejus, quiescentes in tentorio positos occiderunt, eorumque capita præfixa cunctis *Aquileis* demonstraverunt. In oppido rursus vicino statim Maximini statuæ atque imagines depositæ sunt, & ejus Præfectus Prætorii occisus est, cum amicis clarioribus, missa etiam Romam capita sunt eorum.

(11) HERODIANUS L. VIII. c. 6. p. 352. Dum hæc ad *Aquileiam* geruntur, interea equites, qui Maximini caput Romam ferebant, magno studio accelerantes, patentibus ubique portis, ac laureata popularium frequentia, excepti, stagnis paludibusque inter *Altinum* ac *Ravennam* enavigatis, Maximum in urbe *Ravenna* invenerunt, delectos ex urbe & Italia contrahentem milites, ac Germanorum auxiliares, qui benivolentiæ nomine publice a popularibus missi fuerant, quibus olim maximus cum imperio diligentissime præfuerat.

(12) HERODIANUS L. VIII. c. 7. p. 354. *sqq.* Dumque ad hunc motum tanta Romanum populum lætitia tenebat, interea Maximus, *Ravenna* profectus, *Aquileiam* pervenit. Quin exercitus etiam, qui *Aquileiam* circumfederat, pacato habitu prodibat laureatus, non tam vero concordique affectu universorum, quam ficta benevolentia, & honore temporario ad præsentem fortunam Principis accommodato: plerisque tamen indignantibus ac dolentibus clanculum, quem ipsi elegerant, cecidisse; rerum potiri quem Senatus creaverat. Enimvero Maximus, uno alteroque die sacrificiis absunto, tertio dein exercitum omnem in planitiem convocavit, atque ex tribunali ad hunc modum verba fecit. . . . Hæc locutus Maximus,

Reign was of a short Duration. The *Prætoriani* placed but little Confidence in the two Emperors, because they were chosen by the Senat, and the Presence of the *German* Troops revived in them the Suspicion, that they were kept for no other Reason, but in Order to discharge them with the less Difficulty (13). They therefore broke into the Imperial Palace, when almost the whole Town was at the *Ludi Capitolini*, murdered *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (14), before the *German* Troops could come to their Assistance (15), and proclaimed *Gordianus* Emperor.

§. XXXI. THE Reign of this *Gordianus* is very remarkable in the *German* History. He is honoured, on his Epitaph, with the Title of Conqueror of the *Germans* (1): And in the War, he waged against them, an Action is recorded between *Aurelianus*, who was, at that Time, Tribune of a Legion, but afterwards elected Emperor, and the *Franks* (2). This Action, in itself, was not so remarkable, but as it gave Occasion to the first Mention of the *Franks*, which we meet with in the *Roman* History. Various are the Conjectures about the Origin of this Nation. The Opinion of those, who assert, that the *Franks*

The first
Mention
made of the
Franks: Their
Origin.

ac pecunias magna copia pollicitus, paucos Aquileiæ commoratus dies, Romam reverti constituit. Igitur dimisso exercitu reliquo, in provincias castraque propria, Romam revertitur ipse, cum stipatoribus iis, quibus Imperatorum custodia incumbibat, quique delecti a Balbino fuerant, neque non auxiliariis Germanis, quorum potissimum fidei confidebat, utpote quibus olim, nondum adepto imperio, cum potestate præfuerat, moderate se gerens. Ingredienti urbem etiam Balbinus occurrit, Gordianum Cæsarem secum adducens: Senatus autem populusque universus, lætis acclamationibus veluti triumphantes exceperunt.

(13) HERODIANUS L. VIII. c. 8. Angebant præterea eos Germani, quos in urbe secum Maximus retinuerat. Nam futuros vindices sperabant, si quid ipsi majus ausu forent, etiamque insidias suspectabant, ne forte ab illis per fraudem exarmarentur, qui cum præsentibus adessent, facile in ipsorum locum sufficerentur.

(14) A. 238. c. mens. Jul. v. TILLEM. not. 12. p. 806.

(15) HERODIANUS L. VIII. c. 8. p. 361, Sed

ubi Germanos, re deinde cognita, raptis armis in auxilium concurrere nuntiatum prætorianis est, statim illos, nullo non ludibrio prius affectos, contrucidant.

§. XXXI. (1) CAPITOLINUS in Gord. c. 34. Divo Gordiano, victori Persarum, victori Gothorum, victori Sarmatarum, depulso Romanarum seditionum, victori Germanorum, sed non victori Philipporum.

(2) VOPISCUS, in Aureliano, c. 7. Idem apud Monguntiacum tribunus legionis VI. Gallicanæ, Francos irruentes quum vagarentur, per totam Galliam sic afflixit, ut trecentos ex his captos, septingentis interemtis, sub corona vendiderit. Unde iterum de eo facta est cantilena: mille Francos, mille Sarmatas semel cecidimus: mille, mille, mille, mille Persas quærimus. Tillemont has, in the Life of Valerian, §. 3. p. 714, 715. demonstrated, that this Battle may, with most Probability, be placed in those Times, when Gordianus was preparing for an Expedition against the Persians: But, whether it happened under Gordianus, or some Years later, it is, at least, the first Mention we meet with of the Franks.

were no separate Nation, but a Mixture of several *German* People, as the *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, &c. who had dwelt from Time immemorial on the right Side of the *Rhine*, and united, at this Time, in asserting their Liberty against the *Romans*, and that from thence they took the Name of *Franks*, is grounded on very slight Conjectures, which cannot counterbalance the express Testimony of the ancient Historians, and especially those of that Nation (3): From whom it is evident, that they came from other Parts: But which was their real Country has hitherto been the chief Matter of Dispute. Some learned *French* Writers have attempted to prove they were a Colony of the ancient *Gauls* (4), as if it was a Disgrace to *Gaul*, to be subdued by *German* Nations, whom not even all the Power of *Rome* was able to withstand: But their very Language, and all the Accounts we meet with, partly in History, and partly in their most ancient Laws, of their Religion, Military Discipline, Manners and Customs, so plainly evince them to have been a *German* Nation, that even many of the *French* themselves, no longer doubt of it (5). An ancient Geographer, who, indeed, lived in the 7th Century, but had many Accounts of a much more ancient Date, which are since lost, fixes their ancient Habitation about the *Elb* (6), and names the Country *Maurungania*. With this agree many Footsteps of History: For we find, that *M. Aurelius* (7), and *Antoninus Caracalla*, in their Time (8), had to do with a certain *German* Nation, which dwelt about the *Elb*. They afterwards, as their Predecessors the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* had done before them, moved towards the *Rhine*, in order to enrich themselves in *Gaul*, and by the Way, either by Force or Treaties, brought some of those Nations, thro' whose Countries they passed, either under their Subjection, or into their Alliance. Since *Valerian's* Time, History affords us more and plainer Accounts, how they approached, and first took Possession of the Country, which the *Chamavi* inhabited (9); and af-

(3) *Conf. inter alios* EUMENES RHETOR. Some Passages of whom will be quoted below in the VI. Book.

(4) BODINUS *de meth. leg. Hist. refutatus* a Pontano *de Or. Franc.* L. 2. c. 5. it. Lacarri *de colon. Gallorum.* See Mr. Leibnitz's Answer to the *Memoires de Trevoux*, in Eckard's comm. in leg. Sal. p. 261.

(5) See the Abbe de Vertot's *Dissertat. in the Memoires de literature*, T. 4. p. 275.

(6) GEOGRAPHIUS RAVINNAS, L. I. c. II. Quarta ut hora noctis, Normannorum est

patria, quæ est Dania ab antiquis, cujus ad frontem Albes, vel patria Albis, Maurungania certissime antiquis dicebatur, in quæ patria Albis, per multos annos, Francorum linea remorata est. *Conf. Leibnitius de orig. Francorum: & Gundlingiana*, III. 2. VI. 4. IX. 1.

(7) See before §. 12. n. 2.

(8) See above §. 31. n. 1.

(9) In *Tab. Peutingeriana* Chamavi qui & Franci.

terwards

terwards infested the Island of *Batavia* by their Irruptions, and advanced to the *Lippe* and *Siege*, where the *Bruēteri* and *Sicambri* had before dwelt. This Country received from them the Appellation of *FRANCIA*: But as they either subdued those Nations, who dwelt there before, or gained them by Treaties, hence the Names *Chamavi*, *Bruēteri* and *Sicambri* are met with in later Times, and are even sometimes used to denote the *Franks*.

§. XXXII. IN the mean Time, while the *Franks* begun to be known on the *Rhine*, the Power of the *Goths* encreased on the other Side of the Empire. How they invaded *Dacia* I have already related. They seem to have been in a good Understanding with the *Romans* during *Alexander's* Reign. He paid them a certain annual Subsidy, which encouraged their Neighbours, the *Carpi*, to demand the same. But *Menophilus*, Lieutenant in *Mœsia*, behaved himself so prudently, that he kept the *Carpi*, in Aw, with his Threats, as he did the *Goths* in Peace with Benevolence (1). *Maximinus* maintained a good Understanding with the *Goths*, and had perhaps Assistance from them, in his War against the *Sarmatæ*. But, after his Death, they begun to be turbulent, on which Occasion, the City of *Istria* or *Istropolis*, in Lower-

Resump-
tion of the
History of
the *Goths*.

§. XXXII. (1) PETRI PATRICII excerpta de legation. p. 24, 25. Carporum gens invidia flagrabat, quod Gothi stipendia a Romanis accipiebant. Itaque legationem miserunt ad Tullium Menophilum, & arroganter pecunias ab illo petierunt. Erat ille dux Mœsiæ & singulis diebus exercitum ad bellum exercebat: & cum Carpos insolentes & superbos esse accepisset, per plures dies eos non admisit, sed tamen potestatem eis fecit cum exercitus exercebatur, ut milites conspicerent: & cum satis prorogatione temporis, diem de die ducens, superbos illorum spiritus fregisset, & retudisset; sedens in alto sugessu, primarios totius exercitus viros circa se adhibuit, & Carpos excepit, nulla-que illorum habita ratione in medio militum, dum legationem suam exponerent, tanquam aliud agens & longe illi essent graviora negotia, sermonem cum aliis habebat. At illi despectui habiti, nihil aliud dixerunt, nisi, quia Gothi, inquit, a vobis stipendium accipiunt, cur nos quoque non accipimus? Quibus Menophilus: Cum Imperator noster multarum pecuniarum sit dominus, liberalitatem suam exercet erga eos, qui, ut

in se beneficus sit, suppliciter petunt. Nos quoque, inquierunt, supplicantium numero habeat, & nobis eadem largiatur. Sumus enim Gothi præstantiores. Ridens Menophilus, Meæ, ait, sunt istæ partes de his ad Imperatorem referre. Redite igitur, intra quatuor menses, in hunc eundem locum & responsum accipietis. Et simul illinc abiit & milites exercuit. Post quatuor menses Carpi redierunt. In quibus admittendis cum eadem forma, qua prius, usus fuisset & rationem, negotium in alios tres menses rejiciendi, reperisset, cum tandem iterum eos, ut prius, coram alio exercitu excepisset, illis hoc responsum dedit. Nihil prorsus Imperator vobis ex conventionem dabit: sed si gratificatione indigetis, accedite ad eum, & ad ejus pedes procumbite, & ei supplicate, & verisimile est, eum vestras preces admissurum. At illi indignati recesserunt, & per tres annos, quibus Menophilus in provincia cum imperio fuit, quieverunt. *This Fragment assigns indeed no particular Time for this Occurrence; but it cannot be more properly placed any where than here, where Mons. Tillemont puts it, ad vit. Alex. p. 347, 348.*

Mœsia,

Mœsia, at the South Entrance of the *Danube*, was destroyed (2). The Roman Emperors agreed, therefore, that *Balkinus* should march against the *Goths* and *Sarmatæ*, *Maximus* against the *Persians*, and *Gordianus* remain at *Rome*. These Designs were indeed soon after frustrated by the tragical Death of the two Emperors; but when *Gordianus* marched A. 242. against *Sapor* King of *Persia*, he passed thro' *Mœsia* (3), and his Historian says, that, in this Expedition, he once more drove the *Sarmatæ* and *Goths* out of *Thrace*: Tho' he was himself defeated, in that Country, by the *Alani*, in a Battle near *Philippopolis* (4).

The *Goths* pass the *Danube*. *Fasli-*
du, King of the *Gepidæ*, vanquishes the *Burgundians*.

§. XXXIII. *PHILIP*, his Successor, was soon at War in *Thrace* (1). *Capitolinus* relates, that the *Scythæ* passed the *Danube*, and *Zosimus* names in particular the *Carpi* among those, whom the Emperor compelled to sue for Peace (2): And as the *Goths* were comprehended in the Name of *Scythæ*, and they frequently associated themselves to the *Carpi*, we need not scruple here to follow *Jornandes*, by whose Account those few Circumstances, which we meet with in *Capitolinus* and *Zosimus*, are illustrated. He tell us, that *Ostrogotha*, King of the *Goths*, raised a large Army of his Subjects, who dwelt on the Coasts of the *Pontus Euxinus*; that they were joined by the *Taifaili*, *Astingi*, and *Peucini*, the latter of which dwelt about the Mouth of the *Danube*, together with 3,000 *Carpi*, and crossed that River: where they besieged *Marcianopolis* (3) in *Mœsia*; but raised the Siege in Consideration of a Sum of Money (4). *Jornandes* says farther, that the *Goths* there-

(2) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Maxim.* & *Ball.* c. 16. Sub his pugnatum a Carpis contra Mœsos fuit, & Scythici belli principium, & Histriæ excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Histricæ civitatis.

(3) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Gordiano* III. c. 26. Fecit iter in Mœsiam, atque in ipso pro-cinctu quicquid hostium in Thraciis fuit, delevit, sagavit, expulit, atque submovit.

(4) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Gord.* c. 34. Quod ideo videbatur additum, quia in campis Philippicis ab Alanis tumultuario prælio victus abscesserat.

§. XXXIII. (1) *CAPITOLINUS*, in *Gord.* c. 34. De initiis Philippi. Et dum hæc agentur, Argunthis (al. Argunt) Scytharum Rex, finitimorum regna vastabat, maxime quod compererat, Misitheum periisse, cujus consilio R. P. fuerat gubernata.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. I. p. 33. sqq. Hoc mo-

do se stabili potiturum imperio arbitratus, ipse contra Carpos expeditionem suscepit, qui jam Istro vicina loca populabantur. Prælio conferto, quum nostrorum impressionem Barbari non sustinerent, fuga quoddam ad castellum facta, obsidebantur. Ubi suos hinc inde dispersos rursus colligi cernerent, receptis animis egressi de castello, Romanum exercitum invadebant; sed cum impetum Maurorum ferre non possent, de pace componenda colloqui cœperunt. Philippus eis haud difficulter adensus.

(3) *Hodie Preslaw in regno Bulgaria: conf. CELLARIUS orb. ant. T. I. p. 592.*

(4) *JORNANDES*, c. 16. Transiens tunc Ostrogotha cum suis Danubium, Mœsiam, Thraciamque vastavit; ad quem repellendum Decius Senator a Philippo dirigitur, qui veniens dum genti nil prævalet, milites proprios exemptos a militia fecit vita privata degere,

thereupon waged War with the *Gepidæ*, who were likewise of *Gothick* Extraction (5): that their King *Fastida* was so elate at having subdued the *Burgundians*, and other neighbouring Nations, that he aimed at conquering the *Goths*, but was by them defeated (6).

§. XXXIV. IN the Reign of *Decius*, who, in the mean Time, suc- *Decius is*
ceeded *Philip*, *Cniva*, *Ostrogotha's* Successor, passed the *Danube*, with *slain in a*
70,000 Men. He first laid Siege to *Novi* in *Lower-Mœsia*. But when *Battle with*
he was repulsed by *Gallus*, who then commanded on those Bor- *the Goths.*

degere, quasi eorum neglectu Gothi Danubium transissent, factaque, ut puta, in suis vindicta, ad Philippum revertitur. Milites vero videntes, se esse post hos labores militia pulsos, indignati, ad Ostrogothæ, regis Gothorum, auxilium confugerunt. Qui excipiens eos, eorumque verbis accensus, mox trigenta millia virorum armata produxit ad prælium, adhibitis sibi Taiphilis, & Astringis nonnullis. Sed & Carporum tria millia, genus hominum ad bella nimis expeditum, qui sæpe Romanis infesti sunt: quos tamen post hæc, imperante Diocletiano, Valerius Maximinus Cæsar devicit & reipubl. Romanæ subjecit. Is ergo habens Gothos & Peucenos, ab insula Peuce, quæ ostia Danubii Ponto mergenti adjacet, Argaitum & Gunthericum nobilissimos suæ gentis præfecit ductores: qui mox Danubium vastati, & secundo Mæsiam populating, Marcianopolim ejusdem patriæ urbem, famosam Metropolim, aggrediuntur, diuque obsessam, accepta pecunia ab his qui inerant, reliquere. *This Argaitus is perhaps the Argunth, whom Capitolinus mentions, not. 1.*

(5) JORNANDES, c. 17. Hi ergo *Gepidæ* tacti invidia, dudum sprete provincia, remanebant in insula, Vistulæ amnis vadis circumacta, quam pro patrio sermone dicebant *Gepiedocos*. Nunc eam, ut fertur, insulam gens *Vividaria* incolit, ipsis ad meliores terras meatibus: qui *Vividarii* ex diversis nationibus, ac si in unum asylum collecti sunt, & gentem fecisse noscuntur. *By his Relation, the Gepidæ seem to have dwelt about the Mouth of the Vistula, before they marched from thence, and approached the Goths so near, that the Property of the Country occasioned their Difference.*

(6) JORNANDES *ibid.* Ergo *Gepidarum* Rex, *Fastida*, quietam gentem excitans, patrios

fines per arma dilatavit. Nam *Burgundiones* pæne usque ad internecionem delevit, aliasque nonnullas gentes perdomuit, Gothos quoque male provocans, consanguinitatis fœdus prius importuna concertatione violavit, superbaque admodum elatione jactatus, crescenti populo dum terras cœpit addere, incolas patriæ reddidit rariores. Is ergo misit legatos ad Ostrogotham, cujus adhuc imperio tam Ostrogotha, quam *Vesegothæ*, i. e. utrique ejusdem gentis populi subjacebant, inclusam se montium queritans asperitate, silvarumque densitate constrictum, unum poscens e duobus, ut aut bellum sibi, aut locorum suorum spatia præpararet. Tunc Ostrogotha, Rex Gothorum, (ut erat solidi animi) respondit legatis, bellum se quidem tale horrere, durumque fore, & omnino scelestum armis configere cum propinquis, loca vero non cedere. Quid multa? *Gepidæ* in bella irruunt, contra quos ne nimii judicaretur, movit & Ostrogotha prociñctum, conveniuntque ad oppidum *Galtis*, juxta quod currit fluvius *Aucha*, ibique magna partium virtute certatum est: quippe quos in se, & armorum & pugnæ similitudo commoverat. Sed causa melior, vivaxque ingenium juvat Gothos; inclinata denique parte *Gepidarum*, prælium nox dirimit. Tunc relicta suorum strage, *Fastida*, rex *Gepidarum* properavit ad patriam, tam pudendis opprobriis humiliatus, quam fuerat elatione erectus. Redeunt victores Gothi, *Gepidarum* discessione contenti, suæque in patria, nostri in pace, versantur, usque dum eorum prævius existeret Ostrogotha. *The Places here mentioned by Jornandes are unknown; but this we may perceive, that after Fastida had vanquished the Burgundians, he drew, by Degres, nearer to the Goths.*

ders (1), and was afterwards elected Emperor, he besieged *Nicopolis*, likewise on the *Danube*. The young Emperor *Decius* (2) relieved *Nicopolis*, whereupon *Cniva* marched over Mount *Hæmus*, which separated *Mœsia* from *Thrace*, into this latter Province, and formed a Design on *Philippopolis*. *Decius* pursued the *Goths*, and they came to an Engagement near *Bereæ* (3), in which *Cniva* won the Day. *Decius* hereupon retreated, over Mount *Hæmus*, into *Mœsia*, to *Gallus's* Army. The *Goths*, by this Victory, opened the Way for themselves to *Philippopolis*, which they took after a tedious Siege; and, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 100,000 Men perished at it (4). The *Goths* now laid all *Thrace* waste, and penetrated even into *Macedonia*, where the Lieutenant, *L. Priscus*, had a secret Intelligence with them, and assumed the Imperial Dignity (5). This unfortunate News obliged the Emperor to head his Army himself (6). One of his principal Cares † *Thermopylas*. was to secure the Pass † from *Thessalia*, lest the *Goths* should invade *Achaia* and *Peloponnesus*. This was entrusted to *Claudius*, who afterwards attained to the Imperial Crown (7). But *Zosimus* says, to the Honour of *Decius* himself, that he was every where victorious over the *Goths*: This the Medals of his Reign confirm; and extol his Victories over the *Germans* and *Carpi*, and the great Assistance he gave

§. XXXIV. (1) DUX LIMITIS MOESIÆ.

(2) V. TILLEMONT, p. 590.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 18. Post cujus decesum *Cniva*, exercitum dividens in duas partes, nonnullos ad vastandam *Mœsiam* dirigit, sciens, eam negligentibus principibus defensoribus destitutam. Ipse vero, cum septuaginta millibus, ad *Eustesium*, id est *Novas* conscendit; unde a Gallo duce remotus, *Nicopolim* accedit, quæ juxta *Iatrum* fluvium est constituta notissima, quoniam devictis *Sarmatis* *Trajanus* eam fabricavit, & appellavit victoriæ civitatem: ubi *Decio* superveniente Imperatore, tandem *Cniva* in *Hemoniæ* partes, quæ non longe aberant, recessit: inde, apparatu disposito, *Philippopolim* ire festinans. Cujus secessum *Decius* Imperator cognoscens, & ipsius urbi ferre subsidium gestiens, jugo montis transacto ad *Beræam* venit. Mons. Tillemont observes, T. 3. P. 2. p. 592. how Historians vary in the Circumstances, and endeavours to reconcile them.

(4) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 31. c. 5. Post clades acceptas, illatasque multas, &

sævas, excisa est *Philippopolis*, centum hominum millibus (nisi fingunt annales) intra mœnia jugulatis.

(5) AURELIUS VICTOR. c. 29. Per eos dies *L. Prisco*, qui *Macedonas* Præsidatu regebat, delata dominatio, *Gothorum* concursu, postquam, direptis *Thraciæ* plerisque, illo pervenerant. This *L. Priscus* is thought to have been the Emperor *Philip's* Brother, who, being informed of the Death of the latter, aspired to the Imperial Dignity. V. Banduri, L. c. p. 46.

(6) ZOSIMUS, L. 1. c. 38. vid. not. 9.

(7) TREB. POLLIO, in *Claudio*, c. 16. Tribunum vero *Claudium*, optimum juvenem, fortissimum militem, constantissimum civem, castris, Senatui & Reipublicæ necessarium, in *Thermopylas* ire præcepimus: mandata eidem cura *Peloponnesium*; scientes, neminem melius omnia quæ injungimus, esse curaturum. Huic ex regione *Dardania* dabis milites ducentos, ex *cataphractariis* centum, ex equitibus centum & sexaginta, ex sagittariis *Creticis* sexaginta, ex tironibus bene armatos mille.

to *Illyricum* (8). *Decius* endeavoured to cut them off in their Return, and commanded *Gallus* to seize all the Passes on the *Danube*, while he himself set upon them, at the Head of his main Army, in Hopes of extirpating thereby the whole Swarm. But the *Romans* were unfortunate in this Battle (9), and all Historians agree, that *Decius* and his Son were slain, tho' they vary in the Circumstances; for some say, that *Gallus* sided privately with the *Goths*, and helped to decoy the Emperor into the Morasts, where he so miserably lost his Life.

§. XXXV. THIS Report was perhaps occasioned, or, at least, made more probable, because *Gallus* (1) was proclaimed Emperor by the Army, in the Room of *Decius* (2), and instantly concluded a Peace with *Gallus* makes Peace with the *Goths*.

(8) *There are some Medals of Decius extant, which Banduri, p. 2. applies to the Success Decius at first met with, against the Goths, and especially those with the following Reverse:*

DACIA FELIX:
RESTITVTOR ILLYRICI:
VICTORIA GERMANICA:
VICTORIAE CARPICAE:

The Carpi may perhaps, as usual, have associated themselves to the Goths. The Medal with the Words VICTORIA GERMANICA, is likewise among those of Hostilianus, which were struck with his Image, whilst he was only Cæsar, in Decius's Life-Time. V. Banduri, p. 50.

(9) ZOSIMUS, L. I. c. 38. p. 643. Quia vero plenæ perturbationis res erant, ob intertem Philippi secordiam in omnibus: Scythæ Tanaim transgressi, vicina Thraciæ loca prædis agendis infestabant, quos adgressus Decius, & omnibus præliis superior, præda quoque recepta, qua potiti fuerant, quo minus domum reverterentur, iter eis occludere conabatur, & universos ad internecionem delere cogitabat, ne denuo coactis copiis irruerent. Quumque Gallum ad Tanaidis ripam, satis magnis cum copiis, collocasset, ipse cum reliquis ad hostem propius accedebat. Rebus ex animi sententia succedentibus, Gallus ad molendum res novas conversus, legatis ad Barbaros missis, ut in societatem insidiarum adversus Decium venirent, hortabatur. Illis cupidissime, quod imperatum erat, accipientibus; Gallus qui-

dem custodiendæ ripæ Tanaidis intentus erat: Barbari vero trifariam divisi, quodam in loco primam aciem instructam collocabant, quem locum palus quædam a fronte muniebat. Ubi multos ex eis Decius intermisisset, acies secunda supervenit, qua ipsa quoque in fugam acta, pauci quidam ex acie tertia propter paludem conspecti sunt. Ibi quum Gallus per indicia Decio significasset, ut eos per ipsam paludem invaderet, imprudenter ob locorum ignorationem progressus, & cum copiis, quas secum ducebat, in luto defixus, & a Barbaris undique telis petitus, una cum iis, quos propter se habebat, nemine prorsus evadendi facultatem nactus, periit. Ac Decius quidem, optime administrato regno, hujusmodi vitæ finem habuit. *We have no Room to doubt, but instead of Tanais, the Danube must here be understood. Jornandes and Georgius Syncellus, who followed Dexippus's History, and several others agree, that the Battle was fought in Mœsia, and consequently on the right Side of the Danube. Some name the Place, as may be seen in Tillemont, p. 598.*

† *Towards the Conclusion of the Year 251.*

§. XXXV. (1) C. VIBIUS TREBONI-
NUS GALLUS.

(2) SYNCELLUS, p. 376. Scythæ, captivis abductis, suppellectilibusque immensæ compotes facti, lares patrios repetunt, Gallum quendam Exconsulem, & cum eo Volusianum, Decii filium, milites salutant Imperatorem.

the *Goths* (3). By this Treaty, he allowed them to return over the *Danube*, with all the Booty and Prisoners they had taken; and obliged himself to pay them annually a certain Subsidy, to prevent their farther Invasions into the *Roman* Provinces (4). However scandalous this Peace may appear, since he did not even free those Persons of Distinction who were taken Prisoners at *Philippopolis*, *Gallus*, nevertheless, made as magnificent an Entrance into *Rome*, as if he had conquered the *Goths*, and some Medals are still extant, which were struck in Honour of this Peace (5). *Hostilianus*, the younger Son of *Decius*, shared, at first, the Imperial Title with him; but was soon obliged to give Way to *Volusianus* (6). But *Illyricum* remained, nevertheless, in Confusion (7), either because the *Goths*, with whom *Gallus* had made Peace, did not observe it, or by Reason of the Irruptions of other Northern

(3) JORNANDES, c. 19. Hi ergo mox, ut Imperium adepti sunt, fœdus cum gente Gothorum pepigere.

(4) ZOSIMUS, p. 40. Non enim cum præda tantum Gallus eis, ut suos intra fines redirent, permisit: verum etiam quotannis certam pecuniæ summam dare promisit.

(5) PAX ÆTERNA. MEZZAB. p. 259. Banduri, p. 60, 69.

(6) P. BANDURI, l. c. p. 81, mentions an odd Medal of him: IMP. C. C. VA. F. GAL. VEND. VOLVSIANO AVG. with the Reverse: MARTI PACIFERO. P. Banduri reads this Inscription thus: Imperatori, Cæsari, Caio, Vandalico, Finnico, Galindico, Vendenico, Volusiano Aug. and illustrates it by the following Observation; Ut Commodus Augustus, ob Sarmatas, a Marco Aurelio devictos, dictus est Sarmaticus: sic Volusianus, omnia Sarmatiæ populorum, tanquam a Gallo patre devictorum, cognomina gestat. PTOLEMÆUS, l. 3. c. 7. inter eas gentes numerat Carpos, Phinnos, Galindas, & Vendenos. Decius autem, adversus hos Barbaros profectus, Gallum ad Danubii ripæ custodiam reliquit, ut tradit Zosimus: Decio ab ipsis interfecto, pacem Gallus a Barbaris, non absque Romani nominis dedecore annuo tributo emit. Typum Martis Paciferi, & epigraphen, nummus hæc de re præfert, qui inter hujus Imperatoris rarissimos recensendus est. This Obser-

vation taken from Jo. Vaillant, numismatibus Romanorum præstantioribus, p. 350. is equally learned and judicious. But we can scarce conceive, that the Finni and Galindi, who dwelt in Prussia, should come so far, and so eminently distinguish themselves, that a Roman Prince should borrow a Title from them; since we do not find, that any Historian makes Mention of them. Whoever gives Credit to the Genealogical Account of Gallus's Descent, written by F. Harduin, in Histor. Augusta, ex numism. illustrata, p. 840. may, with him, explain this Inscription thus: IMP. CÆS. CAIVS. VALENS. FINNIVS. VIBIVS. GALLVS. VINDEX. VOLVSIANVS. AVGVSTVS.

(7) ZOSIMUS, l. 1. p. 26. Quum autem negligenter Imperium Gallus administraret, primum quidem Scythæ nationibus sibi vicinis terrorem incutiebant: deinde paulatim progressi, ad ipsum usque mare sitas regiones populabantur: adeo quidem, ut nulla gens Romanæ ditionis ab eis non vastata manserit, sed omnia prope dixerim oppida, destituta mœnibus, & iisdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint. Ibid. p. 43. Rursus Gothi, & Borani, & Urugundi, & Carpi, civitates in Europa diripiebant, quicquid eis superabat, sibi auferentes. add. Zonaras, p. 252. Tillemont observes, p. 697 and 698, the Difference between the two Relations.

Nations.

Nations. *Æmilianus* (8), who commanded in *Pannonia*, was successful against them (9), and for the Glory he thereby obtained, proclaimed Emperor by his Army (10). He seems hereupon to have made Peace with the *Goths*, that he might with more Safety depart for *Italy* (11). *Gallus*, at the first News hereof, declared him an Enemy to his Country, and sent *Valerianus* over the *Alps*, to lead the the Army, which was stationed on the *Rhine*, to *Italy*, in order to be the better able to encounter *Æmilianus*: But the latter had passed the *Alps*, before the Legions on the *Rhine* set out. *Gallus* and *Volusianus* marched against him: But just before the two Armies met (12), both Father and Son were killed by their own Soldiers, who directly went over to *Æmilianus* †, whom the Senat thereupon acknowledged Emperor. *Valerianus* received this News in *Ratia*, at the Head of a considerable Army, which would by no Means submit to *Æmi-*

(8) C. JULIUS ÆMILIANUS.

(9) ZOSIMUS, L. c. c. 28. Scythæ vero, cum quicquid occuparunt in Europa, secure plane possiderent, & jam in Asiam quoque transgressi essent, omniaque, ad Cappadociam, & Pefinuntem, & Ephesum usque, diripuissent: Æmilianus regionum Pannoniæ dux, militibus suis, qui parum animi ad resistendum prosperæ Barbarorum fortunæ habebant, quanto poterat opere confirmatis, & dignitate populi Romani eis in memoriam revocata; improvisus Barbaros, in iis locis repertos, adgressus est. Quumque magnam eorum partem occidisset; milites in Barbaricum transduxisset; inopinato, quicquid occurreret, obtruncasset; præter omnem denique spem, imperio Romano subiectos, illorum furore liberasset; a militibus illis Imperator dictus est. Itaque coactis eorum locorum copiis, quæ jam, ex parta contra Barbaros victoria, confirmatiores animis erant factæ; Italiam versus movit, cum imparato Gallo manum conferturus. *Jornandes*, c. 19. Defuncto tunc Decio, Gallus & Volusianus Regno potiti sunt Romanorum, quando & pestilens morbus, pæne istius necessitatis consimilis, ut nos ante hos novem annos experti sumus, faciem totius orbis scedavit, supra modum quoque Alexandriam, totiusque Ægypti loca, devastans. *Dionysio historico* super hanc cla-

dem lacrymabiliter exponente, quam & noster conscripsit venerabilis Martyr Christi, Episcopus Cyprianus, in libro, cujus titulus est de mortalitate. Tunc & Æmilianus quidam, Gothis sæpe ob principum negligentiam Mæsiam devastantibus, ut vidit licere, nec a quoquam, sine magno Reipubl. dispendio, removeri, similiter suæ fortunæ arbitratus posse evenire, tyrannidem in Mæsiam arripuit, omnique manu militari ascita, cœpit urbes, & populos, devastare.

(10) BANDURI, p. 94. explains, by these Exploits, the Medals, with the Reverse: HERCULI VICTORI, which afterwards was so common on the Medals of the Emperors; likewise that, with the Reverse, MARTI PROPUGN. ib. 94. where either Æmilian himself is represented under this Figure, because he, as a second Mars, whom Thrace particularly rever'd, protected Illyricum against the Scythæ; or, because those Victories were ascrib'd to Mars.

(11) BANDURI, p. 94, refers to this the Medals, PAX AVG. it. MARTI PACIF. p. 94 & 96.

(12) By the Relations of Victor and Eutropius it was near Terni: Eusebius and Syncellus place it ad Forum Flaminii, which lay not far from Foligno, but is now destroyed.

† V. fin. Mai. a. 253. v. Till. not. 3.

lianus; but made Choice of him for Emperor (13). He led them directly into *Italy*, and *Æmilianus* experienced the same Treachery, for which he had so lately rewarded *Gallus's* Soldiers. For his Army, diffident of their Ability to withstand *Valerianus*, slew him near *Spoletum* (14), having enjoyed the Imperial Dignity about three Months, or little more ††, after the Decease of *Gallus* (15).

Gallienus
makes War
with the
Germans.
The Roman
Generals
are success-
ful on the
Danube.

§. XXXVI. *VALERIANUS* was thus acknowledged Emperor at *Rome*, and in the Provinces, without Bloodshed. He took his Son, *P. Lic. Gallienus*, as Assistant in the Government; to him he entrusted the Care of the Western Regions, and himself undertook to go to the *East*. *Gallienus* went in Person to the *Rhine*, where the Danger appeared greatest; but *Posthumus*, his Substitute, was, in Reality, Commander. He was a Native of *Gaul*, who had so raised himself by his Valour, and gained such a Reputation, that *Valerianus* entrusted him with the Command under his Son. This War proved fortunate for the *Romans*, as not only all Historians testify (1), but likewise some Medals (2), shew on which three different Victories gained by *Gallienus* over the *Germans*, are recorded. *Valerianus* and *Gallienus* ob-

(13) EUTROPIUS, L. 9. c. 6. Hinc Licinius Valerianus in Rætia & Norico agens, ab exercitu Imperator, & mox Augustus est factus. Victor in Cæs. c. 31 & 32. At milites, qui contracti undique, apud Rætias ob instans bellum morabantur, Licinio Valeriano Imperium deferunt.

(14) VICTOR Epit. c. 31. Æmilianus vero, menses quatuor dominatus, apud Spoletium, sive pontem, quem ab ejus cæde sanguinarium accepisse nomen ferunt, inter Otriculum, Narniamque & urbem Romanam, regione media positum, scil. occisus.

†† Occ. circiter m. Augusto 253. v. Tillem. not. 3. ad vit. Galli.

(15) ZOSIMUS, L. 1. c. 36. Ille nulla prudentia postulatis adensus, & inconsulto cum paucis ad Saporem profectus, quasi de pace cum eo colloquuturus, ab hostibus subito comprehenditur, & in hac fortuna captivus, apud Persas vivendi finem fecit. Others say, that he was slain in the Battle.

§. XXXVI. (1) ZOSIMUS, L. 1. c. 30. Gallienus, videns, Germanicas gentes cæteris infestiores esse, qua adcolas Rhæni, Gallicas nationes, acrius vexarent, hanc partem sibi propugnandam ab hostibus sumebat: alios, qui per Italiam, Illyricum, Græciamque, prædis agendis intenti

essent, duces, cum eorum locorum exercitiis, bellum facere jussit. Ac ipse quidem, Rhæni transiectus custodiens, quantum præstare poterat, interdum transitu hostes arcebat interdum transeuntibus suos instructos objiciebat. EUTROPIUS, L. 9. c. 6. Juvenis in Gallia & Illyrico multa strenue fecit, occiso apud Mursum Ingenuo, qui purpuram sumserat, & Trebelliano. VICT. in Cæs. c. 33. Licinius Gallienus, cum a Gallia Germanos strenue arceret, in Illyricum properans descendit: Ibi Ingenuum, quem curantem Pannonios, comperta Valeriani clade, imperandi cupido inceserat, Mursum devicit, moxque Regillianum.

(2) Hither appertain those Medals of Valerian, with the Reverse:

VICTORIA GERMANICA.

V. BANDURI, L. c. p. 112, 128, 140. it. with the Title,

GERMANICVS MAXIMVS TER.

ib. p. 107. (1). The same is illustrated by Gallienus's Medals, with the Reverse,

VICTORIA GM.

ib. p. 183. (2).

VICTORIAE AVGG II. GERM.

ib. (3).

VICTORIAE AVGG T GERM.

ib. (6).

tained

tained hereby the Title of GERMANICUS MAXIMUS † on their A. C. 256.
Coins. *Aurelianus* seems likewise to have done eminent Services
against the *Germans*, in these first Expeditions, because *Valerianus*
calls him *Restitutor Galliae* (3): And he was so well satisfied with
Posthumus's Services, that he appointed him Lieutenant in *Gaul* (4).
Valerianus set out, in the Year 257, on his Journey to *Asia*, thro' *Illyricum*;
and he and his Generals found enough to do in their March.
The Exploits of *Aurelianus*, who then commanded the Armies in *Illyricum*
and *Thrace*, in the Room of *Ulpus Crinitus*, are particularly
recorded (5). By the Names of some Generals of those Troops, which
he commanded, we may conclude, that they were *Germans*, who
served under the *Romans* (6). *Probus* is likewise extolled in History,
for his Valour against the *Quadi* and *Sarmatae*, whereby he obtained
the Command of two Legions (7).

§. XXXVII. *VALERIAN's* Expedition was chiefly intended a- The *Goths*
gainst the *Persians*; but *Asia* was now infested by new Enemies, invade *Asia*.
the *Goths*. One Part of them was joined by those Nations, who *Valerian*
dwelt on the Coasts of the *Bosphorus*, and obtained of them the marches a-
Assistance of their Ships. *Zosimus* mentions the *Borani* (1) and *Gothi*; gainst them.
and

(3) In VOPISCUS, in vit. *Aureliani*, c. 9. Quid enim in illo non clarum? quid non Corvinis & Scipionibus conferendum? Ille liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum restitutor.

(4) POLLIO in XXX. Tyr. c. 3. Transrhenani limitis ducem, & Galliae praesidem, Posthumum fecimus, &c.

(5) VOPISCUS in *Aurelian*, c. 10. Habuit multos ducatus, usque adeo, ut etiam Ulpium Crinitum qui se de Trajani genere referebat, ac fortissimi revera viri, & Trajani simillimi, qui pictus est cum eodem Aureliano in templo Solis, quem Valerianus Caesaris loco habere instituerat, vicem sumeret, exercitum duceret, limitem restitueret, praedam in litibus daret: Thracias bobus, equis, mancipiis, captivis locupletaret: manubias in Palatio collocaret: 500 servos, 2000 vaccarum, 1000 equas; ovium 10,000 caprarum 15,000 in privatam villam Valerini congereret.

(6) VOPISCUS in *Aurel.* c. 11. Habes legionem tertiam felicem, & equites cataphractarios octingentos. Tecum erit Hartomundus, Halidegastes, Hildemundus, Cario-

viscus. Vorburg observes, p. 512. 2. that these Names are met with among the Franks; and thereby confirms the Opinion, that they were Generals of that Nation.

(7) VOPISCUS, in *Probo*, c. 5. Cum bello Sarmatico, jam tribunus, transmissio Danubio, multa fortiter fecisset, publice in concione donatus est hastis puris quatuor, coronis vallaribus duabus, corona civica una, vexillis puris quatuor, armillis aureis duabus, torque aureo uno, patera sacrali quinquelibri una: quo quidem tempore Valerium Flaccum, adolescentem nobilem, parentem Valeriani, e Quadorum liberavit manu: unde illi Valerianus coronam civicam detulit. Verba Valeriani pro concione habita: Suscipe Probe praemia pro republica, suscipe coronam civicam pro parente, quo quidem tempore, legionem tertiam eidem addidit. *Id. ib.* c. 16. In Illyrico Sarmatas, ceterasque gentes, ita contudit, ut prope sine bello cuncta reciperet, quae illi diripuerant.

§ XXXVII. (1) ZOSIM. L. 1. c. 31. *sqq.* Borani vero, & Gothi, & Carpi, & Uregundi,

and *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, the Capital of *Pontus*, expressly mentions the *Goths* (2). Their first Attempt was on *Pithyus*, a City on the Borders of *Colchis*. The Place was well fortified, and *SUCCESSIANUS* repell'd them with so much Bravery, that they set Sail and returned: But when the Emperor, who arrived, in the mean Time, in *Asia*, sent for *SUCCESSIANUS*, and created him *Præfectus Prætorii*, the *Borani* and *Goths* made, with the same Fleet, a fresh Attempt. They sail'd into the Mouth of the *Phasis*, where there was a famous Temple of *Diana*, which, however, they could not take. They, nevertheless, made themselves, this Time, Masters of *Pithyus*. Here they augmented their Fleet, and, employing, Part

gundi, (nationum hæc nomina, propter Istrum sedes habentium) nullam nec Italiæ, nec Illyrici partem, a continuis vexationibus immunem relinquebant, omnia, nemine resistente, diripientes. Et quidem *Borani* in *Asiam* quoque transjicere conabantur: idque per incolas *Bospori* sane quam facile obtinuerunt, qui metu potius, quam animi voluntate, adducti, naves eis dederunt, & in transjiciendo duces fuerunt. Quam enim diu reges illi habebant, filiis paternum in regnum succedentibus, partim propter amicitiam cum populo Romano, & commerciorum opportunitatem; partim propter ea munera, quæ ab Imperatoribus quotannis eis mittebantur, *Scythas*, in *Asiam* transjicere volentes, arcere non desinebant: verum posteaquam, extincto genere regio, quidam viles & abjecti principatum obtinuissent, sibi met ipsi metuentes, *Scythis*, adeundæ per *Bosporum Asiæ*, facultatem concedebant, & suis eos navibus transvehebant, quibus deinde receptis, domum remearunt. Cæterum *Scythis*, obvia quæque deprædantibus, qui maritima *Ponti* loca incolebant, ad mediterranea maximeque munita migrabant. Barbari vero *Pityuntem* primum adorti sunt, muro maximo circumdatam, & portum commodissimum habentem. Sed quum dux militum ejus loci, *SUCCESSIANUS*, cum iis copiis, quæ istuc aderant, Barbaris obstitisset, & eos inde submovisset, veriti *Scythæ*, ne hujus rei fama per cætera quoque castella dispersa, eorum præsidarii, militibus *Pityunteis* adgregati, funditus se dele-

rent, quantam maximam poterant navigiorum copiam nacti, summo cum periculo domum reverterunt, in hoc ad *Pityuntem* bello compluribus suorum amissis. Enimvero qui ad *Pontum Euxinum* habitabant, *SUCCESSIANI* ductu servati, quemadmodum exposuimus, numquam fore sperabant, ut rursus *Scythæ* transjicerent, qui jam indicato modo repulsi fuissent. *Borani* or *Burani* are the same, whom *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* names *Borades*. They are not improbable'y the same *Burii*, who are likewise call'd *Buri* or *Burri*. The *Uregundi* were perhaps *Burgundi*. The *Burgundians* were at least Neighbours of the *Goths*, as appears from what has been said before, §. XXXIII. n. 6.

(2) *Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea, the Capital of Pontus, wrote at that Time an Epistle, the Title of which is: De iis, qui in Barbarorum incurfione idolothyta comederunt, sive, qui in captivitate idolis sacrificaverunt, & alia peccata commiserunt. We meet there with some Passages, which may give Light to History. As at the Beginning of c. 3. p. 123. Non cibi nos gravant, Sancte Papa, si captivi comederint ea, quæ, qui in eos dominium obtinent, eis apposuerunt; maxime quando una de omnibus fama est, Barbaros, qui in nostras regiones incurfiones fecerunt, idolis non sacrificasse. And Canone V. p. 129. Alii autem se ipsos seducunt, pro propriis, quæ perierunt, aliena, quæ invenerunt, detinentes, ut quoniam Boradi & Gothi eis hostilia fecerunt, ipsi sint aliis Boradi & Gothi.*

of the Captives in rowing, took the Advantage of fair Wind and Weather, and bent their Course for *Trapezunt*. This large and populous City, into which all the Inhabitants of the Plains had taken Refuge, with their best Effects, had a Garrison of above 10,000 Men: But they confided too much in their double Walls, and thought themselves so secure, that the *Goths* took the Town with little or no Resistance †. According to their barbarous Custom, they set Fire † A. C. 258. to the Temples, and other publick Buildings, and returned home with an inexpressible Booty, and a great Number of Prisoners (3). The Coast of *Pontus* having thus greatly suffered, a Swarm of *Scythæ* came the next Winter over the *Danube*, passed by *Tomi* and *Anchialos*, and went as far as where *Byzantium* now is. They seized all the Vessels they found, went to Sea, and landed on the opposite Shore in *Asia*, near *Chalcedon* †. The Garrison, in a Pannick, abandoned the † A. C. 259. Place, which the *Goths* took, with the greater Ease, and plundered it. They then directed their Course to *Bitbynia*, there ravaged *Nicomedia*, *Prusa*, *Apamea*, and other Places, and intended to go to *Cyzicus*; but as the Tide ran too high in the River *Rhyndacus*, they returned by the same Way they came, and, in their Passage, set

(3) ZOSIMUS, L. I. p. 52. *sqq.* Sed ubi Valerianus arcessitum ad se Successianum, præfectum prætorii dixisset, & cum eo res Antiochenæ civitatis, & instaurationem ejus ordinaret: denuo Scythæ, sumtis a Bosporanis navibus, transjecerunt. Retentis autem navigiis, nec (ut factitatum prius erat) concessa potestate Bosporanis, ut eis in patriam reverterentur: propter Phasidem profecti sunt, ubi fanum Dianæ Phasianæ, cum Ætæ regia, collocatum perhibent. Hoc fanum occupare conati, sed frustra, Pityuntem recta contendunt. Castello perfacile capto, suoque præsidio denudato, pergunt ulterius: quumque magna copia navigiorum abundarent, & captivis, remigandi peritis, ad navigationem usi, commodam tempestatem toto propemodum æstivo tempore habuissent, Trapezuntem petierunt, urbem amplam & populosam, quæque præter consuetos milites, aliorum infinitum prope numerum receperat. Obsidione cœpta, ne per somnium quidem urbe se posituros sperabant, quod esset ea duabus muris circumdata; sed

cum ignavia temulentiaque occupatos animadverterent milites ne murum quidem amplius conscendere, nec ullo tempore luxum & computationes suas intermittere, arboribus, quas dudum ad hoc præparaverant, admotis muro, qua perveniri ad eum poterat, & noctu per has aliis alios exiguo numero subsequenter, adscendentes, urbem capiunt, præfidiariis, ob repentinam & improvisam hostis irruptionem, metu percussis, & per alias portas ex urbe fuga dilapsis cæteris ab hostibus interemtis. Urbe in hunc modum capta, ineffabilem Barbari opum captivorumque copiam adepti sunt. Nam finitimi propemodum omnes in eam, veluti locum munitum, confluxerant. Templis & ædificiis dirutis, aliisque rebus, ad elegantiam magnitudinemve comparatis; & excursionibus tota regione vexata, compluribus cum navigiis domum discessere. *The City of Pithyus has been so reduced, that Justinian says, Nov. XXVIII. pr. Pithyus, & Sebastopolis inter castra potius, quam urbes, numerandæ sunt.*

Fire

Fire to *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia* (4). *Valerianus* was at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, when he received the News. He sent *Felix* back to *Europe*, to secure *Byzantium*, from the Irruptions of the Enemy; but himself hastened to meet the *Goths*, and was arrived in *Cappadocia*, when he received Advice of their Retreat.

Valerianus
taken Pri-
soner. Con-
fusion in the
Roman Em-
pire. The
Germans in-
vade *Italy*.

§. XXXVIII. *VALERIANUS*, hereupon, marched against the *Persians*; but was so unfortunate to be taken Prisoner, and died in Captivity. The Medals, which honour him with the Title of *Restaurator Orientis* shew, how little Credit is to be given to those *Encomiums*, if not confirmed by other Testimonies; and they were perhaps only designed to express the Hopes they entertained of his Expedition. Never were the Affairs of the *Roman Empire* in greater Perplexity, than after his Misfortune. *Gallienus* was not adequate to the Burden; tho' he may have possessed more good Qualities, than are

(4) *ZOSIMUS*, L. I. c. 34. *sqq.* Quum horum finitimi, Scythæ, adlatas ab eis opes conspexissent, & simile facinus audendi cupiditas eos incessisset: navigia quidem ab eis parabantur, utentibus ad eorum structuram, mancipiorum opera, quæ secum habebant, vel ceteroquin ipsis inopiæ causa semet adjungentium; sed ea ratione, qua Borani fuissent usi, minime navigationem instituendam esse, tam longam, tam difficilem, perque vastata jam ante loca, decreverunt: sed hiemis expectato tempore, Ponto Euxino ad sinistram relicto, pedestribus copiis per ipsa littora, prout fieri poterat, celeriter comitantibus, Istrum, Tomos, Anchialum, ad dextram prætergressi, ad Phileatinam venere paludem, quæ, versus occidentem solstitialem Byzantiæ, Ponto adjacet. Cognito autem, ejus lacus piscatores, in adjacentibus lacui paludibus, cum iis, quas haberent navibus, abditos delitescere: interposita cautione persequerunt, ut sese sisterent: quumque naves eorum copiis pedestribus suis onerassent, transire per id fretum, quod Byzantio Chalcedonique interjacet, nitentur. Erat non in ipsa modo Chalcedone præsidium, verum etiam ad fanum usque dispositum, quod ad ostium Ponti situm est, longeque Barbaros illud adventantes viribus superabat: sed milites ipsi parim discessere, quasi qui occurrere duci ab Imperatore missi, vellent; partim tanta

trepidatione correpti sunt, ut ad primam rei famam citato cursu diffugerent. Quo facto, simul & transjecere Barbari, & Chalcedone, nullo resistente, capta, opibus & armis, aliæque suppellectile copiosissima potiti sunt. Hinc Nicomediam contenderunt, urbem maximam & fortunatam, opibusque ac rerum omnium copia celeberrimam. Sed licet præcepta fama cives jam ante diffugissent, cum opibus suis, quas auferre secum poterant; nihilominus Barbari repertorum ab se copiam mirati, omni honore atque observantia Chrysogonum prosequerantur, qui jamdudum eis auctor fuerat, ut Nicomediam proficiscerentur. Quumque Nicæam, & Cium, & Apameam, & Prusam, iisdem incursionibus vexassent, & in illis paria designassent; Cyzicum petiere. Verum quod Rhyndacus fluvius, ex imbribus auctus, ingentem aquarum vim volueret, transectione frustra tentata, retro cesserunt: ac Nicomediam quidem, & Nicæam, injectis ignibus succenderunt; spoliis vero in plaustra navesque coniectis, domum cogitabant, hoc irruptioni secundæ sine imposito. Valerianus intellectis iis, quæ in Bithynia gererentur, ex dissidentia, nemini ducum credere defensionem illius contra Barbaros audebat: ac Felice missi, qui Byzantium tueretur, ipse ab Antiochia ad Cappadociam usque progrediebatur, & transitu duntaxat attritis oppidis, pedem referebat.

allowed

allowed him by *Treb. Pollio*; who depreciated them to the last Degree, that he might magnify *Claudius* his Successor, in the Reign of whose Descendents he wrote. *Valerianus* had promoted many valiant Men; but, instigated partly by their own Pride, partly by the Armies under their Command, and even by the Danger that attends eminent Merit, under a weak and suspicious Prince, they arrogated to themselves, the Imperial Title, and are known, in *Roman History*, by the Name of Tyrants. The Accounts we have from the Historians of these Times are as confused, as the State of the Empire was; in-somuch, that from them we can scarce carry on the Thread of our Relations. *Gallienus*, who till now had found Employment on the *Rhine*, in repelling the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, was obliged to return to *Italy*, a Swarm of foreign Nations having penetrated over the *Alps* (1). *Gallienus*, on this Occasion, followed the Example of many of his Predecessors. He contracted an Alliance with a powerful *German Prince*, who was obliged to assist him in repulsing the others (2). This was perhaps the same Prince of the *Marcomanni*, with whom he had a good Understanding, and whose Daughter *Pipa*, or *Pipara*, he set his Affection upon more than on his own Wife (3). In *Illyricum*, *Ingenuus*, and after him *Regillianus*, a Native of *Dacia*, who pretended to be descended from *Decebalus*, and had performed noble Exploits against the *Sarmatæ*, assumed the Title of Emperors.

§. XXXIX. WHILST *Gallienus* was thus employed in *Italy* and *Il-* *Posthumus*
lyricum, *Posthumus*, whom, at his Departure, he had entrusted with assumes the
Imperial
Dignity in
Gaul,

§. XXXVIII. (1) *ZOSIMUS*, L. c. c. 37. Et Scythæ, conjunctis animis ex universa gente nationeque sua in unum congressi, parte quadam copiarum suarum *Illyricum* prædatum exhibant; alii civitates ejusdem vastabant, alii denique *Italiam* ingressi, ad ipsam usque *Romam* pergebant. At *Gallieno*, *Transalpinis* in locis hærente, *Germanicisque* bellis intento, *Senatus urbem Romam* in summum malum conjectam videns, ex armatis quotquot erant in ea militibus, & iis præterea, qui valentiores ex plebiis erant, exercitum *Barbarico* majorem coegit, quem hostes veriti, *Romam* illi quidem relinquebant, sed *Italiam*, prope dixerim universam, excursionibus adfligebant.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. i. c. 30. Sed, quod ingenti cum multitudine, perexiguas ipse copias habens, bellum gereret, in angustum jam coacta res ipsius erat: quum inito fœ-

dere cum quodam de gentis *Germanicæ* principibus, & aliqua parte periculum minuisse visus fuit. *Mss. de Tillemont, p. 721.* *imagines, that this German Prince may have been Attalus, the King of the Marcomanni, of whom Aurelius Victor writes, c. 33. Expositus (scil. Gallienus) Saloninæ conjugii, atque amoris flagitioso filia Attalisci, Germanorum (Epit. VICT. Marcomannorum) Regis. TREB. POLLIO in Salonino, c. 3. Tam variæ item opiniones sunt de Salonini nomine: ut qui se verius putant dicere, a matre sua Salonina appellatum esse dicant, quam is perdit dilexerit, Piparam nomine, Barbari Regis filiam.*

(3) *Some have thought, that this German Princess was lawful Wife of Gallienus. V. locum Pollion, n. 2. But Tillemont endeavours, p. 898. to prove the contrary.*

the Army, assumed the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*. His many excellent Qualities would have render'd him one of the most accomplish'd Heroes, had he attained to the Government, in a legal Manner: But *Gallienus's* Son, *Valerianus Saloninus*, who was already *Cæsar*, and whom his Father had left in *Gaul*, that all Orders might pass in his Name (1), was the first Victim of this Revolution; and was murder'd at *Cologne*, on the *Rhine* (2). We find indeed, that *Gallienus* marched against him, and that both he, and his Generals, *Aureolus* and *Claudius*, obtained some Advantages over him (3). But he, nevertheless, kept his Ground, chiefly by the Assistance of the *Franks*, whom he had gained over to his Party (4). *Gallienus*, however, when he celebrated his *Decennalia*, caused some Soldiers to be cloath'd like *Goths*, *Sarmatæ*, *Franks* and *Persians* (5), in order to represent the Splendor of a Triumph.

Posthumus
maintains
his Ground
in *Gaul*.
The Wars
of *Posthumus*
and *C. Læli-*
anus with
the Ger-
mans.

§. XL. *POSTHUMUS* thus obtained, what *Claudius* and *Civilis* had, before him, in vain, attempted. *Spain* and *Britain* seem to have adhered to him, which formed a separate Empire, 'till the Time of *Aurelianus*. He defended the Provinces against the Irruptions of the *Germans*, and to that Purpose built several Forts on the other Side the *Rhine* (1). We

§. XXXIX. (1) *Banduri mentions*, p. 260. a Medal of this *Saloninus*, with the Reverse, VICT. GERMAN. it refers perhaps to one of those German Victories mentioned in *Gallienus's* Medals. V. §. XXXVI. n. 2.

(2) *Zosimus*, L. I. p. 62. Secundum hæc *Posthumus* quoque, cui creditum esset militare apud *Celtas* Imperium, ad res novas animum adjecit, sumtisque secum militibus, qui cum ipso defecerant, *Agrippinam* contendit, urbem maximam, ad *Rhenum* sitam, ubi *Saloninum*, *Gallieni* filium, obsedit, minatus obsidionem se minime soluturum, nisi deditus sibi ille fuisset. Militibus obsidionis necessitate compulsis, ut & ipsum, & ipsius custodiæ præfectum a patre, *Silvanum*, traderent; utroque *Posthumus* interfecto, rerum apud *Celtas* potiebatur. *Pollio Trig. Tyrann.* c. 3. Hic vir, in bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus, in omni vita gravis, usque adeo, ut *Saloninum*, filium suum, eidem *Gallienus* in *Gallia* positum, crederet, quasi custodi vitæ, & morum & actuum imperialium institutori. Sed quantum plerique asserunt (quod ejus non convenit moribus) postea fidem fregit,

& occiso *Salonino*, sumsit imperium. Ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum *Gallii* vehementissime *Gallienum* odissent, puerum autem apud se imperare ferre non possent, eum, qui commissum regebat imperium, Imperatorem appellarunt, missisque militibus adolescentem interfecerunt. Quo interfecto, ab omni exercitu, & ab omnibus *Gallis* *Posthumus* gratanter acceptus, talem se præbuit per annos septem, ut *Gallias* instauraverit, cum *Gallienus* luxuriæ & popinis vacaret, & amore *Barbaræ* mulieris, consenesceret. See likewise *Zonaras*, who also differs from the Rest in some Circumstances.

(3) *V. numos apud Bandurium in Gallieno passim.*

(4) *POLLIO in Gallieno*, c. 7. Et quum multis auxiliis *Posthumus* juvaretur, *Celticis* ac *Francicis*.

(5) *POLLIO in Gallieno*, c. 8. Ibant præterea gentes simulatæ, ut *Gothi*, *Sarmatæ*, *Franci*, *Persæ*.

§. XL. (1) *POLLIO in XXX. Tyr.* c. 3. Siquidem nimius amor erga *Posthumum* omnium erat in *Gallia* gente populorum, quod

We have several Medals, which were struck in Honour of his *German* Victories, some of which name him GERMANICUS MAXIMUS (2). Among others, those are particularly remarkable, on which *Hercules Deusonensis* (3), and *Hercules Macusanus* (4) are represented. But when *Gallienus* made a fresh Attempt, and reduced *Posthumus* to great Streights, the latter gave *Victorinus* †, who was not inferior to him in Valour or Understanding, a Share in the Government (5). However, a much greater Misfortune beset him than that he was threatened with on the Side of the *Romans*. *Lelianus* caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor at *Mentz*, and *Posthumus*, defeated, indeed, these Rebels; but, as he would not give the City a Prey to his Soldiers, they conspired against him, and slew him, together with his Son (6). *Lelianus* (7) thereupon maintain'd, for

E e 2

some

quod submotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus, Romanum in pristinam securitatem revocasset imperium. Of those Lines, which he caused to be thrown up, on the other Side of the Rhine, against the Germans, see not. 6.

(2) *Apud BANDURIUM in Posthumo passim: He bears the same Title on an Inscription, mentioned by Fabretti, p. 866.*

IMP. CAES.
M. CASSIANI
VS. LATINVS. PO
STVMVS. PIVS. FEL.
INVICTVS. AVG.
GER. MAX.
PONT. MAX.
TRIB. POT.
COS. III. P. P.
PROC. RES.
TITVIT.

(3) *TRISTAN T. 3. p. 145. Derives the Surname of Deusonensis from Deuz, which lies opposite to Cologn, on the Rhine, where Hercules had a Temple; which Opinion is seconded by P. Banduri, L. c. p. 291. (4).*

(4) *Conf. TRISTAN. L. c. p. 146. This Hercules Macusanus is likewise supposed to have been one of the Gods of the ancient Germans. Oiselius supposes there was a Temple of Hercules Maculani near the Mouth of the Scheld, in the Place, which is now call'd Westcappel. Menso Altingius mentions, l. c. P. I.*

p. 31. two ancient Stones, consecrated to him, one of which was found at the Mouth of the Scheld, the other in Guelders. He confutes those, who derive this Name from Mentz: Præstaret itaque, si attributum hoc omnino Germanicum esse crediderint, illud derivasse a junctis propinquorum sedibus, & civilium societatum coitionibus, quas communi vocabulo *Magne* dixere veteres Celtæ, atque inde *Herculem MACVS ANVM*, quasi *Magorum*, i. e. societatum suarum custodem, servatorem, & deum tutelarem.

† c. A. 264. Tillemont, p. 978. Banduri computes it, p. 317, in the Year 265.

(5) *POLLIO in trig. Tyr. c. 6. Posthumus senior, cum videret, multis se Gallieni viribus peti, atque auxilium non solum militum, verum etiam alterius Principis necessarium; Victorinum, militaris industriæ virum, in participatum vocavit Imperii, & cum eodem contra Gallienum conflixit.*

(6) *AURELIUS VICTOR de Cæs. c. 33. Namque primus omnium Posthumus, qui forte Barbaris per Galliam præsidebat, Imperium ereptum ierat: explosaque Germanorum multitudine, Lolliani bello excipitur, quo non minus feliciter fuso, suorum tumulti periit: quod, flagitantibus Moguntiacorum direptiones, quia Lollianum juverant, abnuisset.*

(7) *C. ULP. COR. LÆLIANUS, vid. Banduri, p. 316. Some, whom Tillemont follows, reckon two Tyrants; L. Ælian, who rebelled*

some Time, the Title of *Augustus*, and a Part of *Gaul*, against *Victorinus* as well as *Gallienus*; and repelled the *Germans*, who after *Posthumus*'s Death had passed the Lines (8). But as he was indefatigable, the Soldiers, being wearied out with his rigid Discipline, slew him.

Victorinus is
murder'd at
Cologne: A
Roman Mint
at *Triers*.

§. XLI. *VICTORINUS*, therefore, remained Master of *Gaul*. Historians attribute many laudable Qualities to him; but the Possession of them was shortned by his unbounded Incontinence (1). For *Atticianus*, who had many Adherents in the Army, to revenge the Disgrace he had suffered in the Person of his Wife, incensed the Soldiers against him, who killed him and his Son near *Cologne* (2). In this Confusion, when the tumultuous Soldiers did not know themselves, what they would be at, one *Marius* † was proclaimed Emperor, but his Reign ended with his Life the next Day (3): For *Victorinus*'s Adherents had, in the mean While, gained some Respite. His Mother *Victoria* was not so terrified by the Death of her Son and Grand-Son, but that she found Means of putting the Imperial Crown on the Head of a Person, in whom she might confide, in Order to reserve to herself that Share in the Government, which she in her Son's Time enjoy'd. She so prudently disposed of the Treasures she had amass'd, that *Tetricus* (4), one of her own Kindred, who had before been Senator and Lieutenant in *Aquitania*, was acknowledged Emperor (5). She was herself named *Mater Castrorum*,

belled against *Posthumus* at *Mentz*, and was defeated by him; and *Lollianus*, who, after *Posthumus*'s Death, attempted to succeed him. They likewise mention Medals of both, which may be seen in *Biragus*. But *Banduri*, l. c. p. 315. shews, pretty plainly, that both Names were made of this *Lælianus*; which Opinion we here follow.

(8) *POLLIO* in trig. Tyr. c. 5. Nam ple- rasque Galliarum civitates, nonnulla etiam castra, quæ *Posthumus* per VII. annos in solo Barbarico ædificaverat, quæque, interfecto *Posthumio*, subita irruptione Germanorum & direpta fuerant, & incensa, in statum veterem reformavit.

§. XLI. (1) *V. JUL. ATERIANI* locus apud *POLLIONEM*, trig. Tyr. c. 6. *Victorino*, qui Gallias post *Junium Posthumium* rexit, neminem existimo præferendum: non in virtute *Trajanum*, non *Antoninum* in clementia, non in gravitate *Nervam*, non in gubernando ærario *Vespasianum*, non in censu-

ra totius vitæ, ac severitate militari Pertinacem, vel Severum. Sed omnia hæc, libido & cupiditas mulierariæ voluptatis sic perdidit, ut nemo audeat virtutes ejus in literas mittere, quem constat omnium judicio meruisse puniri.

(2) *POLLIO*, l. c. c. 7. Extant denique sepulchra, circa *Agrippinam*, brevi marmore impressa, humilia, in quibus unus est inscriptus: Hic duo *Victorini*, Tyranni, siti sunt.

† *M. AURELIUS MARIUS*.

(3) *TREB. POLLIO*, l. c. c. 8.

(4) *CAIUS PECUVIUS TETRICUS*.

(5) *POLLIO*, l. c. c. 24. Interfecto *Victorino*, & ejus filio, mater ejus *Victoria*, seu *Victorina*, *Tetricum*, Senatorem, populi Romani præsidatum in *Gallia* regentem, ad Imperium hortata, quod ejus erat, ut plerique loquuntur, affinis, *Augustum* appellari fecit, filiumque ejus *Cæsarem* nuncupavit.

and

and *Pollio* writes, that the Dy of those Coins, on which she bears this Title, was, in his Time, remaining, in the Mint at *Triers* (6). *Tetricus* gave his Son a Share in the Administration: but he found it so difficult to be subservient to the fluctuating Desires of an Army, which had hitherto proceeded without Controul, that he afterwards willingly subjected himself to *Aurelianus* (7), whereby those Countries, which had been, for some Time, separated from the *Roman* Empire, were re-united to it.

§. XLII. AFTER *Valerian's* Captivity, the *East* was in no less Confusion; and the *Goths* the more easily attempted a new Invasion, as their former Irruptions had proved so successful. They, or at least some Part of them, seem to have landed at *Heraclea*, on the *Pontus Euxinus*, from whence they made Incursions thro' the whole *Lesser Asia*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, and destroyed the Cities of *Greece*, as well on the *Ionian* as the *Phrygian* Coasts. A Battle, indeed, ensued in *Bithynia*, but the *Goths* carried the Day, and thereupon penetrated as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* (1). We find, by a Letter of *Basilus Magnus* (2), that *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Rome*, who enjoyed

A fresh Irruption of the *Goths* into *Asia*.

(6) POLLIO, *l. c. c. 30*. Insignita est præterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum se diceret matrem. Cusi sunt ejus nummi ærei, aurei, & argentei, quorum hodieque forma extat apud Treviros.

(7) EUTROPIUS, *L. 9. c. 9*. Superavit (scil. *Aurelianus*) in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos, ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cujus assiduas seditiones ferre non poterat: Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia versu Vergiliano uteretur:

Eripe me his invictæ malis, &c.

§. XLIII. (1) OSORIUS, *L. 7. c. 22*. mentions these Invasions briefly. *Græcia*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Gothorum* inundatione deletur. But *Syncellus*, who followed *Dexippus's History*, describes them more at large. *Odenatus* porro, *Palmyrenus*, vir bellicis rebus præstans, *Romanorum* socius, *Persarum* manum non exiguam, redire tentantem, ad *Euphratesiam* oppugnatam, fudit. Ex quo *Orientis* dux a *Gallieno* creatus, *Romanorum* nonnullos, in *Phœnicia* tumultuantes, ad officium reduxit. Eodem tempore *Scythæ*, quibus *Gothis* patria voce nomen, *Ponticum* mare transfretantes, in *Bithyniam* descenderunt, *Asiamque* omnem

& *Lydiam* excurrentes, *Nicomediam*, *Bithyniæ* urbem, cæperunt, *Ioniasque* pariter civitates, has quidem mœnibus nudatas, alias aliquatenus munitas, invaserunt. Sed nec vastitate quaquam versus illata, *Phrygiam*, *Cappadociam* & *Galatiam* reliquerunt. Verum *Odenatus*, victoriis in *Persas* clarus, post *Ctesiphontem* obsidione receptam, communi totius *Asiæ* clade cognita, itinere per *Cappadociam* factò, ad *Ponticam Heracleam* festinus evolat: jamque in *Scythas* ex improviso irrupturus, a quodam, cui nomen etiam *Odenatus*, dolis occiditur. *Scythæ*, ejus adventum haud expectandum rati, per *Pontum* proprios sibi *loris* repetunt.

(2) BASILIUS MAGNUS, *ep. 220. oper. T. 3. p. 232*. Novimus partim beneficio memoriæ, per successionem rerum, a patribus ad nos deductarum, partim per litteras edocti intelligimus, quæ sunt etiamnum apud nos custoditæ, *Dionysium*; illum beatissimum episcopum, qui olim apud vos celeberrimus erat, cum ob fidem sinceram, tum virtutes reliquas egregias, per litteras suas Ecclesiam nostram *Cæsarensensem* curasse, misisseque huc de suis, qui fratres liberaret e captivitate.

that

that See from the Year 259 to 270, comforted the Churches of *Cæsarea* and *Cappadocia*, on Account of their Sufferings, and sent Missionaries, to redeem the *Christian* Captives; among whom were several *Christian* Divines. *Odenatus*, the magnanimous Prince of the *Saracens* about *Palmyra*, who waged a vigorous War with the *Persians*, and so bravely maintained the Honour of the *Roman* Name in the *East*, that *Gallienus* admitted him to a Share in the *Roman* Empire, took Pity of the miserable State of these People, and having just before taken *Ctesiphon* from the *Persians*, marched towards *Cappadocia*, to oppose the *Goths*. They did not, however, wait for his Arrival, but hastning to *Heraclea*, with their Booty, they embarked; and, on their Voyage, being encounter'd by the *Roman* Fleet, were dispersed (3).

The *Goths* sail up the *Danube*.
The *Heruli* ravage the Coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*.

§. XLIII. THE ensuing Year, 267, proved still more fatal for *Europe*. A Swarm came down from the *Pontus Euxinus*, and sailing up the *Danube*, committed Ravages throughout *Mœsia* (1), far and near. The *Heruli* came about the same Time, with a Fleet of 500 Sail, from the *Mæotick Lake*, into the *Pontus Euxinus*. Their Intention was, in Order to remain Masters of the Sea, to block up the two Keys of the *Bosphorus*, *Byzantium* and *Chrysopolis*: But tho' this Attempt was unsuccessful, yet were they not disheartned, but sailed thro' the *Bosphorus* unmolested, with a fair Wind. They landed at *Cyzicus*, on the Coast of *Bithynia*, ransacked the Town, with the adjacent District; but made no longer Stay in *Asia*; for perceiving it was already drained by the former Incurfions, they set Sail for the *Archipelagus*. They plundered the Islands of *Lemnos* and *Syrus*, and

(3) POLLIO, in *Gall.* c. 12. Occupato tamen *Odenato* bello *Perfico*, & *Gallieno*, rebus ineptissimis, ut solebat, incumbente, *Scythæ* navibus factis *Heracleam* provenerunt, atque inde cum præda in solum proprium reverterunt, quamvis multi naufragio perierunt, navali bello superati. *Banduri* refers to this the Medal, with the Reverse, VICTORIA NEPTVNI, p. 183. (3) item. NEPTVNO COS. AVG. 219. (3)

§. XLIII. (1) POLLIO, in *vit. Gallieni*, c. 13. speaks promiscuously of these Irruptions of the *Goths*, *Heruli*, and other *Scythæ*. Inter hæc, *Scythæ* per *Euxinum* navigantes, *Istrum* ingressi, multa gravia in solo *Romano* fecerunt: quibus compertis, *Gallienus*, *Cleodamum*, & *Athenæum*, *Byzantios*, instaurandis urbibus, muniendisque præfecit: pug-

natumque est circa *Pontum*, & a *Byzantiis* ducibus victi sunt *Barbari*. *Veneriano* item duce, navali bello *Gothi* superati sunt; tum ipse *Venerianus* militari periit morte. Atque inde *Cyzicum*, & *Asiam*, deinceps *Achaiam* omnem, vastaverunt, & ab *Atheniensibus*, duce *Dexippo*, scriptore horum temporum, victi sunt. Unde pulsæ, per *Epirum*, *Acarnaniam*, *Bœotiam*, pervagati sunt. *Gallienus* interea, vix excitatus publicis malis, *Gothis*, navigantibus per *Illyricum*, occurrit, & fortuito plurimos interemit. This confused Relation is illustrated by the ensuing Observations. *Tillemont* moreover conjectures, p. 994, that this was the same *Athenæus*, of whom there is a Book of military Preparations, not yet printed.

directed

directed their Course towards Greece. They landed at *Attica*, and went to *Peloponnesus*, where they left doleful Tokens of their Expedition, by ravaging and burning at *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Sparta*, and throughout all *Achaia*, without Resistance. Yet the *Athenians* ventured to oppose them (2), and, under the Conduct of *Dexippus* worsted them here and there, in the narrow Passes; but they could not obstruct their Passage thro' *Bæotia*, into *Epirus*, and farther into *Moësia* (3). This *Dexippus* wrote the History of his own Times, but very few Remains of it are now extant. *Trebellius Pollio*, *Jornandes* and *Syncellus* had it entire, but made so ill a Use of it, that we can scarce find out the true Order of the Occurrences; and least of all, what became of their Fleets. *Gallienus*, who was then at War with *Lælianus* in *Gaul*, found the Necessity of employing his Arms against *Illyricum*, where the Danger encreased daily. He left the Command against the *Gauls* to his Generals, and marched himself against the *Goths* and *Heruli*. He defeated them near the City of *Naissus* in *Moësia*: But seems, notwithstanding this Victory, to have offered them very good Conditions of Peace; for *Naulobatus*, the General of the *Heruli*, subjected himself to him, but received in Return, among other Honours, that of the Consulship (4). Of those *Heruli*, who then surrendered to the *Romans*, the Militia that was afterwards mentioned among the foreign Nations, who served in the *Roman Wars*, seems to have consisted.

(2) SYNCELLUS, p. 382. D. Eodem tempore Æruli, 500 navibus vecti, Mæotide palude trajecta, in Pontum feruntur, & Byzantium, Chrysopolimque occupant. Ibi, confertis manibus, nonnihil retro cedere coacti ad fauces usque Ponti Euxini, Hieron vulgo nuncupatas: postero vero die prosperis venti flatibus ad Cyzici, Bithyniæ insignis civitatis, fretum primum exscendunt, Lemnum deinde, & Scyrum insulas depopulantur: tum in Atticam facta irruptione, Athenas, Corinthum, Spartam, Argos, Achiamque universam, incendio & vastitate fœdant: Zosimus mentions this Expedition very briefly, L. 1. c. 39. Quum autem Scythæ Græciam gravissimis damnis adfecissent, ipsis etiam Athenis expugnatis, Gallienus manum cum eis, ad Thraciam usque jam progressis, conferturus accessit.

(3) SYNCELLUS, p. 382. D. Donec positis per loca difficiliora insidiis, auxiliisque a

Gallieno missis, plurimos eorum Athenienses occiderunt: & ad Nessum alios ter mille prostraverunt. Tillemont supposes the River Nessus in Thrace to be here meant, but it may be better understood of the City Naissus in Upper-Moësia: where Gallienus, on his March, and the Heruli, as they came out of Epirus, might more easily meet.

(4) Vid. not. 1. & 3. SYNCELLUS, l. c. Sub idem tempus Naulobatus, Ærulorum dux, Gallieno Imperatori deditioe facta, consularis dignitatis honorem accepit. We find after this, that there were Heruli in the Roman Army. This is the Expedition, which some other Roman Historians but very briefly mention, as Victor in Cæs. c. 33. Adeo, ut Thraciam Gothi libere progressi, Macedones, Achæosque & Asiæ finitima occuparent. Eutropius, L. 9. c. 6. Græcia, Macedonia, Pontus, Asia, vastata per Gothos. Orosius, L. 7. c. 42. n. 1.

The

The other *Goths*, being appriz'd of the Overthrow of the *Heruli*, resolved to return over the *Danube*, and the better to execute this Resolution, they covered themselves with a Fence made of their Wag-gons. *Gallienus*, whom a Rebellion recall'd to *Italy*, left the two Generals, *Marcianus* and *Claudius*, to act against them. These were at Variance with one another; for when *Claudius* advised to cut off their Retreat, *Marcianus* suffered them to escape: But both little thought, that this would give *Claudius* Occasion to gain immortal Glory (5).

Claudius obtains a Victory over the Alemanni.

§. XLIV. FOR, *Claudius* the same Year, 268, after the Murder of *Gallienus*, was proclaimed Emperor. He had no sooner subdued *Aureolus* near *Milan*, than he had to do with a Swarm of *Alemanni*, who invaded *Italy*, and were already advanced as far as the *Lago di Gardia* (1); they were either applied to for Assistance by *Aureolus*, who had formerly been Lieutenant in *Rætia*, or else intended to take Advantage of the domestick Broils in *Italy* (2). On Account of this Victory, he was, probably, surnamed *Germanicus*, which Title he bears on his Coins, before that of *Gothicus* (3). Those *Goths*, whom *Marcianus* had suffer'd to escape, contrary to the Advice of *Claudius*, as he foresaw they would, now excited all their Neighbours and Countrymen, that they might, with the greater Force, attempt a fresh Invasion. The *Goths*, together with the *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, *Peucini*, and other *Gothick* Nations, assembled, therefore (4), on the *Niester*,

(5) POLLIO continues in the Passage, quoted not. 1. Quo comperto, Scythæ, facta carragine, per montem Gessacum fugere sunt conati. Omnes inde Scythas Marcianus, varia bellorum fortuna, agitavit: quæ omnes Scythas ad rebellionem excitarunt. Here seems to be something wanting, if we compare it with this Passage of the Life of Claudius: Nam, ut superius diximus, illi Gothi, qui evaserant eo tempore, quo illos Marcianus est persecutus, quosque Clodius emitti non sinerat, ne quid fieret, quod effectum est, omnes gentes suorum ad Romanas incitaverant prædas.

§. XLIV. (1) AURELIUS VICTOR EPIT. c. 34. Adversum aciem Alemannorum, haud procul a lacu Benaco dimicans, tantam multitudinem fudit, ut ægre pars dimidia superfuerit. TILLEM. images p. 1007. that of this Engagement, is to be understood the Passage

of Vosicus, in Aurelian c. 17. Equites sane omnes, ante Imperium sub Claudio Aurelianus gubernavit, quum offensam magistri eorum incurissent, quod temere, Claudio non jubente, pugnassent. Item Aurelianus contra Suevos, & Sarmatas, iisdem temporibus vehementissime dimicavit, ac florentissimam victoriam retulit.

(2) See the Medals with the Reverse:

VICTORIA GERMANICA

in BANDURI p. 350, 351.

(3) V. BANDURI l. c. p. 332.

(4) POLLIO in Claudio, c. 6. Denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peucini, Trutungi, Austrogothi, Virtingui, Sigipedes, Celtæ etiam, & Heruli, prædæ cupiditate in Romanum solum, & Rempublicam venerunt, atque illic pleraque vastarunt, dum aliis occupatus est Claudius. Salmasius supposes ad h. l. that these Trutungi, the Grutungi in Ammian.

Nieſter (5), and there equipp'd a numerous Fleet (6). What Experience they wanted, in Naval Architecture, was ſupplied by thoſe Captives, who were ſkill'd in it. Their firſt Attempt was made on *Tomos*, on the Coaſt of the *Pontus Euxinus*, not far from the Mouth of the *Danube*, a City noted in Hiſtory for being the Place of *Ovid's* Exile: But they were defeated here, as well as near *Marcianopolis*, which lies on the ſame Coaſts: They ſailed afterwards farther, paſſed the *Helleſpont* and turned towards *Greece*. They repaired their Fleet at the Foot of Mount *Athos*, and then ſeparated. One Party beſieged *Caffandria* and *Theſſalonica*, in *Macedonia*, but could not take them, notwithstanding that they were pretty well provided with all Things requiſite for a Siege. Another Party plunder'd the Coaſts of *Greece* (7), and ſome went as far as the Iſlands of *Crete* and *Cyprus* (8); but they could not take any Cities (9) there, becauſe the Fortreſſes were every where put in a good State of Defence. This was owing to *Gallienus's* Precaution, who had ſent *Cleodamus* and *Athenæus*, two eminent military Architects, Natives of *Byzantium*, to fortify every City in the beſt Manner poſſible. And when they came to an Engagement at Sea, they were as great Novices, and equally as unfortunate as in their Sieges.

The Goths
ſail from the
Nieſter into
the Black-
Sea.

Ammian. Marcell. L. 27. and the Pruthingi, in Zofimus, were one Nation. That the Virthungii were the Vithungi, whom Sidonius Apollinaris mentions, and the ſame with the Juthungi. Inſtead of Celtæ he reads Celetæ, which Nation dwelt in Thrace, about the Mountains of Rhodope and Hæmus. Whoever approves of this Conjecture, muſt pre-ſuppoſe, that the Celetæ did not join the Goths, till they had penetrated into Thrace.

(5) *ZOSIMUS, L. I. c. 41. D. Hoc tempore, quotquot erant Scythæ ſuperſtites, animis propter expeditiones hætenus ſuſceptas elati, adjunctis ſibi Herulis, Peucis & Gothiſ; collectique propter Tyram, fluvium in Pontum ſe exonerantem, ſexies mille navibus ædificatis, ac trecentis & viginti millibus hominum in eas impositis, navigatione per Pontum inſtituta, Tomis, munito mœnibus oppido tentato, rejeſti ſunt, &c.*

(6) *POLLIO ſays, 2000 Ships. ZOSIMUS, even 6000.*

(7) *ZOSIMUS, l. c. Progreſſi vero & Marcianopolim, Myſiæ civitatem, delati, & ne illa quidem potiti, vento uſi proſpero, navigabant ulterius. Ubi Propontidis anguſtias adtigſſent, quod multitudo navium celeritatem fluxus ferre non poſſet; naves inter*

ſe collidebantur, & nullo ferebantur ordine lembi, gubernatoribus clavos dimittentibus; ita quidem, ut partim demergerentur, partim cum hominibus ipſiſ, partim hominum vacuæ, littoribus adpellerent, magna tum hominum, tum navigiorum multitudine, pereunte. Propter hanc cauſam a Propontidis anguſtiis Barbari recedebant, Cyzicum verſus navigantes. Quumque rebus inſectis inde dilapſi fuiſſent, ac propter Helleſpontum navigatione directæ, & ad montem Atho delati, naves ibi ſuas refeciſſent; Caffandriam & Theſſalonicam obſidebant, machiniſque mœnibus admotis, parum aberat, quin eas caperent, &c.

(8) *TREBEL. POLLIO in Claud. c. 12. Fu-erunt per ea tempora & apud Cretam, Scythæ, & Cyprum vaſtare tentarunt. Sed ubique, morbo exercitu laborante, ſuperati ſunt.*

(9) *But Zonaras writes, nevertheleſs, p. 239. l. c. that they beſieged Athens. He relates, in particular, that they laid all the Books, which they met with in the Town, upon one Pile, and were about to burn them: But that one of their Leaders adviſed them to ſuffer the Grecians to enjoy their learned Paſtime, by which they were diverted from the Exerciſe of Arms.*

*Claudius
beats the
Goths.*

§. XLV. *CLAUDIUS* sent his Brother *Quintillus* to *Illyricam*, and entrusted the Command of the whole Army there, and in *Thrace*, to *Aurelianus*, 'till he could follow himself (1). The *Goths*, who had besieged *Thessalonica* and *Cassandra*, raised the Sieges, so soon as they heard of his March, and going by Land, along the River *Axmo*, turned, near the City of *Dabarus*, towards *Moësia*. A Body of *Dalmatian* Cavalry fell upon them by the Way, on which Occasion they lost 3000 Men. In *Moësia*, they found the Emperor at the Head of the grand Army, near *Naissus*. A Battle then ensued, in which they fought so bravely, that the *Romans* were forced to retreat; but the latter took a round-about Way, which every Body thought impossible for an Army, and fell so unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, that it was rather a Slaughter than a Battle. The *Goths* thereupon formed their usual Fence of Waggon, to keep the *Romans* from pursuing them, and thought to retreat into *Macedonia*: But the *Roman* Cavalry cut them off from all the Passes, and obliged them to fly towards Mount *Hemus*, where they had before taken Refuge. The *Romans* had here likewise taken Possession of all the Passes, which soon caused a Want of Provisions among them, for Men and Cattle, and was followed by contagious Diseases. Notwithstanding these Distempers likewise infected the *Roman* Army, and the *Goths*, in the Battle which ensued, made a vigorous Resistance: And tho' *Zenobia* made herself Mistress of *Egypt*, and the City of *Autun*, in *Gaul*, implored the Emperor's Assistance against *Tetricus* (2), he could not be prevailed on to leave the *Goths*, whom he pursued, 'till they offer'd to capitulate (3). Many Persons of Distinction were forced to surrender Prisoners. The common People were partly intermix'd with the Army, and partly sent here and there into desert Places, to cultivate them. The *Goths* had, in the mean while, lost their Fleet in the *Archipelagus*, in Engagements with the *Romans* and *Athenians*. A Swarm of them remained nevertheless in *Thrace*, which were extirpated after *Claudius*'s Death. Thus *Claudius* obtained the Surname of *Gothicus*, which he bore upon Medals and other Monuments (4), more deservedly,

§. XLV. (1) *Vopiscus in Aurel. c. 16.* Illud constat, omne contra Mœotidas bellum, divum Claudium nulli magis, quam Aureliano, credidisse.

(2) *Conf. TILLEMONT. p. 1015.*

(3) *Epist. Claudii apud TREBELL. POLLIONEM, c. 8.* Claudius Broccho. Delevimus trecenta viginti millia Gothorum, duo millia navium merfimus. Tecta sunt flumina scutis; spathis & lanceolis omnia littora operiuntur. Campi ossibus latent tecti: nul-

lum iter purum est; ingens carrago deferata est. Tantum mulierum cepimus, ut binas & ternas mulieres victor sibi miles possit adjungere.

(4) *BANDURI, p. 352. VICT. GOTHICAE.*

Idem. ibid. VICT. GOTHICA.

Conf. Inscript. ap. Reinesium III. 42. p. 318.

DIVO. CLAUDIO. GOTHICO.
MAXIMO. PIO. FELICI. VICTORI. AC.
TRIVMPH. SEMPER. AVGVSTO.

than

than perhaps any of his Predecessors. As, moreover, his Surname was derived from the *Goths*, so likewise he bore the Name of *Flavius*, in Honour of the House of the *Flavii* (5); and the Emperors of *Constantine's* Offspring, who were Descendants of *Claudius's* Sister, transmitted it to their Posterity (6), whence it devolv'd to several *German Princes*.

§. XLVI. BUT *Claudius* did not enjoy the Fruits of his Victory. A Remnant of those, The Sickness, which had greatly contributed to the Conquest of the *Goths*, turned to a Plague, which raged more and more, and reach'd the Emperor himself †, who died of it at *Sirmium*. His Brother, *Quintillus* ††, who was in *Italy*, assumed indeed the Imperial Title, but had scarce enjoyed it twenty Days, when he was murder'd by the Soldiers, at *Aquileia*; or, as others write, when he heard that *Aurelianus* was proclaimed Emperor, by the Army in *Illyricum*, where the greatest Power of the *Roman Empire* was then together, he order'd his Veins to be opened. It is nevertheless observed, as an Occurrence of his short Reign, that the Swarm of *Goths*, which remained in *Thrace*, and had attempted the Sieges of *Anchialus* and *Nicopolis*, were extirpated by the Inhabitants of the Country (1). *Jornandes*, by whom we might expect the most Circumstances, goes over all these *Gothick* Irruptions very briefly; we may, however, perceive, by his Relation, that it was not the whole Nation of the *Goths*, but only an Army composed of their young Men, who made these Incursions (2).

F f 2

§. XLVII.

(5) POLLIO, c. 3. Ille velut futurorum memor, gentes Flavias, quæ Vespasiani & Titi, nolo autem dicere Domitiani, fuerant, propagavit.

(6) Conf. SALMASIUS ad POLLIONIS in Claudio, c. 7.

§. XLVI. † c. m. Apr. 270.

†† M. AURELIUS QUINTILLUS.

(1) POLLIO, l. c. c. 12. Sub hoc (scil. Quintillo) Barbari, qui superfuerant, Anchialo vastata, conati sunt Nicopolin obtinere. Sed illi provincialium virtute obruti sunt.

(2) JORNANDES, L. c. cap. 20. Hoc (scil. Gallieno) in omni lascivia resolutus, Respa, & Veduco, Thurovaroque, duces Gothorum, sumptis navibus, Asiam transiere, fretum Helleponticum transvecti: ubi multis ejus provincie civitatibus populatis, opinatissimum illud Ephesi Dianæ templum, quod

dudum dixeramus Amazonas condidisse, igne succidunt: partibus Bithyniæ delati, Chalcedoniam subvertere, quam post Cornelius Avitus aliqua parte reparavit. Quæ hodieque, quamvis regie urbis vicinitate congaudeat, signa tamen suarum ruinarum aliquanta ad indicium retinet posteritatis. Hac ergo felicitate Gothi, qua intravere partibus Asiæ, præda, spoliisque potiti, Helleponticum fretum retrasmearant, vastantes in itinere suo Trojam, Iliumque, quæ vix a bello illo Agamemnoniaco aliquantulum respirantes, rursus hostili mucrone deletæ sunt. Post Asiæ ergo tale excidium, Thracia eorum experta est feritatem. Nam ibi, ad radices Hemi montis, mari vicinam, Anchialos civitatem aggressi, mox adeunt urbem, quam dudum Sardanapalus Rex Parthorum inter limbum maris, & Hemi radices,

The *Ale-*
manni invade
the Roman
Provinces.
Aurelian de-
feats the
Juthungi.

§. XLVII. *AURELIAN* had scarce taken Possession of the Throne, at *Rome*, when he found his Return to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Pannonia*, requisite, to oppose the Irruptions of the *Goths* and other *Scythæ*. He commanded all the Cattle, Corn, and all other Provisions, to be brought into the fortified Places, that the Want of them might force the Enemy to retreat the sooner: But an Action ensued, in which both Sides behaved gallantly, till Night separated them. The Enemy hereupon passed the River, and sued for Peace (1). This was a Balk to the *Alemanni*, who had, at the same Time, prepared, with a large Swarm of other neighbouring Nations, for an Expedition against *Italy*. From the Sequel it will appear probable, that the *Juthungi*, *Marcomanni*, and *Vandals*, were in this Alliance with the *Alemanni*; and sometimes comprehended under that Name. The Emperor left as many Troops behind him, as were requisite to cover *Pannonia*, and hasten'd to encounter the *Alemanni*, against whom he fought a successful Battle, when they were not far distant from the *Danube* (2). To the History of this War, must probably be referred that Fragment of *Dexippus's* History, which contains the Treaty between the Emperor and the *Juthungi*, a powerful Nation, noted for the Number of their Horse, after they had suffered a severe Defeat (3). The *Juthungi* are since that frequently mentioned in History, and their Irruptions into *Rætia* are particularly observed.

§. XLVIII.

ces, locasset. Ibi enim multis feruntur mansisse diebus, calidarum aquarum delectati lavacris, quæ a quintodecimo milliario Anchialitanæ civitatis sunt siæ, ab imo sui fontis igni scaturientes, & inter reliqua totius mundi thermarum innumerabilium loca, omnino præcipue ad sanitatem infirmorum efficacissimæ. Exinde ergo ad proprias sedes regressi.

§. XLVII. (1) *ZOSIMUS*, L. I. c. 48. *Aurelianus* autem, confirmato Imperio, quum *Roma* movisset, *Aquileiam* contendit, & inde *Pannonicas* ad nationes excessit, quas a *Scythis* invadi cognoverat. Quumque misisset ad eos exploratores, qui nunciarent, ut annonas & jumenta, & quicquid aliud hostibus usui futurum esset, in oppida convehent: hac ratione famem, quæ hostes urgebat, augere cogitabat. Posteaquam *Barbari*, flumen transjecissent, & in *Pannonia* prælio ancipiti dimicatum esset; nox interveniens victoriam utrisque dubiam reddidit.

Eadem nocte *Barbari*, transmissio flumine, simul ac illuxisset, de pace, legatis missis, agebant. *Zosimus* mentions only the *Scythæ*; but *Tillemont* understands by that Name particularly the *Goths*. This Conjecture is likewise confirmed by the Inscription, the like of which one is mentioned below, §. 49, where, by his Name, the Title of *Gothicus Maximus* precedes that of *Germanicus Maximus*.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. I. c. 49. Imperator intellecto; *Alamannos*, cum remotioribus & finitimis sibi nationibus, *Italiam* incursionibus vexare decrevisse; non abs re de *Roma*, vicinisque urbe locis, magis sollicitus, satis magno *Pannoniæ* relicto præsidio, versus *Italiam* perrexit: & in extremis ad *Istrum* partibus conferto prælio, multa *Barbarorum* millia delevit. This is perhaps the same Engagement mentioned in the following Note.

(3) Fragmentum ex *Dexippo* in *Excerpt. de legation*, p. 7. Imperator *Aurelianus*, omnibus viribus *Juthungos* *Scythas* devicit, & in

§. XLVIII. THE Irruption of the *Marcomanni*, described by *Vopiscus*, can likewise be no where more properly inserted, than in the Relation of this War; for they fell, by the Way of *Noricum*, into *Italy*, and made their Incursions as far as *Milan*, without Obstruction, at a Time, when *Aurelian* was employed against the *Vandals*. *Rome* trembled at being thus exposed and defenceless; and had Reason

His War
with the
Marcomanni.

in ulteriorem Istri ripam transgressus, cum multos in fuga interemisset, reliqui bellum fœdere finire voluerunt, & legatos miserunt. Neque vero visum est de pace cum eis disceptationem institui oportere. Pauci enim admodum restabant, & a recenti victoria valde perculsi, & prostrati, neque dum, quia hostes ex omni parte eos circumstabant, a metu liberi. Maxime, ut pecunias a Romanis acciperent, quæ superioribus annis illis pendere solebant. Dexippus, afterwards, not only gives us the Speeches of the Ambassadors, but, likewise the Emperor's Answer; where the Juthungi, among other Things, boast of their Power. Etenim multæ nobis adhuc suppetunt ad bellum gerendum facultates, sive multitudine militum, sive viribus opus est. Nam &, minima nostri parte, urbes ad Istrum sitas invadentes, parum absuit, quin omnem Italiam ceperimus. Trecenta equitum millia in pugnam educimus, quæ non ex convenis, aut imbecilibus, sed ex Juthungis pure constant, quos equestri prælio præstare pure frequens fama est. Neque aliorum inter hos commixtionibus, sed scuto, duplo majore cæteris equestribus copiis, adversum quicquid est in vestro exercitu roboris, quod nobiscum decertat, nos tuemur, & tegimus. And, moreover, of the good Offices they had done to the Romans. Equidem, ante bellum exortum, non admodum crebras incursiones facientes, prædas egimus, necessarias res comparare, qua occasio tulit, studentes, cæteroqui ad pugnam initam usque, in ocio & quiete tempus contrivimus: nisi, quando hostes vestri in vos irruerunt, contra ipsos, una cum vestro exercitu, in acie stetimus. Quod & adhuc facere parati sumus, ut vestrum periculum levemus hostro, & tutius vobis sit, etiamsi maximæ copię contra vos convenerint.

Nulla etenim alia manus par nobis, in conferenda pugna censebitur. Aurelianus, on the other Hand, boasts, in his Answer, of the Glory of the Romans, in the Overthrow of the Goths. Manifestissimis indiciis & testimoniis, in Scytharum mala intuentes, nota testateque dicemus. Illi exercitu trecentorum millium hominum, ab utraque parte ripæ expositorum, pugnantes, omnibus viribus sunt a nobis deleti, & superati. Cujus nostræ virtutis, clara victoribus relicta sunt monumenta, ex quibus immortalem nobis gloriam, & nunc, & sequenti tempore, peperimus. Cum enim præpropere impetu ad ripas, furore præcipites, in certamina ruissent, eorum temerariam, & inconsultam ad aggrediendum irruptionem, celerior brevi post pœnitentia est consecuta. Towards the Conclusion he threatens the Juthungi. Cum sitis undique reditu in vestras domos interclusi, & quasi intra portas redacti, voluntatem nostram erga vos, quacunque, sive bona sive mala sumus affecti, tolerare & æqui bonique consulere oportet. His ab Imperatore dictis, Juthungi valde sunt consternati, cumque minime negotium, ut speraverant, conficissent, sed omnino fœderis repulsam tulissent, ad sua redierunt.

(4) In order to collect whatever can illustrate the History of the ancient German Nations, I shall here add P. Banduri's Conjecture of the Juthungi, l. c. p. 234. Illud quoque non inutile fuerit monere, quos ZOSIMUS, VOPISCUS, cæterique autores Marcomannos, cum in Gallieno, tum etiam in Aureliano, vocant; hos utrobique Juthungos Scythas a DEXIPPO, horum temporum scriptore, appellatos fuisse. Sed id factum putamus, quod, cum duæ diversissimæ gentes, quarum una Germaniæ tractum, qui Rætiæ propior est, altera Scythicas paludes olim incoluerat, in unam

Reason to fear the same Fate, which befel her in *Gallienus's* Reign (1). The *Sibylline* Books were first to be consulted, and *Aurelian* himself placed so great a Confidence in them, if the Edict, mentioned by *Vopiscus*, be genuine, that he reproached the Senat with having delayed it so long, as if they were an Assembly of *Christians*; and offered to furnish as many Captives, for the Sacrifices, as might be required: For the Idolatry of the *Romans* was intermixed with so much Cruelty, that human Victims, tho' prohibited by *Adrian*, were still retained in Use. Fear now raised their Superstition to such a Height, that they imagined they might put a Stop to the Progress of the Enemy by Magick Arts. The Predictions of the *Sibyls* were consulted, and met with Credit, the Sacrifices there prescribed were prepared, and they attempted, by depositing certain Things under Ground; and by other Conjurations, to enchant certain Places, that the Enemy should not be able to pass them. But it does not appear plainly from *Vopiscus*, whether the Overthrow of the *Romans* near *Piacenza*, happened before or afterwards. *Vopiscus* at once forgot the Valour of his Hero, when he writes, that the *Romans* could not, without a Miracle, have escaped the Fury of the *Germans*, had not their Deities confounded them by Visions and delusive Prodigies (2). According to another Historian, the *Germans* penetrated

unam deinde coaluissent, concedentibus in ditionem imperiumque Scytharum Germanis, vetustum regionis nomen VOPISCUS, ac cæteri retinuerunt, DEXIPPUS contra accuratissimam scribendi rationem sectatus, genuinum ejus gentis nomen posteritati propagandum duxit, quæ tot clades Romano Imperio ipsius ætate intulisset. But the Juthungi, as well as the Marcomanni, will be farther mentioned below, where it will appear, that they were a German Nation.

6. XLVIII. (1) FLAV. VOPISCUS in vit. Aurel. c. 18. Accepta est sane clades sub Aureliano, a Marcomannis, per errorem. Nam dum is a fronte non curat occurrere subito erumpentibus, dumque illos a dorso persequi parat, omnia circa Mediolanum graviter evastata sunt, postea tamen ipsi quoque Marcomanni superati sunt. In illo autem timore, quo Marcomanni cuncta vastabant, ingentes Romæ seditiones motæ sunt, paventibus cunctis, ne eadem, quæ sub Gallieno fuerant, provenirent. Quare etiam libri Sibyllini, noti beneficiis publicis, inspecti sunt; inventumque, ut in certis locis

sacrificia fierent, quæ Barbari transire non possent.

(2) IDEM, l. c. c. 21. Quum autem Aurelianus vellet omnibus simul, facta exercitus sui constipatione, concurrere, tanta apud Placentiam clades accepta est, ut Romanum pæne solveretur Imperium. Et causa quidem hujus periculi perfidia & calliditas Barbarici fuit motus. Nam cum congregi aperto Marte non possent, in silvas se densissimas contulerunt; atque ita nostros, vespera incumbente, turbarunt. Denique nisi divina ope, post inspectionem librorum, sacrificiorumque curas, monstris quibusdam, speciebusque divinis impliciti essent Barbari, Romana victoria non fuisset. Finitimo prælio Marcomannico, Aurelianus, ut erat natura ferocior, plenus irarum Romam petit. Whatever else is, by Historians, attributed to the Marcomanni, seems to be ascribed by Aurel. Victor. in Cæs. c. 35. to the Alemanni, when he says: Italiam repetivit, cujus urbes Alamannorum vexationibus affligebantur.

as far as the River *Metaurus* in *Umbria*, and *Aurelianus* fought successfully with them at *Fanum*, *Piacenza*, and the Plain of *Pavia* (3).

§. XLIX. We find likewise, that *Aurelian* subdued the *Van-* And with
dals out of *Italy*; but no particular Time is assign'd to this War. the *Vandals*.
The *Vandals* sued for Peace; and the *Roman* Soldiers were eager to
return to *Italy*, that they might enjoy the Fruits of their Victory.
Aurelian permitted the *Vandals* to traffick in certain Cities on the
Danube: And they, on their Side, were obliged to furnish the Em-
peror 2000 Horsemen; and their Kings and Princes to leave a certain
Number of their Children and Relations, as Hostages. *Aurelian*
hasten'd, hereupon, to *Italy*, where the *Futhungi* had made a fresh
Invasion (1), of which no Circumstances are mentioned in History.
These Victories over the *German* Nations, occasioned him to be
furnamed

(3) AUREL. VICTOR. *Epit. in Aurel. c. 35.*
Iste in Italia tribus præliis victor fuit, apud
Placentiam, juxta amnem Metaurum, ac
Fanum fortunæ, postremo Ticinensibus in
campis. The *Action near Piacenza must,*
therefore, be distinguished from that, mentioned
by Vopiscus: or Aurel. Victor. is mistaken in
ascribing to the Romans the Victory, when they
were vanquished. This ancient Inscription, men-
tioned by Gruterus CCLXXVI. n. 3. was
intended in Honour to the Victory of Fanum:

VICTORIAE
AETERNAE
AVRELIANI
AVG. N.
RESPUBLIC. PIS.
CVRAM AGEN.
C. IVLIO PRISCIANO
V. E. DVCEN. CVR. R. P.
PISAVR. ET. FAN. PP. M.

This is, perhaps, the same Victory, to which the
Medal with the Reverse, VICTORIA GERM.
refers: apud Bandurium, l. c. p. 384. (3)

§. XLIX. (1) Exc. DEXIPPI, p. 12. Sub
Aureliano *Vandali* omnibus copiis sunt a
Romanis superati. Itaque legationem ad
Romanos decreverunt, quæ de bello, paci-
ficatione finiando, ageret. Et cum multa
inter se Imperator, & Barbari differuissent,
solutum est colloquium. Postridie multi-
tudo militum *Romanorum* rursus convenit:

& cum eos Imperator interrogasset, quid il-
lis videretur de populis, qui copiam sui illis
faciebant; cum statuerent præsentem pro-
speritatem tueri, & rerum quibus potiebant-
tur, fruitioni prospici oportere, de ea re in
sententiam finiendi belli iverunt, eoque uno
consensu sunt delati. Itaque Barbarorum
reges, & principes venerunt, & ut illis erat
præceptum, ex suis obsides, qui non in se-
cundis partibus fortunæ & dignitatis, hære-
bant, dederunt. Utrique enim, reges, &
proximi dignitate una cum ipsis, sine mora
filios suos pro obsidibus tradiderunt. Post
hæc ad Pacta, & conventiones ventum est,
& fœdera sunt inita: *Vandali* *Romanis* bis
mille equites auxilarios ex fœdere suppedita-
bant, quorum nonnulli, ex tota exercitus
multitudine delecti, & in belli societatem
adscripti, alii spontaneam militiam subeun-
tes, nomina dederunt. Reliquus *Vandalo-*
rum exercitus, salvus & incolumis conser-
vatus, *Romanorum* Imperatore, mercatum
ad *Istrum* præbente, domum est reportatus.
Sed quicumque ab exercitu, violatis fœderi-
bus, ad prædandum & rapinas faciendas,
longius excefferunt, omnes a duce extera-
rum copiarum (erant autem non minus quam
quingenti) sunt cæsi, & perempti. Hi enim
specie amicitiae, fiducia pacis cum *Romanis*
factæ elati, nullo servato ordine, venia a
suo duce impetrata, in repentinas quasdam
incurfiones eruperant, & non pauca regio-
num loca, qua iter habuerant vastaverant
& damni

surnamed *Germanicus Maximus* in some Inscriptions (2), one of which I shall here insert:

IMP. CÆS. L. DOMITIO.
AURELIANO. PIO. FELICI.
INVICTO. AUG. PONTIF. MAXIMO.
GOTHICO. MAX. GERMANICO. MAX.
TRIB. POT. V. COS. DESIG. III. IMP. III.
P. P. PRO. CONS. RESTITUTORI. ORBIS.
INVICTISSIMO. ET. VICTORIOSISSIMO.
PRINCIPI.
FURIUS. ORFITUS. V. C. PRAEF. URB.
DEVOTUS. NUMINI. MAJESTATIQUE. EJUS.
DEDIC. KAL. FEBR.
AURELIANO. AUG. III.
ET. MARCELLINO. COS.

But the Danger, which *Rome* had been in, induced *Aurelian*, when he afterwards came thither, to cause the City to be surrounded with new Walls, that it might be at least able to stand the first Attack: The Works begun under him, were entirely finished by his Successors (3).

*Aurelian's
Exploits a-
gainst the
Goths and
Sarmatæ.*

§. L. *AURELIAN* set out, in the Year 272, for the *East*. He had, by the Way, several successful Actions with the *Gothick* and *Sarmatian* Nations, whereby he obtained the Renown of having

& damni affecerant. At ille, qui tantum facinus admisit, est ab eorum rege jaculis confectus. Reliqui Vandalorum, ab invicem separati, domos suas repetierunt. Romanorum vero Imperator, præmissa majore parte suarum copiarum, sive pedestrium, sive equestrium, non longo post est eas subsequutus intervallo, & secum cohortem auxiliariorum retinens, omnes hastatos, qui ejus custodiam agebant, una cum Vandalis, quotquot illi auxiliarii aderant, & nobilibus, qui illi obsides dati erant, magna celeritate in Italiam contendit, in quam Juthungi denuo irruperunt. This Peace with the Vandals is likewise mentioned in the *Excerpta*, ex *historia* Petri Patricii & Magistri, p. 25. Vandali victi, miserunt legationem ad Aurelianum, pacem poscentes. Aurelia-

nus lubenti animo eos excepit, & pactione pacis cum ipsis facta, abierunt.

(2) *V. Inscriptiones apud Gruterum* 276, & *P. Pandurium*, l. c. p. 367.

(3) *Vopiscus*, c. 21. His actis, quum videret, posse fieri, ut aliquid tale iterum, quale sub Gallieno evenerat, proveniret, adhibito consilio Senatus, muros urbis Romæ dilatavit. Nec tamen promærio addidit eo tempore, sed postea. *Aur. Victor ep. l. c.* Ac ne umquam, quæ per Gallienum evenerant, acciderent, muris urbem quam validissimis, laxiore ambitu, circumsepfit. *Zosimus* is not very accurate, when, imagining, that *Rome* had before no Walls, he writes: Tunc & *Roma* muris cincta est, quibus antea carebat, eaque res ab Aureliano cœpta, Probo imperante perfecta fuit.

restored

restored *Illyricum* and *Thrace* to the Empire. It is observed in particular, that he passed the *Danube*, in Quest of the *Goths*, and slew a *Gothick* Duke, named *Cannabaudes*, with 5000 Men (1): On which Occasion, he seems to have taken those Captives, and that Booty, which afterwards made Part of his Triumph (2). He went thereupon from *Byzantium* over to *Asia*, where he had the Fortune to vanquish *Zenobia*, and take her Prisoner. On his Return, he again met with the *Carpi*, and repulsed them. The Senat, for this Success, offered him the Surname of *Carpicus*, but he refused it (3). About this Time,

§. L. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, extols, L. 31. c. 6. p. 483. Aurelian's *Victories over the Goths*. Duobus navium millibus per rupto Bosporo, & litoribus Propontidis, Scythicarum gentium catervæ, transgressæ, ediderunt quidem acerbas terra, marique strages: sed, amissa suorum parte maxima, reverterunt. Ceciderunt dimicando cum Barbaris Imperatores Decii, pater & filius. Obfessæ Pamphyliæ civitates, insulæ populatæ complures, inflammata Macedonia: omnis diu multitudo Theffalonicam circumfedit, itidemque Cyzicum. Anchialos capta, & tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam, indicium victoriæ contra Dacos, Trajanus condidit Imperator. Post clades acceptas, illatasque multas & sævas, excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum millibus, (nisi fingunt annales) intra Mœnia jugulatis. Vagati per Epirum, Theffaloniamque, & omnem Græciam, licentius hostes externi: sed assumpto in Imperium Claudio, glorioso ductore, & eodem honesta morte prærepto, per Aurelium, acrem virum, & severissimum noxarum ultorem, pulsî, per longa sæcula silverunt immobiles: nisi quod postea latrociniales giobi vicina cum sui exitio rarius incursabant.

(2) VOPISCUS, c. 22. Transactis igitur, quæ ad septiones, atque urbis statum & civilia partinebant, contra Palmyrenos, id est, contra Zenobiam, quæ, filiorum nomine, Orientale tenebat Imperium, iter flexit. Multa in itinere ac magna bellorum genera confecit. Nam in Thraciis & in Illyrico, occurrentes Barbaros vicit: Gothorum quin etiam ducem, Cannabam, sive Cannabaudem, cum quinque millibus hominum, trans Danubium interemit: IDEM c. 33. Non ab re est cognoscere, qui fuerit Aureliani triumphus. Fuit enim speciosissimus. Currus re-

gii tres fuerunt: in his unus Odenati, argento, auro, & gemmis, operosus atque distinctus: alter quem Rex Persarum Aureliano dono dedit, ipse quoque pari opere fabricatus: tertius, quem sibi Zenobia composuerat, sperans, se urbem Romanam cum eo visuram: quod illam non fefellit, nam cum eo urbem ingressa est, victa, & triumphata. Fuit alius currus, quatuor cervis junctus, qui fuisse dicitur regis Gothorum; quo, ut multi memoriæ tradiderunt, Capitolium Aurelianus invecus est, ut illic cæderet cervos, quos, cum eodem curru captos, vovisse Jovi Opt. Max. ferebatur. Præcesserunt Elephantis viginti, feræ mansuetæ Libycæ, Palestinæ diversæ ducentæ: quas statim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiscum annonis gravaret: Tigrides quatuor: Camelopardali, alces, cætera talia per ordinem ducta: gladiatorum paria octingenta, præter captivos gentium Barbararum, Blemyes, Axomitæ, Arabes, Eudæmones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persæ, cum suis quisque muneribus: Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatæ, Franci, Suevi, Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus captivi præcesserunt. inter hos etiam Palmyreni, qui superfuertant Principes civitatis, & Ægyptii, ob rebellionem &c.

(3) VOPISCUS, c. 30. Placato igitur Oriente, in Europam Aurelianus rediit victor, atque illic Carporum copias afflixit: & quum illum Carpicum Senatus absentem vocasset, mandasse illico fertur: super est P. C. ut me etiam Carpiculum vocetis. Carpiculum enim genus calciamenti esse, satis notum est, quod cognomen deforme videbatur: quum & Gothicus, & Sarmaticus, & Armeniacus, & Parthicus, & Adiabenicus diceretur. *Ad quem locum v. not. Is. Ca. sauboni.*

moreover, he seems to have brought a Party of the *Carpi* over the *Danube*, and dispersed them in the *Roman Provinces*, as a *Roman Historian* relates of him (4).

Aurelian
beats the
Germans out
of *Gaul*: His
Triumph.

§. LI. *AURELIAN* resolved, hereupon, to re-unite those *Western Countries*, which *Posthumus* had torn from the Rest of the *Roman Provinces*, and fell upon *Tetricus*. The latter found it very difficult to curb the Insolence of an Army, which thought the Empire was in their Power (1); and a certain *Faustinus* having, at the same Time, rebelled against him, he thought it more adviseable to conclude an advantageous Peace with *Aurelian*, than to venture all for a Title, which another might soon deprive him of, together with his Life (2). But if any previous Agreement was made with *Aurelian*, it must have been done with the utmost Secrecy: For they came actually to Blows, near *Chalons* on the *Marne* (3). But *Tetricus* went immediately over to *Aurelian*, and gave his terrified Army, a Prey to his Legions, whereby he not only reveng'd their intended Treachery against him, but likewise quell'd those fresh Comotions, which might have broke out against *Aurelian*. The *German Nations*, who had invaded *Gaul*, were hereupon repelled (4); among these are to be comprehended the *Franks*, who, during these Divisions in the *Roman Empire*, had not only made frequent Irruptions into *Gaul*, but even penetrated as far as *Spain*, and almost surprized the City of *Tarracona* (5). To these Actions we must apply the

(4) *AUREL. VICTOR. in Cæs. c. 39. v. 43. Et interea cæsi Marcomanni, Carporumque natio, translata omnis in nostrum solum, cujus fere pars jam tum ab Aureliano erat.*

§. LI. (1) *POLLIO in Tyrann. c. 23. Cum militum suorum impudentiam & procacitatem ferre non posset.*

(2) *AURELIUS VICTOR. in Cæs. c. 35. Tetricus, cum Faustini præsidis dolo corruptis militibus plerumque peteretur, Aureliani per litteras præsidium imploraverat, eique adventanti, producta ad speciem acie, interpugnam se dedit: ita (ut rectore nullo sollet) turbati ordines oppressi sunt.*

(3) *EUTROPIUS, L. 9. c. 9. Superavit in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos, ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cujus assiduas seditiones ferre non poterat. Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia verba, Vergiliano uteretur:*

Eripe me his invictæ malis.

(4) *AURELIUS VICTOR in Cæs. c. 35. Germanis Gallia demotis.*

(5) *These Incursions render'd the Arms of the Franks very famous. The Year cannot be justly assigned. Aurel. Victor in Cæs. c. 33. reckons them Part of the Miseries, the Empire sustained under Gallienus. Ut Francorum gentes, direpta Gallia, Hispaniam possiderent, vastato ac pene direpto Tarraconensium oppido, nactisque in tempore navigiis, pars in usque Africam permearet. According to Eutropius's Chronological Order, L. 9. c. 6. these Incursions seem to have happened, before Posthumus was proclaimed Emperor in Gaul. Alemanni, vastatis Galliis, in Italiam irruerunt. Germani usque ad Hispanias penetraverunt, & civitatem nobilem Tarraconem expugnaverunt. The Name, Germani, is here taken in a narrow Sense, and signifies the People on the Lower-Rhine, (as has been observ'd above, §. XXV.*

the honourable Mention *Vopiscus* makes, among the Exploits of *Probus*, in *Aurelian's* Reign, of his Valour shewn against the *Franks* (6). Thus were all the Provinces, which were rent from the *Roman* Empire, now re-united to it: And *Rome* celebrated with the greater pleasure the splendid Triumph, *Aurelian*, in Gratitude for so many Victories, was honoured with. Here *Zenobia* and *Tetricus*, with his Son, whom he had before admitted to a Share in the Government, appeared in Person, among other Captives, not only from the *Eastern* Countries, but likewise *Roxolani*, *Alani*, *Sarmatæ*, *Goths*, *Franks*, *Suevi*, *Vandals*, and other *Germans*. Of these, none excited more Admiration than ten *Gothick* Women, who were taken fighting, in the Midst of the Soldiers, and were said to be Descendants of the *Amazons*. *Aurelian* himself was in a Char drawn by four Stags, being Part of the Booty he had taken from a *Gothick* Prince, and he caused the Stags, pursuant to a Vow he had made, to be sacrificed to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, so soon as he came to the *Capitol* (7). But *Tetricus* was afterwards in several considerable Posts of Honour, under *Aurelian*, and his Son became one of the principal Members of the *Senat* (8).

§. XXV. not. 2.) and is, in particular, frequently used to denote the *Franks*. *Orosius* L. 7. c. 22. p. 549. Capto Valeriano, Germani, Alpibus, Rætia, Italiaque, penetrata, Ravennam usque perveniunt. Alemanni, Gallias pervagati, etiam in Italiam transeunt. Germani ultiores abrafa potuntur Hispania. Extant adhuc per diversas provincias in magnarum urbium ruinis parvæ, & pauperes ædes, signa miseriarum, & nominum indicia servantes: ex quibus nos quoque in Hispania *Tarraconem* nostram, ad consolationem miseriarum recentis ostendimus. And when he describes, L. 7. the Devastations, Spain at that Time sustained from the *Vandals*, *Suevi* and *Alani*, &c. he once more mentions these Invasions of the *Franks*, c. 41. Irruptæ sunt Hispaniæ, cædes, vastationesque, passæ sunt. Nihil quidem novum. Hoc enim nunc per biennium illud, quo hostilis gladius sævit, sustinere a Barbaris, quod per ducentos quondam annos passæ fuerunt a Romanis, quod etiam sub Imperatore *Gallieno*, per annos propemodum duodecim, Germanis evertentibus exceperunt. *Valesius* imagines L. 1. rerum

Francicarum, p. 4. that these Expeditions were by Water, and that the *Franks* after having, on the Ocean, infested the Coasts of Gaul and Spain, ventured at last even into the *Mediterranean*, and so came to *Tarracona*. With this agrees the Passage of *Nazarius Panegyricus*, c. 17. *Franci ipsi, præter cæteros truces, quorum vis cum ad bella effervesceret, ultra ipsum Oceanum æstu furoris evecta. Hispaniarum etiam oras armis infestas habuit.* Hence it appears, that the Name and Power of the *Franks* did, about this Time, already flourish on the North Sea, and the Rivers, that discharge themselves into it. We shall, in the next Book, find how they penetrated farther into the Island of *Batavia*.

(6) *VOPISCUS*, in vii. *Probi* c. 12. *Testes Franci, inviis strati paludibus, testes Germani, & Alemanni, longe a Rheni submoti littoribus.*

(7) *VOPISCUS* c. 33. v. præced. §. 50. not. 2.

(8) *VOPISCUS* in *Aurel.* c. 39. *Tetricum triumphatum correctorem Lucaniæ fecit, filio ejus in Senatu manente.*

*Aurelian
drives the
Germans
out of
Rætia.*

§. LII. *AURELIAN* was no less zealous to establish the Power he had acquired; he passed once more over the *Alps*, restored Tranquility to *Vindelicia*, which had again been infested with the Irruptions of the *Germans* (1); and proceeded to *Illyricum*, to prepare for a fresh Expedition against the *Persians*. He found it impracticable to defend the Country on the other Side of the *Danube*, which *Trajan* had reduced to a Province, against the *Goths*, who, from the Time of *Commodus*, had been ever invading it; and as *Illyricum* and *Mœsia* were not the most populous, he resolved to abandon *Dacia*; notwithstanding the great Regard, the *Romans* otherwise had for their Borders, and not only recalled the Soldiers, who were stationed there; but all the Inhabitants in general; and assigned them new Habitations in the Midst of *Mœsia*, on the right Side of the *Danube*. This Country, which made a Part of the present *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was, from that Time, called *Dacia* (2), and afterwards divided into *Dacia Ripensis* and *Mediterranea*: But by the Sequel of the History it appears, that the *Goths* made themselves Masters of Part of the ancient *Dacia*, on the left of the *Danube*, and from thence proved afterwards more troublesome to the *Romans*.

*After Aurelian's Death
several Germans invade
Gaul, and
the Goths
Asia again.*

§. LIII. *AURELIAN* was murder'd on this Journey, and the Army left the Election of a new Emperor to the Senat, who nomi-

§. LXII. (1) *VOPISCUS*, c. 35. His gestis, ad Gallias profectus, Vindelicos obsidione Barbarica liberavit: deinde ad Illyricum rediit. Tillemont reckons, that, on Occasion of this War with the *Alemanni*, the Action near *Vindonissa* happen'd, in which *Constantius*, the Father of *Constantine*, the Great, obtained the Victory, which *Eumenius*, in *Panegy.* VI. mentions in the following Words. Te enim tantum, ille & Imperator in terris, & in cælo Deus, in primo ætatis suæ flore generavit, toto adhuc corpore vicens, illa præditus alacritate, ac fortitudine, qua cum bella plurima, tum præcipue in campis *Vindonis* gerit. This Action must be distinguished from another, which he soon afterwards, c. 6. speaks in Praise of, as follows: Quid commorem *Lingonicam* victoriam, etiam Imperatoris vulnere gloriosam? quid *Vindonis* campos, hostium strage completos, & adhuc ossibus opertos?

(2) *VOPISCUS*, l. c. c. 39. Quum vasta-

tum *Illyricum*, ac *Mœsiam* deperditam, videret, provinciam trans *Danubiam*, *Daciam* a *Traiano* constitutam, sublato exercitu, & provincialibus, reliquit, desperans eam posse retineri: abductosque ex ea populos, in *Mœsiam* collocavit, appellavitque suam *Daciam*, quæ nunc duas *Mœsias* dividit. *Eutropius*, L. 9. c. 9. expresses it thus: Provinciam *Daciam*, quam *Trajanus* ultra *Danubium* fecerat, intermisit, vastato omni *Illyrico*, & *Mœsia*, desperans eam posse retineri. Abductosque *Romanos*, & urbibus & agris *Daciæ*, in *Mœsia* media collocavit, appellavitque eam *Daciam*, quæ nunc duas *Mœsias* dividit, & est dextra *Danubio* in mare fluenti, cum ante fuerit læva. *Aurel. Victor.* in *Cæs.* c. 33. imputes the Loss of *Dacia* to *Gallienus*: Amissa trans *Istrum*, quæ *Trajanus* quæsierat. The *Goths* and their Allies may have been firmly established in *Dacia*, under *Gallienus*; but the Province was not abandoned 'till *Aurelian's* Time.

nated

nated *M. Claudius Tacitus* (1), a Descendant of the famous *Roman* Historian. He found the whole Empire in Disorder: The *Germans*, on the *Rhine*, had scaled the *Roman* Lines, and invaded *Gaul* (2); and, in the *East*, a Swarm passed the *Mæotick-Lake*, came into *Colchis*, and pretended, that *Aurelian* had desired their Assistance against the *Persians*. They extended themselves thro' *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia* and *Cilicia* (3). *Tacitus* went, therefore, himself to *Asia*, and defeated the *Goths*, but left to his Brother *Florianus*, whom he made *Præfectus Prætorii*, the Care of extirpating them. *Zosimus* and *Zonaras* mention here, indeed, only in general the *Scythæ*, under which common Name were included the *German* as well as *Sarmatian* Nations, who dwelt about the *Black-Sea* and the *Mæotick-Lake*: But as we find on *Tacitus's* Coins, the Reverse *VICTORIA GOTHICA* (4), and as he seems himself to have assumed the Surname of *Gothicus* (5), so probably the *Goths* are again in particular to be understood under the Name of *Scythæ*. *Tacitus* died on his Return, or was, as others pretend, murdered by his Soldiers. His Brother *Florianus*, who was then employed, on the Coasts of the *Bosphorus*, to cut off the Retreat off the *Goths*, assumed thereupon the Imperial Dignity: But as the Army in the *East*, and in *Egypt*, had proclaimed *Probus* Emperor, he marched to encounter him. The *Goths* hereby gained an Opportunity of returning Home: But *Florianus* was so unfortunate in his Expedition, that he lost his new-assumed Title, together with his Life.

§. LIII. (1) *The Senat*, who hoped to recover their former Authority, was so elate upon it, that they gave Notice of this Event to the Senators of the principal Cities, and among others, to those of the City of *Triers*. *Vopiscus in Floriano*, c. 5. *Senatus amplissimus Curia Trevirorum. Ut estis liberi, & semper fuistis, lætari vos credimus; creandi Principis judicium ad Senatum redit, simul etiam Præfecturæ Urbanæ appellatio universa decreta est, &c.*

(2) *Velius Cornificius Gordianus Consul in Orat. ap. Vopiscum, in vit. Tacit. c. 3.* *Limitem trans Rhenum Germani rupisse dicuntur, occupasse urbes validas, nobiles, divites, & potentes.*

(3) *VOPISCUS in Tacit. c. 13.* *Quoniam a Mæotide multi Barbari eruperant, hos eisdem consilio atque viribus, ut eo redirent, compulit. Ipsi autem Mæotidæ ita congregabantur, quasi accitu Aureliani ad*

bellum Persicum convenissent, auxilium daturi nostris, si necessitas postularet. Zosimus, L. 1. c. 63. Tacito autem Romanum Imperium consecuto, Scythæ, transjecta palude Mæotide, per Pontum in Ciliciam usque incursionibus omnia vexarunt, quos adgressus, partim debellatos ad inter necionem delevit, partim Floriano, Præfecto Prætorio, debellandos tradidit. Florianus was at War with them, when, after Tacitus's Death, he marched against Probus. Zosimus, L. 1. c. 61. Ambobus ad bellum instructis, Tarsi Florianus veniens, ibidem castra locanda statuit, victoria contra Scythas in Bosphoro semiperfecta relicta, quare factum est, ut jam circumcessis ad sua redeundi copiam concederet.

(4) *VICTORIA GOTHIC: ap. BANDURI, p. 427.*

(5) *GRUTERUS CLXXXII. 5.*

§. LIV.

*Probus drives
the Germans
out of Gaul:
A Battle
ensues with
the Franks,
Lygii, Bur-
gundians and
Vandals.*

§. LIV. *PROBUS* was no sooner in quiet Possession of the Empire, than he set out himself for the Army in *Gaul*: In which War he not only drove the *Germans* again out of the *Roman* Provinces, but likewise visited them in their own Countries. Historians mention only an Action or two of this War. *Zosimus* relates, that *Probus* overcame the *Lygii* in Battle, and took their Prince *Semno* Prisoner, with his Son: But, upon their promising to return all the Booty they had made, and, in a certain Manner, to acknowledge the *Roman* Supremacy, they were released (2). According to the same Historian, the *Roman* Generals defeated the *Franks*, whilst *Probus* was himself employed against the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*. *Probus's* Army was not very numerous; but the Fury of the *Germans* was the Cause of the Success of their Enemies. They were so eager for a Battle, that they passed a River, which separated them from the *Romans* (3), to encounter *Probus*. The latter watched his proper Time, and attacked them, before they were all over, and beat them before they had Time to draw up in Order of Battle. Those, who survived,

§. LIV. (1) *ZOSIMUS*, L. I. c. 67. *Acres etiam pugnas commisit, primum contra Logiones, nationem Germanicam: quibus devictis, quum Semnonem, eorum ducem, cum filio, vivum in potestatem redigisset, supplices factos in fidem recepit; & captivis omnique præda recuperata, quam habebant, certis eos conditionibus dimisit, ipso quoque cum filio, Semnone reddito. Alterum contra Francos prælium pugnavit, quibus opera ducum strenue victis; ipse cum Burgundorum, Vandilorumque copiis dimicavit. Quumque vires suas inferiores videret, partem quandam ab hostibus avellere cogitabat, & cum ea prælio decernere. Qua in re consilio principis fortuna non defuit. Quum enim exercitus utramque fluminis ripam occupassent, Barbaros, in adversa ripa castra metatos, ad pugnam Romani provocabant. Hac illi perciti, quotquot sane poterant, transjiciebant; signisque collatis Barbari partim cædebantur, partim vivi Romanorum in potestatem veniebant. Reliqui, quum pacem ea lege petissent, ut prædam cum captivis, quos habebant, redderent: impetrato, quod postulaverant, non omnia restituerunt. Quamobrem indignatus Imperator, discedentes adortus, merito*

supplicio multavit; ipsis trucidatis, & Igillo duce capto. Quotquot vivos in potestatem redigere poterat, in Britanniam misit; qui sedes ea in insula nacti, quoties deinde seditionem aliquis moliretur, utiles Imperatori fuerunt.

(2) *P. BANDURI*, refers hither a Silver Medal of *Probus*, in the Cabinet of the celebrated *Monf. de Foucault*; whose Reverse I shall describe in his own Words: *Probus Paludatus, & laureatus, ex humili suggestu, Præfecto Prætorio retro stante, dextram attollens, adloquitur milites: adstant a dextris, cum equo & signo militari, milites tres galeati, captivum nudum, & barbatum, manibus post tergum revinctis, ad suggestum sistentes: a sinistris duo milites alii, cum equo & signis militaribus duobus, captivum alterum, pariter nudum, sed imberbem, manibus post tergum revinctis, ad eundem suggestum producunt, in superiori nummi parte milites alii quinque galeati. He supposes, in the adjoined Note, that these two Figures represent the two Captive German Princes.*

(3) *This River is not named in History: Tillemont, indeed, takes it, p. 1127. for the Rhine: but another River may be as easily understood.*

were

were obliged to capitulate, and obtained a Peace, on Condition, that they should return all the Prisoners and Booty, they had taken: But they not performing this, he pursued them, slew great Numbers, and took their Leader *Igillus* Prisoner. He sent Part of the Prisoners to *Britain*; where they were afterwards very serviceable to the *Romans* (4). *Camden* is of Opinion, that *Vandelsbury*, near *Cambridge*, may have taken its Name from this Colony (5). The *Vandals* were, after that, more and more mentioned in History, as well as the *Burgundians*, whom *Pliny* includes under the Name of *Vandals* (6); and who, it will appear, in the next Book, bordered on the *Alemanni*. *Vopiscus* boasts in general of *Probus's* having freed sixty Cities in *Gaul*, and of his having not only drove the *Alemanni* out of that Country, but pursued them beyond the *Neckar*. According to that Historian, he seems to have extended the Boundaries on the *German Side* of the *Rhine* (7), to have raised Forts there (8), and

(4) *ZOSIMUS*, l. c. in not. 1.

(5) *CAMDENUS*, l. c. T. 1. 137.

(6) See above, L. 1. §. 2. n. 4.

(7) *VOPISCUS*, c. 13. His gestis, cum ingenti exercitu Gallias petit: quæ omnes, occiso *Posthumio*, turbatae fuerant; interfecto *Aureliano*, a Germanis possessæ. Tanta autem illic prælia feliciter gessit, ut a Barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates: prædam deinde omnem qua illi, præter divitias, etiam efferebantur ad gloriam. Et cum jam in nostra ripa, imo per omnes Gallias securi vagarentur, caesis prope quadringentis millibus, qui Romanum occupaverant solum, reliquias ultra *Nicrum* fluvium & *Albam* removit; tantum his prædæ Barbaricæ tulit, quantum ipsi Romanis abstulerant: contra urbes Romanas, & castra, in solo Barbarico posuit, atque illic milites collocavit. Agros & horrea, & domos, & annonam *Transrhenanis* omnibus fecit, iis videlicet, quos in excubiis collocavit: nec cessatum est unquam pugnari, cum quotidie ad eum Barbarorum capita deferrentur, jam ad singulos aureos ngula, quamdiu reguli novem, ex diversis gentibus venirent, atque ad pedes *Probi* jacerent: quibus ille primum obsides imperavit, qui statim dati sunt: deinde frumentum, postrema etiam vaccas, atque oves. Dicitur jussisse his acius, ut gladiis non uterentur, Romanam expectaturi defensionem, si essent ab aliquibus vindicandi. Sed vi-

sum est, id non posse fieri, nisi si limes Romanus extenderetur, & fieret Germania tota Provincia. Maxime tamen ipsis Regibus consentientibus, in eos vindicatum est, qui prædam fideliter non reddiderunt. Accepit præterea sedecim milla tyronum, quos omnes per diversas provincias sparsit, ita ut numeris, vel limitaneis militibus quinquagenos, & sexagenos intersereret, dicens, sentiendum esse, non videndum, cum auxiliariis Barbaris Romanus juvatur.

(8) *Vid. locus VOPISCI*, not. 7. In what Manner the Romans raised those Forts, appears from *R. H. S.* notis ad *Hyginum* & *Polybium* de castris Romanis, p. 122. sqq. But, as to the Limes, which *Probus* fortified, that was intended to keep the Germans from the Upper-Rhine, and, as appears from *Vopiscus's Words*, §. sequ. not. 1. from *Rætia*. There are still some Remains of a Roman Fortification of this Kind, which, according to *Aventinus's Description*, in the German Edition of his History of *Bavaria*, p. 117. b. begun near *Pföding*, on the Danube, and, as the Coins of it, which may still be seen, here and there, in the Diocese of *Eichstadt*, in *Nordgau*, in the Dominions of *Anspach*, and in *Suabia*, demonstrate, extended itself as far as the *Neckar*: The Conjecture, that *Probus*, at least, compleated these Limes, or enlarged them, is likewise confirmed by his Coins, which are dug up thereabouts. *Conf. Lederlinus de vallo & muro Adriani & Probi.*

to have placed secure Garrisons in them. The Country itself was shared among the Soldiers, and they had certain Parcels of Land, with Cattle and other Necessaries, assigned them, to improve for their Subsistence; for which they were bound to serve in the Wars (9). The *Roman* Soldiers, who were garrison'd in these Frontier-Towns, made deep Incursions into *Germany*, where the Emperor gave a *Roman* Guilder of Gold for every Prisoner; and they so much infested the neighbouring Nations, that nine *German* Princes sued to *Probus* for Peace, gave Hostages, and were obliged to pay a Contribution of Corn and Cattle, in which their Riches, at that Time, almost solely consisted. But this seems chiefly to be understood of the *Alemanni*, and perhaps of their Neighbours, who dwelt nearest to the *Roman* Provinces; as well as when *Vopiscus* says, that *Probus* had almost a Mind to reduce *Germany* to a Province, and to appoint a particular Lieutenant over it (10).

§. LV.

(9) *V. loc. VOPISCI, not. 7. I treated in* BOOK IV. §. XI. *of the Agri limitanei of the Romans. Alex. Severus granted all the Lands, which he took from the Enemy, to the Soldiers, who were to defend the Borders, as Lampridius testifies, in Alex. c. 58. Sola, quæ de hostibus capta sunt, limitaneis ducibus, & militibus donavit, ita, ut eorum ita essent, si heredes eorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent: dicens, attentius eos militaturos, si etiam sua rura defenderent. Addidit sane his & animalia, & servos, ut possent colere, quod acceperant; ne, per inopiam hominum, vel per senectutem possidentium, defererentur rura vicina barbariæ: quod turpissimum ille ducebat. And what is said of Probus is illustrated in another Passage of Vopiscus, c. 16. Veteranis omnia illa, quæ angusta adeunt Isauriæ loca, privatis donavit, addens, ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo, mares duntaxat ad militiam mitterentur. From these Agri limitanei, not only Is. Casaubonus; but also those eminent Lawyers, Franc. Duarenus, de sacris ecclesiæ ministeriis, L. 2. c. 3. Ja. Gothofredus, in comm. ad tit. cod. Theodos. de terris limitaneis; Hertius de feudis oblatis, Part 1. §. 2. pretend to derive the Origin of Feodal Tenures. Add Gundlingiana, P. 1. l. 1. and P. 15. 2. And, indeed it is very probable, that the Germans, when they made themselves Masters of the*

Roman Provinces, imitated the Romans, in that, as they did in other Things; and granted such Lands in Fee, to the most valiant of their Soldiers, on Condition of their Performing certain military Services: With which afterwards, the Goths, Franks, Burgundians and Longobards (of whose Manner of dividing the Countries they conquer'd, I shall speak below) introduced their respective Customs, whence, in Time, arose the many Species of Feodal Laws.

(10) *Probus in litteris ad Senatum ap. VOPISCUM, c. 19. Ago Diis immortalibus gratias, patres conscripti, quia vestra in me judicia comprobarunt. Subacta est omnis, qua tenditur late, Germania: novem Reges gentium diversarum, ad meos pedes, imo ad vestros, supplices, stratique, jacuerunt. Omnes jam Barbari vobis arant, vobis jam serunt, & contra interiores gentes militant. Supplicationes igitur vestro more decernite. Nam & quadringenta millia hostium cæsa sunt, & sedecim millia armorum nobis oblata, & septuaginta urbes nobilissimæ, captivitate hostium vindicatæ, & omnes penitus Galliæ liberatæ. Coronas, quas mihi obtulerunt omnes Galliæ civitates aureas, vestræ, Patres Conscripti, clementiæ dedicavi & has Jovi O. M. cæterisque Diis, Deabusque immortalibus, vestris manibus consecrate. Præda omnis recepta est, capta etiam alia, & quidem major, quam*

§. LV. *PROBUS* took his Way thro' *Rætia*, made proper Regu-^{Farther}lations there, and went thereupon to *Illyricum*. The Fame he had^{Wars of} acquired in these Countries, in former Reigns, and the Report of his^{Probus, with} *German* Victories, caused those Nations, who border'd, on that Side,^{the Germans,} on the *Roman* Provinces, to be greatly in Fear of his Arms, before they^{and Goths.} had experienced them. He repell'd the *Sarmatian* Nations, who had pass'd the *Danube*; and, partly by Treaties, partly by Force of Arms, established a Peace with the *Gothick* Nations (1). For the latter, we appeal to a Medal, which was struck in Honour of a Battle with the *Goths* (2). Hereupon he departed for *Asia*: And when he returned to *Europe*, he brought 100,000 *Bastarnæ* over the *Danube*, and dispersed them in those Countries, which were become desolate by the Wars and Pestilence. This Project was likewise successful: The *Bastarnæ* conformed to the *Roman* Laws and Manners, and by Degrees became, with the other Inhabitants of the Country, one and the same Nation: But the *Gepidæ*, *Grutungi* and *Vandals*, whom he had settled, here and there, in the *Roman* Dominions, caused great Disorders (3). *Probus* celebrated thereupon a Triumph (4), on Account of his Victories over the *Germans*, and the *Blemmyæa* Nation of *Africa* (5).

quam fuerat ante direpta. Arantur Gallicana rura Barbaris bobus, & juga Germanica captiva præbant nostris colla cultoribus: pascuntur ad nostram alimoniam gentium pecora diversarum: equinum pecus nostro jam fecundatur equitatu: frumento Barbarico plena sunt horrea. Quid plura? sola relinquimus sola, nos eorum omnia possidemus. Volueramus, P. C. Germaniæ novum Præsidem facere, sed hoc ad pleniora vote distulimus, quod quidem credimus conferre, cum Divina providentia nostros uberius secundarit exercitus.

§. LV. (1) *VOPISCUS*, c. 16. Post hæc *Illyricum* petiit, & prius quam veniret, *Rætias* sic pacatas reliquit, ut illic ne suspicionem quidem ullius terroris relinqueret. In *Illyrico* *Sarmatas*, cæterasque gentes, ita contudit, ut prope sine bello cuncta reciperet, quæ illi diripuerant. Tetendit deinde iter per *Thraciam*, atque omnes *Geticos* populos, fama rerum territos, & antiqui nominis potentia pressos, aut in deditionem, aut in amicitiam, recepit. His gestis *Orientem* petiit.

(2) *BANDURI*, p. 444. not 7. mentions a Golden Coin of *Probus*, with the Reverse;

VICTORIA GOTHICA.

(3) *VOPISCUS*, c. 18. Facta igitur pace cum *Persis*, ad *Thracias* rediit, & centum

millia *Bastarnarum* in solo Romano constituit, qui omnes fidem servaverunt. Sed cum & ex aliis gentibus plerosque pariter transtulisset, id est, ex *Gepidis*, *Gautungis*, & *Vandalis*, illi omnes fidem fregerunt; & occupato bellis tyrannicis *Probo*, per totum pæne orbem, pedibus & navigando, vagati sunt; nec parum molestiæ Romanæ gloriæ intulerunt: quos quidem ille, diversis vicibus, variisque victoriis, oppressit, paucisdomum cum gloria redeuntibus, quod *Probi* evasisent manus. Instead of *Gautungi*, *Salmasius* reads *Grutungi*. The *Juthungi* might likewise be understood. Of the *Bastarnæ*, *Zosimus*, says, L. l. c. 71. *Basternas*, gentem *Scythicam*, quæ illi se subiecit in *Thracia*, sedibus concessis, reliquit. Hi *Romanorum* moribus atq; legibus constanter usi sunt.

(4) *TILLEMONT* places this Triumph in the Year 279. *P. Panduri* mentions, p. 444 and 445. Medals which seem to have been struck in Honour thereof. The Conjecture of *P. Banduri*, that *Probus* triumph'd at his Quinquennales, is very probable; and consequently the Triumph ought to be placed later.

(5) *VOPISCUS*, l. c. c. 19. Triumphavit de Germanis & Blemys: omnium gentium drungos, usque ad quinquagenos homines, ante triumphum duxit.

What Share
the Germans
had in the
Wars be-
tween Pro-
bus, Proculus
and Bonofus.

§. LVI. BUT his Affairs recall'd him soon after to *Germany*. *Proculus* had assumed the Title of Emperor in *Gaul*; as, about the same Time, *Bonofus*, who commanded the Roman Troops in *Rætia*, had done there. They seem to have conspired together; perhaps that they might be the better able to defend themselves against *Probus*, as *Posthumus* and *Victorinus* had done before with Success. *Probus* had, during this War, good Assistance from the *German Nations* (1). *Eutropius* and *Aurel. Victor* mention a pitch'd Battle near *Cologne* (2). *Vopiscus* relates, that *Proculus* applied for Succour to the *Franks*, and expected to obtain it the more readily, as he pretended to be of *Franconian* Extraction; but that the *Franks* betrayed him to the Emperor (3). *Bonofus* stood his Ground somewhat longer, but was at last subdued by *Probus*. His Wife *Hunila*, who was of a *Gothick* Princely Race, acquired more Fame by her excellent Qualities, than her Husband by his Rebellion. And the Emperor *Probus* extended his Mercy to her, and allowed her an annual Pension (4).

Piracies of
the Germans,
and particu-
larly of the
Franks.

§. LVII. IT happened, in the mean Time, that some of those *Ger-
mans*, who, as I before said, were dispers'd in the *Roman Provinces*,

§. LVI. (1) VOPISCUS, l. c. c. 19. Deinde, cum Proculus & Bonofus, apud Agrippinam in Gallia Imperium arripuissent, omnesque sibi jam Britannias, Hispanias, & braccatæ Galliæ provincias vindicarent, Barbaris semet jvantibus, vicit. Ac ne requiras plura vel de Saturnino, vel de Proculo, vel de Bonoso, suo eisdem inseram libro, pauca de iisdem, ut decet, imo ut poscit necessitas, locuturus. Unum sane sciendum est, quod Germani omnes, cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Probo potius perservire maluerunt, quam cum Bonoso, et Proculo esse.

(2) EUTROPIUS, L. 9. c. 11. Bella deinde civilia, equidem plurimo sanguine duo gessit, contra quosdam Imperatores, ab exercitu creatos. Unum in Oriente adversus Saturninum, alterum adversus Proculum & Bonosum Agrippinæ, quos magnis certaminibus oppressit. See Aur. Victor's Testimony below § LVIII. not. 2.

(3) VOPISCUS, in Proculo c. 13. Non nihilum tamen Gallis profuit. Nam ALEMANNOS QUI TUNC ADHUC GERMANI DICEBANTUR, non sine gloriæ splendore contrivit, nunquam aliter, quam latrocinandi pugnans modo. Hunc tamen

Probus fugatum, usque ad ultimas terras, & cupientem in Francorum auxilium venire, a quibus originem se trahere ipse dicebat, prodentibus Francis, quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere, vicit & interemit. The Words, QUI TUNC ADHUC GERMANI DICEBANTUR, are so inconsistent, that Spanheim conjectures, l. c. T. 2. diff. 12. p. 508. that they were at first placed in the Margin by some illiterate Reader, and afterwards inadvertently inserted in the Text.

(4) VOPISCUS, in Bonos. c. 15. Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Rheno Romanas luforias Germani incendiissent, timore, ne pœnas daret, sumsit Imperium: idque diutius tenuit, quam merebatur. Nam longo gravique certamine a Probo superatus, laqueo vitam finivit. Tunc quidem jocus exstitit: amphoram pendere, non hominem. Filios duos reliquit, quibus ambobus Probus pepercit, uxore quoque ejus in honore habita, & usque ad mortem salario præstito. Fuisse enim dicitur (ut & avus meus dicebat) scœmina singularis exempli, & familiæ nobilis, gentis Gothicæ: quam illi Aurelianus uxorem idcirco dederat, ut per eum a Gothis cuncta cognosceret. Erat Enim illa virgo regalis.

took

took a rash Resolution, to venture all, or to regain their Liberty. They quitted, therefore, the Habitations assigned them, made themselves Masters of as many Ships and Vessels, as they could, and submitted their Fortune to the Wind and Waves. It appears, indeed, from *Vopiscus*, that these *Germans* were of various Nations (1): But the *Franks* are mentioned in particular (2), because they were either the Authors of the Design, or distinguished themselves from the Rest by their Valour, and had the good Fortune, after one of the most surprizing Voyages, to reach their native Home. They ravaged the Coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and landed in *Africa*: But here they were encounter'd by those Troops, which lay at *Carthage*, and repuls'd. They landed in *Sicily*, plunder'd *Syracusa*, and slew many of the Inhabitants: They sailed from thence, out of the *Mediterranean*, into the West-Sea, round the Coasts of *Spain* and *Gaul*, and happily reached the *German* Shoar. This was a more adventurous Voyage than that of the *Argonauti*, so fam'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets: And we need not doubt, but it was extoll'd in the Songs of Heroick Feats, among the *Germans* of those Times, nor that these *Franks*, who perhaps, after that Time, form'd a particular Nation, did not a little boast of it. Hence perhaps it is, as Fables generally have some Foundation in History, that some have since confounded the Arrival of this Body, with the Origin of the whole Nation; and this gave probably Rise to those fictitious Relations, which derive the *Franks* from *Pannonia*, or from the *Mæotick* Sea, or even from *Troy* or *Macedon*.

§. LVIII. NOTWITHSTANDING the Success, which *Probus* met with ^{Vinyards a-} against his foreign Enemies, and those who contended with him for the ^{bout the} Imperial Title; yet could he not escape the Fate which all Govern- ^{Rhine and} ments, that are at the Mercy of an Army, are liable to; but was mur- ^{Mosel, first} der'd by his own Soldiers. His Memory is still agreeably preserved, in ^{Probus.}

§. LVII. (1) *VOPISCUS*, in *Probo* c. 18. See above §. LV. not. 3.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. I. c. 7. Itidem, quum Franci ad Imperatorem accessissent, & ab eo sedes obtinuissent: pars eorum quædam defectionem molita, magnamque navium copiam naeta, totam Græciam conturbavit. In Siciliam quoque delata, & urbem Syracusanam adorta, magnam in ea cædem edidit. Tandem, quum & in Africam adpulisset, ac rejecta fuisset, abductis Carthagine copiis, nihilominus domum redire, nullum passa detrimentum, potuit. Eumenius, who lived about this Time, mentions, in his Panegyric Oration on Emperour Constantius, more Circumstances: Pan. 4. c. 18 Recursabat

quippe in animosilla, sub divo Probo & paucorum ex Francis captivorum, incredibilis audacia, & indigna felicitas, qui, a Ponto usque correptis navibus, Græciam Asiamque populati, nec impune plerisque Libyæ littoribus appulsi, ipsas postremo navalibus quondam victoriis nobiles ceperant Syracusas, & immenso itinere pervekti, Oceanum, qua terras irrupit, intraverant: atque ita eventu temeritatis ostenderant, nihil esse clausum piraticæ desperationi, quo navigiis pateret accessus. These Franks fell perhaps into Probus's Hands on Occasion of the Gallick Wars; and were probably among the 16,000 Men which were deliver'd to Probus.

Germany; for, as he suffer'd Vinyards to be planted in Gaul, and other Provinces (1), so do the Vinyards about the *Rhine* and *Mosel*, and those planted from them in other German Countries, owe their Rise to him, as to a second *Bacchus*. An ancient Historian compares him in this Respect to *Hannibal*, who caused Olive-Trees to be planted in *Africa*, in Order to furnish the Soldiers, in Time of Peace, with profitable Employment (2). *Strabo* (3) writes, that in his Time no Vines grew in Gaul, excepting in the Country about *Lions*: Yet *Pliny* (4) mentions Vines planted by the *Biturices*: But *Domitian* had prohibited the cultivating of Vinyards in the Provinces (5), which proved in most Places ineffectual (6).

Troubles in
Germany under
Carus
and Carinus.

§. LIX. AFTER the Decease of *Probus*, all the unciviliz'd Nations, on the *Rhine* and on the *Danube*, were in Arms. *M. Aurelius* his Successor, sent his eldest Son, *C. Carinus*, to Gaul (1), and went himself, with *Numerianus*, the younger Son, to the East, to continue the War with the *Persians*, begun by *Probus*; and, on his March, he repelled the *Sarmatian* Nations, who had passed the *Danube*, with an Intent, if possible, to invade *Italy* (2). If that Medal of *Numerianus*,

§. LVIII. (1) *Vopiscus*, c. 18. Gallis omnibus, & Hispanis, ac Britannis, hinc permisit, ut vites haberent, vinumque conficerent. Ipse Almus, montem in Illyrico, circa Sirmium, militari manu fossam lecta vite consecvit. *Instead of Britannis ought probably to be read Pannoniis: which Province Aurel. Victor mentions by Name in the Passage quoted in the next Note.*

(2) *Aurelius Victor*, in *Cæf.* c. 37. Postquam Probum, in Illyrico factum, accepere, ingenti belli scientia, exercitandisque varie militibus, ac duranda juventute, prope Hannibalem alterum. Namque ut ille oleis, Africae pleraque, per legiones, quarum otium Reipublicae atque ductoribus suspectum rebatur; eadem modo hic Galliam, Pannoniasque, & Moesorum colles, vinetis replevit: postea sane quam Barbarorum attritae gentes sunt, quae nostris principibus, suorum scelere interfectis, intruperant; simul caesis Saturnino, per orientem; Agrippinae Bonoso (cum) exercitu; nam utrique dominatum tentaverant, sumpta, cui duces praerant, manu.

(3) *Strabo*, l. 4. p. 268. Narbonensis Gallia omnia fructuum genera, quae in Italia nascuntur, profert. Inde versus septentrio-

nem & Cemmenum montem progressus, solum, omnium rerum, oleo & ficu demptis, ferax invenies. Sed & vitis ibi non facile uvas ad maturitatem perducit.

(4) *Plinius*, l. 14. c. 4. Aliquando caeli aut soli opera non fallunt vetustatem, sicubi Pecenia, & cum ea florens vitis Biturica, acino rarior, &c.

(5) *Suetonius*, in *Domitian.* c. 7. Ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur.

(6) *V. Tillemont*, p. 160.

§. LIX. (1) *Vicc. in C.* c. 38. Et quoniam, cognita Probi morte, Barbarorum quisque opportuna invaserant, misso ad munimentum Galliae majore filio, Numeriani comitatu, in Mesopotamiam pergit protinus. *Vopiscus in Caro*, c. 7. Ubi primum accepit Imperium, consensu omnium militum bellum Persicum, quod Probus parabat, aggressus est, Caesaribus liberis nuncupatis: & ita quidem, ut Carinum ad Gallias tuendas, cum viris lectissimis, destina- ret: secum vero Numerianum adolescentem, cum lectissimum, tum etiam disertissimum, duceret.

(2) *Vopiscus in Caro*, c. 8. Ingenti apparatu, & totis viribus Probi, profligato magna

anus, which was struck in Honour of a Victory gained over the *Quadi* (3), refers to this War, as it is not unlikely, the *Quadi* had probably a Share, as well in the Enterprizes of their Neighbours, the *Sarmatæ*, as of their Overthrow. *Carus* was fortunate against the *Persians*; and, after his Death, *Numerianus* continued the War, with the like Success. That *Carinus* was not unactive, on his Part, may be concluded from what *Nemesianus*, the Poet, who dedicated his Poems to him and *Numerianus*, says in Praise of both, that they subdued the Nations, dwelling about the *Rhine* and *Tygris*; and of *Carinus*, in particular, that he fought valiantly in the Northern Parts of the Empire (4). *Numerianus* lost his Life in the East, and *Diocletian* was proclaimed Emperor in his Room; who, after a bloody War, having at length subdued *Carinus*, made great Alterations in the Constitution of the *Roman Empire*; an Account of which will be requisite in the Course of the *German History*.

na ex parte bello Sarmatico, quod gerebat, contra Persas profectus, nullo sibi occurrente, Mesopotamiam cepit, & Ctesiphontem usque pervenit: c. 9. *he again mentions this Sarmatian War: Bonum Principem Carum fuisse, cum multa indicant, tum etiam illud, quod statim adeptus Imperium, Sarmatas, adeo morte Probi feroces, ut invasuros se non solum Illyricum, sed Thracias quoque, Italiamque minarentur, ita inter bella patiendo contudit, ut paucissimis diebus Pannonias securitate donaverit, occisis Sarmatarum XVI millibus, captis diversi sexus XX. In Honour of these Victories the Ludi Sarmatici were perhaps instituted at Rome, which Vopiscus mentions in Carino, c. 19. Exhibuit & ludum Sarmaticum, quo dulcius nihil est.*

(3) On the one Side is the Emperor's Image, with the Title, IMP. C. NUMERIANUS. P. F. AUG. COS. On the Reverse two Princes are represented, seated in a triumphal Char, drawn by four Horses, with the Inscription; TRIUMPHUS QUADORUM. V. Banduri, l. c. p. 516. *he produces l. c. n. 3. the various Conjectures of the Learned about the Explanation of this Reverse.*

(4) NEMESIANUS in libro Cyngeticon, v. 63-83.

Mox vestros meliore lyra memorare triumphos,
Accingar, Divi fortissima pignora Cari,

Atque canam nostrum geminis sub finibus orbis

Litus, & edomitas fraterno numine gentes,
Quæ Rhenum, Tigrimque bibunt, Ararisque remotum

Principium, Nilique bibunt ab origine fontem.

Nec taceam primum quæ nuper bella sub arcto

Felici, Carine, manu confeceris, ipso

Pæne prior genitorum Deo; utque intima frater

Persidos, & veteres Babylonos ceperit arces,

Ultris Romulei violata cacumina regni.

Imbellemque fugam referam, clausasque pharetras

Parthorum, laxosque arcus, & spicula nulla.

Hæc nobis nostræ libabunt carmina Musæ,
Cum primum vultus sacros, bona Numina terræ,

Contigerit vidisse mihi. jam gaudia nota
Temporis impatiens sensus, spretoque morarum,

Præsumit: videorque mihi jam cernere fratrum

Augustos habitus, Romam, clarumque Senatum,

Et fidos ad bella duces, & milite multo
Agmina, queis fortes animat devotio mentes.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K VI.

To the Conclusion of the Wars which the FRANKS and
ALEMANNI waged with JULIAN.

SECT. I. **T**HE Burgundians, Alemanni and Heruli invade Gaul. II. The Franks and Saxons infest the Coasts of the Roman Provinces. The Origin of the Saxons. III. Carausius enters into a League with the Germans, particularly the Franks. IV. Maximian is successful against the Franks, and Diocletian against the Alemanni. V. Carausius maintains his Possession of Britain. VI. Domestick Wars of the Goths, Vandals, Thuringi, Alemanni and Burgundians. VII. Diocletian changes the Constitution of the Empire: Division of the Provinces. VIII. Constantius arms himself against Carausius: Makes War with the Franks. IX. Galerius subdues the Marcomanni, Carpi, Quadi and Bastarnæ. X. Constantius recovers Britain: The Romans surprize the Franks in London. XI. Constantius beats the Alemanni near Langres. XII. Affairs with the Goths, Marcomanni, &c. XIII. Diocletian and Maximian resign the Imperial Title to Constantius and Galerius. XIV. Constantine succeeds his Father in the Empire: Services done him, on this Occasion, by the Alemanni. Galerius allows him the Title of Cæsar. XV. He passes the Rhine against the Franks. XVI.

XVI. *Changes in the West: Constantine assumes the Imperial Title.*
 XVII. *Maxentius keeps his Ground at Rome.* XVIII. *Bridges near
 Cologne. Commotions in Germany. Constantine endeavours to restore
 Gaul: His Buildings at Triers.* XIX. *Constantine marches against
 Maxentius.* XX. *His Conversion to Christianity.* XXI. *He enters into
 an Alliance with Licinius: Puts a Stop to the Persecution of the Chri-
 stians:* XXII. *And invades the Country of the Franks.* XXIII. *Lici-
 nius defeats Maximinus, and shares the Empire with Constantine.*
 XXIV. *Crispus, the Son of Constantine, is successful against the Franks
 and Alemanni.* XXV. *Constantine wages War with the Sarmatæ:*
 XXVI. *And repels the Goths from Mœsia.* XXVII. *Is hereupon at
 Variance with Licinius; on which Occasion, Bonitus and his Franks
 serve him.* XXVIII. *Constantine renews his Wars with the Goths. A
 Bridge laid over the Danube.* XXIX. *Constantine's Edicts; which
 serve to illustrate the German History. Whether the Removal of the Im-
 perial Residence to Constantinople promoted the Irruptions of the Ger-
 mans?* XXX. *Origin of the German Churches: Maternus Bishop of
 Cologne, and Agræcius, Bishop of Triers, are highly esteemed by Constan-
 tine.* XXXI. *Bishopricks in Rætia, Noricum and Pannonia. The Dig-
 nity and Privileges of the Church.* XXXII. *Regulations among the Bi-
 shops.* XXXIII. *Partition of the Empire among the Sons of Constantine.*
 Constantine, the Younger, resides at Triers: XXXIV. *Is vanquished by
 Constans: Wars of the latter with the Franks.* XXXV. *Bishops from
 Belgica and Germany assist at the Council at Sardica.* XXXVI. *The
 Council at Cologne.* XXXVII. *Magnentius, assisted by some of the
 Germans, particularly the Franks, assumes the Imperial Dignity.*
 XXXVIII. *Constantius employs the Alemanni against him.* XXXIX.
 Sylvanus, the Son of Bonitus, drives the Franks out of Gaul. XL.
 Constantius passes the Rhine, near Basil, and treats with the Ale-
 manni. XLI. *A new Expedition against the Lenticenses, who invade
 Rætia.* XLII. *Sylvanus assumes the Title of Emperor, on the Lower-
 Rhine.* XLIII. *Transactions of the Goths.* XLIV. *Constantius's sends
 Julian to Gaul. His Atchievements against the Alemanni.* XLV. *Ju-
 lian makes a Truce with the Franks.* XLVI. *Affairs of Constantius
 with the Suevi, Quadi, &c.* XLVII. *Julian and Barbatio attack the
 Alemanni on two Sides at once.* XLVIII. *The Alemanni defeat the
 Roman General below Basil:* XLIX. *And march against Julian.* L.
The Battle of Strasburg. LI. *Overthrow of the Alemanni: Chnodomar
 taken Prisoner.* LII. *Julian passes the Rhine near Mentz: Invades
 the Dominions of the Alemanni; and restores the Munimentum Tra-
 janum.* LIII. *On his Return he defeats an Army of the Franks.* LIV.
 Barbatio drives the Juthungi out of Rætia. LV. *Constantius marches
 against*

against the Quadi and Sarmatæ : LVI. And drives the Sarmatæ Limigantes out of the Neighbourhood of the Theis. LVII. They are soon after exterminated. LVIII. Julian surprizes the Salii, in Toxandria; and defeats an Army of the Chamavi. LIX. He obliges Suomarus and Hortarius, two Princes of the Alemanni, to sue for Peace : LX. And causes the Roman Forts along the Rhine to be rebuilt. LXI. He thereupon passes the Rhine : LXII. Ravages Alemannia, as far as the Confines of the Burgundians ; LXIII. And is proclaimed Emperor in Gaul. LXIV. Fresh Commotions among the Alemanni. Julian invades their Dominions : LXV. And from thence advances farther against Constantius.

The Burgundians, Alemanni, and Heruli invade Gaul.

§ I. **T**HE Alemanni and Franks are introduced in the preceding Book, as infesting the Upper and Lower-Rhine : The Burgundians join the former : The Juthungi and Vandals attempt, together with the Marcomanni and Quadi, to pass the Danube : The Goths plunder Mæsia and Thrace ; and the neighbouring Sarmatæ act, in most of these Wars, in Community with the Germans. As the Roman Historians mention them all only on Occasion of their Wars, I have been obliged almost always to represent them in the Field ; and as we have no other Accounts of them, but from their Enemies, I could not avoid taking too frequent Notice of their Defeats. But the Sequel of the History itself, in which these Nations, whose total Extirpation is so often boasted of, always appear again with fresh Vigour, puts me in mind of the Confession of Tacitus ; that Rome beheld more German Victories, in the Triumphs of her Emperors, than were actually obtained in the Field. This Book will give more explicit Accounts of the Alemanni, and of the growing Power of the Franks. The Burgundians and Vandals distinguish themselves more and more : The Name of the Thuringians makes its first Appearance : The Saxons acquire Fame by their Naval Expeditions ; and even the East-Sea, which has been hitherto viewed only at a Distance, in German History, becomes more known, by the Irruptions of the bordering Nations. We shall here more particularly find the Rise of the German Churches, when the Christian Religion gained Ground, under Constantine ; and the Churches in Germany, Rætia and Noricum, which, together with the greatest Part of the People, who owe their Conversion to them, at present appertain to the German Empire, begun to make a considerable Figure. But the German History is still so connected with that of the Romans, that, to illustrate the former, I shall be obliged frequently to take Notice of the latter. Diocletian, imagining the Government to be too great a Weight for one Person, immediately

immediately † admitted *Maximian* (1), whose Valour he was well † A. C. 286. assured of, and from whom, at the same Time, he had nothing to fear, to a Share in the Empire. *Maximian* was at first dignified with the Title of *Cæsar* only; and, in Honour of *Hercules*, he assumed the Surname of *Herculeus*, as *Diocletian* did that of *Jovianus* in Honour of *Jupiter*. *Diocletian* gave him the Command in *Gaul*, where, during the domestick Broils, the Populace had taken up Arms, and *Maximian* was so fortunate, that, in the ensuing Year, he entirely quelled those Commotions (2).

HE had scarce put an End to them, when the *Burgundians*, as in the Time of *Probus*, again allied themselves to the *Al-manni*, who, together with them, border'd on the Confines of *Rætia*, and invaded *Gaul*; while the *Heruli* and *Chaibones* advanced, at the same Time, from the Northern Parts of *Germanv*, where they dwelt near the *East-Sea*. The great Number of the *Burgundians* and *Alemanni* proved fatal to themselves; for being destitute of sufficient Provisions, Famine caused infectious Diseases among them, whereby they perished without the Assistance of the *Roman* Sword: But *Maximian* marched himself against the *Heruli* and *Chaibones*; and his Panegyrist says, he so entirely routed them, that not so much as one survived to carry home the News of their Overthrow (3).

§. (1) M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

(2) CLAUD. MAMERTINI panegyricus, inter 12. panegyricos veteres, l. c. 4.

(3) IDEM. c. 5. Cum neque solum Burgundiones & Alamani, sed etiam Chaibones Erulique, viribus primi barbarorum, locis ultimi, præcipiti impetu in has provincias irruissent, quis Deus tam insperatam salutem nobis attulisset, nisi tu adfuisses? Tu enim divinæ providentiæ, imperator, consilio prius, quam vi bellum gerendum ratus, cæteros quidem perduelles, quibus ipsa pestifera multitudo, ire passus es in profundam famem, & ex fame in pestilentiam, mox ad triumphi ornamenta capienda militum manibus usus; Chaibones tamen Erulosque non dignatus pari astu perdere: atque, ut interim divina virtus tua exercitatione solita non careret, aperto Marte atque uno impetu perculisti, non universo ad id prælium usus exercitu, sed paucis cohortibus. . . . Ita cuncti Chaibones, Erulique cuncti tanta internecione cæsi interfec-

tique sunt, ut extinctos eos relictis domi conjugibus ac matribus non profugus aliquis e prælio, sed victoriæ tuæ gloria nuntiaret. He calls them afterwards Caviones. vid. infra §. V. not. 3. Phil. Cluverius supposes, with great Probability, these Chaibones, or Caviones, were the same Nation, which Tacitus de M. G. c. 40. calls Aviones; and mentions as Neighbours of the Angli and Varini. The Heruli dwelt on the East-Sea, called by the Panegyrist Sinus Codanus; and Sidonius Apollinaris says of them, L. 8. ep. 9.

Hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur
Imos oceani colens recessus
Algosæ prope concolor profundo.

Cluverius imagines them to be the People, whom Tacitus calls Lemovii, and who dwelt on the right Side of the Vistula. It appears moreover from hence, that what has been said above, L. 5. §. 43. in Gallienus's Times, of the Overthrow of the Heruli, is not meant of the whole Nation, but of one Colony only, which swarmed as far as the Pontus Euxinus.

The Franks
and Saxons
infest the
Coasts of
the Roman
Provinces.

§. II. THE Saxons, and other German Nations, who dwelt on the North-Sea, infested, about the same Time, the Belgick and Armorick Coasts of Gaul. It will be necessary to make a short Digression, at this first Mention of a Nation, whose Colonies in Britain founded one of the most considerable Kingdoms of the West; which afterwards became so powerful in Germany itself, that their Princes, for a Time, most deservedly filled the Imperial Throne. Various and strange were formerly the Conjectures about the Origin of the Saxons (1); some deriving them from the Saci in Asia, and even Wittekind, their most ancient Historian in Germany, mentions his having been informed, that the Saxons were of Grecian Extraction, and their Rise from the Army of Alexander the Great: But I need not now go about to prove, what is already so well known, that they were originally Germans, who took their Appellation from those Knives or Swords, which they made Use of, and were, in their Language, called Sachs (2). The Name of Saxons is not mentioned in Tacitus, *de Moribus Germanorum*: But Ptolemy speaks of them as a People, who dwelt on the right Side of the Elb, in Chersonesus Cimbrica, where Holstein is now situated, and in the opposite Isles of the North-Sea (3). In this Country, they became so renowned, that other Nations, and, it seems, even the Remainder of the Cimbri, mentioned by Tacitus, were included in the Name of Saxons. They bordered, towards the North, on the Danes, and the Geographer of Ravenna assigns, in his Time, the present Eyder for the Confines of both Nations (4); whose Affinity may besides

§. II. (1) V. NICOL. SCHATENIUS, in *hist. Westphalica*, L. 3. p. 172.

(2) VITECHINDUS, L. 1. Fuerunt autem, qui ab hoc facinore nomen illis inditum tradunt. Cultelli enim nostra lingua SAHS dicuntur, ideoque Saxones nuncupatos, quia cultellis tantam multitudinem fudissent. In Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, the Saxon Prince, Hengist, is introduced as giving the Word of Command to his Men: NI-MED EVRE SAHES. in Excerpt. Leibn. p. 55. Nic. Schatenius says, l. c. p. 177. that, in his Time, the Word Sachs was used, in some Places of Westphalia, to signify a Knife. Usus hujus vocis hodie in Saterlandia obtinet, apud incolas prisca sermonis retinentissimos, apud quos, ut coram auidi loquentes, SACHS cultrum sonat. This Derivation appeared likewise very probable to Mr.

Leibnitz, in not. ad excerpta e Vitichindo, p. 71.

(3) PTOLEMÆUS, L. 2. c. 2. Post hos Cauchi, qui appellantur parvi, usque ad fluvium Visurgim: post hos Cauchi majores dicti, usque ad Albim fluvium. Deinde supra dorsum Cimbricæ Chersonesi SAXONES. Stephanus Byzantinus, p. 586. Saxones, gens habitans in Cimbrica Chersoneso. Of these Islands Ptolemy says, l. c. Insulæ Germanicæ adjacent juxta Albis fl. ostia tres, SAXONUM appellatæ. Mr. Leibnitz observes in excerpt. ad h. l. p. 17. that the Islands Strand and Heiligen Land, are understood here.

(4) GEOGRAPH. RAVENNÆ, L. 4. c. 17. Confinalis prænominatæ Daniæ est patria, quæ nominatur Saxonia. Quæ antiquitus & ipsa ex Dania pertinere dicebatur. Quæ patria,

besides be proved from the ancient Resemblance of their Languages and Manners. As other *German Nations* sought their Fortunes by Land, the *Saxons*, on the contrary, aggrandized themselves by their Navigation, which they followed with no less Application, than their Neighbours, the *Chauci* and *Frisii*: For they, together with the *Angles*, established themselves in *Britain*, and, if we may give Credit to the Relation of *Wittekind*, came likewise by Sea to the *German Countries* on the other Side of the *Elb* (5).

§ III. *MAXIMIAN* employ'd *Carausius*, an experienced Seaman, *Carausius enters into a League with the Germans; particularly the Franks.* to clear the Ocean of the *Saxons* and *Franks*. He was a Native of the Country of the *Menapii*, had, from his Youth, served at Sea (as it seems) among the *Batavi* (1), and afterwards distinguished himself in the War with the *Bagaudæ* (2). *Carausius* way-laid the *Germans*, near *Bologne*, when they were returning home from their Piracies, and took all their Booty from them: But he kept most of it for his own Use; infomuch that neither the Losers, nor the Imperial Treasury, were the better for it. This gave Room for a Suspicion, that *Carausius* had purposely suffered the *Franks* and *Saxons* to pass unmolested, at their setting out, that, on their Return, he might take their Booty, or share it with them. *Maximian* is said to have given Orders to put him to Death; but *Carausius*, being apprized of them, sailed with the Fleet, which 'till then was intended to secure the *Gallick Coast*, over to *Britain*, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor (3). He had before made himself Master of *Bologne*, and

patria, ut ait Marcomiras, Gothorum philosophus doctissimus, quidem profert homines, & audaces, sed non sic veloces, ut sunt Dani, qui juxta *DLNA* fluvium. Mr. Leibnitz *supposes*, p. 29. in not. (h) that this River, *Dine*, or *Dena*, gave Rise to the Name of *Danes*, and proves, not improbably, that it afterwards received the Name of the *Fyder*.

(5) *VITICHINDUS Annal.* L. 1. Pro certo autem novimus, Saxones his regionibus navibus advectos, & loco primum applicuisse, qui usque hodie nuncupatur *HADOILAUM*. But *Wittekind's Relation* seems, in the Circumstances which follow, to be somewhat fabulous.

§. III. (1) An ancient Orator calls him *Alumnus Bataviæ*. See the Passage, ad §. VIII. Not. 3.

(2) *AUREL. VICTOR. in Cæs.* c. 39. Quo bello *Carausius*, *Menapiæ* civis, factis prom-

tioribus enituit: eoque eum, simul quia gubernandi gnarus habebatur, parandæ classis, ac propulsandis Germanis, maria infestantibus, præfecere.

(3) *EUTROPIUS, L. 9. c. 13.* Per hæc tempora etiam *Carausius*, qui vilissime natus, in strenuæ militiæ ordine famam egregiam fuerat consecutus, cum apud *Bononiæ*, per tractum *Belgicæ* & *Armoricæ*, pacandum mare accepisset, quod *FRANCI* & *SAXONES* infestabant, multis barbaris sæpe captis, nec præda integra aut provincialibus reddita, aut imperatoribus missa, suspicio esse cœpisset, consulto ab eo admitti barbaros, ut transeuntes cum præda exciperet, atque hac se occasione ditaret, *Maximiani Herculi* metu, a quo se cadi jussum compererat, purpuram sumit, & *Britannias*, haulto imperio, capeffivit.

thereby secured the *Streight*, on both Sides, and opened a free Passage into *Gaul*. The *Britons*, to a Man, and even the *Roman* Legions, garrison'd there, declared for him. They thought themselves now the more secure from Piracies, since the whole Naval Power of the *Romans*, in those Seas, was come to *Britain*. *Carausius* made, moreover, a League with the *Germans*, by whom we are here chiefly to understand the *Franks*, *Saxons* and *Frisii*. He furnished them with Ships and experienced Sea-Officers, who instructed them more and more in Navigation, and the Manner of fighting at Sea (4). These not only infested the Coasts of *Gaul*; but the *Franks*, on this Occasion, likewise invaded *Batavia*, from which Province the *Romans* might otherwise have had their greatest Succour, towards the intended Equipment of a new Fleet. The Sequel will shew, how *Constantius* at last drove them out of *Batavia*.

† A. C. 288. §. IV. IN the next ensuing Year †, *Maximian* made all possible Preparations for fitting out a Fleet against *Carausius*, and had, in the mean Time, several Differences with some of the *German* Nations. He defeated a Body of the Enemy, which had advanced to the Neighbourhood of *Triers*, on the very Day of his second Accession to the Consulship (1). He passed the *Rhine*, the same Year, and penetrated

Maximian is successful against the *Franks*, and *Diocletian* against the *Alemanni*.

(4) EUMENIUS orat. inter paneg. 4. c. 12. Isto vero nefario latrocinio abducta primum a fugiente pirata (*Carausio*) classe, quæ olim Gallias tuebatur, ædificatis præterea plurimis in nostrum modum navibus, occupata legione Romana, interclusis aliquot peregrinorum militum cuneis, contractis ad dilectum mercatoribus Gallicanis, sollicitatis, per spolia ipsarum provinciarum, non mediocribus copiis barbarorum, atque iis omnibus ad munia nautica flagitii illius auctoris magisterio eruditis, exercitibus autem nostris, licet invictis virtute, tamen in re maritima novis, malam coaluisse ex indignissimo latrocinio belli molem audiebamus, licet de exitu fideremus.

§. IV. (1) MAMERT. I. c. 6. Illum tamen primum consulatus tui auspicalem diem tacitus præterire nullo modo possum: quo tu solus omnium consecutus es, ut, quod tempus antea incipiendis tantummodo rebus aptum videbatur, tunc primum potuerit sufficere peragendis; unoque sol corriculo suo coque brevissimo, & officia te consulis inchoantem videret, & imperatoris imple-

tem. Vidimus te, Cæsar, eodem die pro republica & vota suscipere, & conjuncta debere, quod enim optaveras in futurum, fecisti continuo transactum: ut mihi ipsa deorum auxilia, quæ præcatus eras, prævenisse videaris, & quidquid illi promiserant, ante fecisse. Vidimus te, Cæsar, eodem die & in clarissimo pacis habitu, & in pulcherrimo virtutis ornatu. Bona venia Deum dixerim, ne Jupiter quidem ipse tanta celeritate faciem cœli sui variat, quam facile tu, imperator, togam prætextam sumpto thorace mutasti, hastam posito scipione rapuisti, a tribunali temet in campum, a curuli in equum transtulisti, & rursus ex acie cum triumpho rediisti: totamque hanc urbem, repentina tua in hostes eruptione sollicitam, lætitia & exultatione, & aris flagrantibus, & sacrificiis, & odoribus accensis numini tuo, implesti. Ita utroque illius diei supremo tempore bis divina res pari religione celebrata est, Jovi, dum pro futuris vovetur; tibi, dum pro victoria solvitur.

pretty

pretty far into *Germany*, where he encounter'd the *Franks*; as appears from the *Panegyrick*, spoken by *Mamertinus*, in the Honour of him, at *Triers*, where he kept his Court (2). And there we find, moreover, that a *Franconian* Prince, was, by *Maximian's* Authority, restored to his Dominion over that Nation, which before had been disputed (3): And, by another Passage, that *Maximian* peopled several Desarts, belonging to the *Treviri* and *Nervii*, with a good Number of *Franks* (4). *Diocletian* invaded, about the very same Time, from the other Side, by the Way of *Rætia*, the Country of the *Alemanni* (5), and

(2) *He praises this Expedition*, panegy. I. c. 7. Tale igitur auspiciū illius anni quid sequebatur, nisi novum aliquod & ingens miraculum? Quod autem majus evenire potuit, illa tua in Germaniam transgressione? quia tu, primus omnium imperatorum, probasti Romani imperii nullum esse terminum, nisi qui tuorum esset armorum. Atqui Rhenum antea videbatur ipsa sic natura duxisse, ut eo limite Romanæ provinciae ab immanitate barbariae vindicaretur. Et quis unquam ante vos principes non gratulatus est, Gallias illo amne muniri? quando non cum summo metu nostro Rheni alveum minuit diu serena tempestas? quando non cum securitate nostra illius diluvia creverunt. *And he proceeds thus*: Tu autem, imperator invictē, feras illas indomitasque gentes vastatione, praeliis, cœdibus, ferro ignique domuisti. Herculei generis hoc factum est, virtuti debere quod vindicat. Exinde igitur soluto animo ac libero sumus. Licet Rhenus arescat, tenuique lapsu vix læves calculos perspicuo vado pellat, nullus inde metus est. Quicquid ultra Rhenum prospicio, Romanum est.

(3) *Id. ib. c. 10.* Per te regnum recepit Genobon: *al. Genobaudes, Esatech al. Atceh.* vero munus accepit. Quid enim ille aliud expetivit ad conspectum cum omni sua gente veniendo, nisi ut tunc demum integra auctoritate regnaret, cum te, Maximiane, placasset? ostendi ille te identidem ut audio popularibus suis, & intueri diu jussit, & obsequia discere, cum sibi ipse serviret.

(4) *V. locum infr. § VIII. not. 4.*

(5) *PANEGYR. I. c. 9.* Ingressus est nuper illam, quæ Rætis est objecta, Germaniam; similique virtute Romanum limitem

viatoriæ protulit. *In another Panegyrick these Exploits of Maximian, on the one Side, and Diocletian, on the other, are spo'ken of promiscuously*: Panegy. II. c. 5. Taceo tropæa Germanica, in media defixa barbaria. transeo limitem Rætiae, repentina hostium clade promotum. omitto Sarmatiae vastationem, oppressumque captivitatis vinculis Saracenū: etiam illa, quæ armorum vestrorum terrore facta sunt, velut armis gesta, prætereo, Francos ad petendam pacem cum rege venientes, Parthumque vobis munerum miraculis blandientem. *And in the same Oration, c. 7. the Orator praises the two Emperors for so equally sharing the Fruits of their Victories*: Laurea illa, devictis accolentibus Syriam nationibus, & illa Rætica, & illa Sarmatica te, Maximiane, fecerunt pio gaudio triumphare. Itidem hic gens Cavionum Erulorumque deleta, transrhenana victoria, & domitis oppressa Francis bella piratica, Diocletianum votorum compotem reddiderunt. *Hither must be likewise referr'd Eumenius's Words, IV. c. 3.* O Kalendæ Martiæ, sicuti olim annorum volventium, ita nunc æternorum auspices imperatorum! quanta enim, invictissimi principes, & vobis & reipublicæ sæcula propagatis, orbis vestri participando tutelam? cujus licet esset, omni hoste perdomito, certa securitas, nimios tamen in diversa discursus vel revisenda poscebat. Partho quippe ultra Tigrim reducto, Dacia restituta, porrectis usque ad Danubii caput Germaniæ Rætique limitibus, destinata Bataviæ Britannique vindicta, gubernacula majora quærebat aucta, atque augenda respublica, & qui Romanæ potentiae terminos virtute protulerant, imperium filio pietate debebant.

extended

extended the *Roman* Confines to the Source of the *Danube*. On Account of these Victories, both Emperors assumed the Surnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Gothicus*, and bore them on their Inscriptions (6), one of which I shall here transcribe :

IMPP. CAESARES. C. AURELIUS. VALERIUS. DIO-
CLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET. M. AURELIUS. VALERIUS.
MAXIMIANUS. HERCULIUS. IIV. IMPERATORES.
PII. FELICES. AUGUSTI. PERSICI. FRANCICI. ALEMAN-
NICI. GOTHICI. GERMANICI.

Carausius
maintains
his Possessi-
on of *Brit-*
tain.

† A. C. 289.

§. V. THE Fleet, which *Maximian* had equipp'd against *Carausius*, put to Sea, the next ensuing Year †; but prov'd ineffectual against so experienc'd a Sea-Commander, whose Fleet was besides much better mann'd; which even the Emperor's Panegyrist himself could not conceal (1). A Medal is yet extant of *Carausius*, referring to a Peace, between the three Emperors (2); from whence we may conclude, that *Maximian* made Peace with him, and allow'd him the Imperial Title, with a quiet Possession of *Britain* (3), which he actually enjoy'd for several Years.

Domestick
Wars of the
Goths, *Vandals*,
Thuringi and *Burgundians*.

§. VI. AN Oration spoken about this Time, in Honour of *Maximian*, the Emperor *, acquaints us with the bloody Wars carried on among those *German* Nations, who dwelt between the *Elb*, the East-Sea, and the *Danube*, as far as the Black-Sea (1). The *Goths* fell upon, and sub-

(6) EX ONUPHRIO PANVINIO conf. Hadr. Valesius rerum Francicarum, lib. I. p. 22.

§. V. (1) See above, §. IV. not. 5.

(2) PAX AUGGG.

(3) Chronologiae, a Card. Norisio assertæ, rationem ulterius reddit Tillem. in not. 8. ad vit. Diocl.

§. VI. * CL. MAMERTINI genethliacus Maximiano Aug. dictus inter panegyricos veteres no. 2. De anno, quo habitus, non constat. Apparet tamen, post quinquennalia Maximiani & ante decennalia dictum.

(1) MAMERTINUS 2. c. 16. Illud vero, non suggeratur licet, quoquo modo dicam antequam desinam: tantam esse imperii vestri felicitatem, ut undique se barbaræ nationes vicissim lacerent, & excidant, alternis dimicationibus & insidiis clades suas duplicent & instaurent, Sarmaticas vestras, & Ræticas & transhenanas expeditiones furore percitæ in semet incitentur. Sancte

Jupiter, & Hercules bone, tandem bella civilia ad gentes, illa vesania dignas transfulistis, omnemque illam rabiem extra terminos hujus imperii in terras hostium distulistis. Etenim quod ait ille Romani carminis primus autor :

A sole exoriente ad usque Mæotis paludes; id nunc longius protendere licet, si quis hostilem in mutua clade vesaniam toto orbe percenseat. Etenim ab ipso solis ortu non modo hac citra Mæotin sub extrema septentrionis plaga, qua fervidum caput Danubius evoluit, quaq; horridus secat Albis Germaniam, sed etiam sub ipso lucis occu, qua Tingitanum litus Calpetano monti obvium latus in mediterraneos sinus admittit oceanum, ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi, quibus nunquam contigit esse Romanis, obstinataque feritatis pœnas nunc sponte perfolvunt.

ducd

dued the *Burgundians*, in Favour of whom the *Alemanni* took up Arms: And the *Thuringi*, a Gothick Nation, assisted by the *Thaifali*, waged War with the *Vandals* (2) and *Gepide* (3). Tho' we cannot relate any farther Circumstances of these Wars, yet, by this brief Account, we have the less Reason to wonder, when we find these Nations who inhabited the extream Borders of the East-Sea, approaching the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. It was not long before the *Burgundians* attack'd the *Alemanni*, and took from them a Tract of Land: But these, recovering again, dispossess'd the Conquerors (4). We shall, in the Sequel, meet with more explicit Relations of the Bickerings between these two bordering Nations; particularly, that they were frequently at War, on Account of some Salt-Springs, on their Borders (5).

§. VII. IN the Year 292, the *Roman* Empire was in a perilous State, *Diocletian* on every Side. *Narses*, King of *Persia*, extended his Power in the *East*: *Achilleus* assumed the Imperial Dignity, in *Egypt*: The *Quingen-* changes the Constitution of the Empire: Division of the Provinces. *tiani* were in Arms in *Africa*, and *Italy* itself was not free from Troubles: But *Maximian* could not well leave *Gaul*, whilst *Carausius* was Master of *Britain*. *Diocletian*, therefore, so far altered the Constitution of the Empire, that he gave *Maximian* the Title of *Augustus*, and created two A. C. 292. new *Cæsars*, who were invested with the supreme Command over the Armies and Lieutenants in the Provinces. This Honour was conferr'd on *Constantius Chlorus* and *Galerius*, both Natives of *Pannonia*. *Galerius* was adopted by *Diocletian*, and *Constantius* by *Maximian*: And that their Alliance might be still more firmly fix'd, both were obliged to abandon their Wives; and *Constantius* to marry *Maximian's* Daughter, *Theodora*, as *Galerius* was to marry *Valeria* the Daughter of *Diocletian*.

(2) PROCOPIUS, who knew the Goths as well as the Vandals, and has related the Wars carried on by Justinian against both, *lib. I. Vandal*, that the Vandals and Goths used one Language; and *de bello Gothico* *lib. IV. c. 5.* *he likewise says*; Hinc longius siti erant Gothi, Visigothi, Vandali, alique omnes populi Gothici.

(3) MAMERT, *lib. c. 17.* Gothi Burgundios penitus excindunt. Rursus pro victis armantur Alemanni: itemque Thuringi, pars alia Gothorum, adjuncta manu Thaifalorum, adversum Vandalos Gepidesque concurrunt. Ha. Valefius, is indeed, *rer. Fr. lib. I. p. 51.* of *Orbinion*, that instead of Alemanni, we ought here to read Alamanni: But the common Reading is safer: as the Bur-

gundi and Alamanni are besides known to have been Neighbours about this Time.

(4) IDRM. *l. c.* Burgundiones Alemanorum agros occupavere, sed sua quoque clade quæsitos. Alamanni terras amittere, sed repetunt. O magnam vim numinis vestri! non istæ modo, aliæque gentes, viribus armisque terribiles, fiducia instructæ ad perniciem immanitatis utuntur, sed etiam Blemyes illi, (ut audio) levibus modo adfecti sagittis, adversus Æthiopas, quærun, quæ non habent arma, & pæne nudis odiis prælia internecina committunt. *And c. 18. he says, p. 53.* Barbari ad arma concurrunt, sed invicem dimicaturi: vicere barbari, sed consanguineos suos.

(5) *See* *lib. 7. §. 8.*

They

They were both, at the same Time, dignified with the Titles of *Imperator*, *Pater Patriæ*, *Pontifex Maximus*, and invested with the *Tribunitia Potestas*; which, till then, had been enjoy'd by none but Emperors-Regent. The Empire itself was now divided; an Attempt no Emperor had before dar'd to make: And, according to the best Conjectures, *Diocletian* retained for himself all the Countries beyond the *Ægean Sea*: *Galerius* obtain'd *Thrace* and *Illyricum*: *Maximian* kept *Africa*, *Italy*, and probably *Noricum*, *Rætia* and *Upper-Pannonia*; and left to *Constantius*, *Gaul* and *Spain*; with the *Tingetanian Mauritania*, which was reckon'd as a Dependancy of the latter: But tho' the Government itself was divided among four Princes, and each, to the great Oppression of the Provinces, kept a separate Court; yet did it so far retain the Appearance of an united Monarchy, that, what one of the Emperors undertook, was carried on in the Name of both; and likewise whoever expected a Favour of one, address'd his Petition to both.

Constantius
arms him-
self against
Carausius:
makes War
with the
Franks.

§. VIII. AFTER this Partition, *Galerius* march'd to the *East*, against the *Persians*; in which War, *Jornandes* represents the *Goths* as highly serviceable to him (1). *Maximian* undertook the carrying on of the War in *Africa*, and left *Constantius* in *Gaul*. The latter attempted to recover *Britain*; the Peace with *Carausius* being either not fully concluded, or soon after broken. He took indeed *Bologne*; but, as the Fleet was not in Readiness; could not yet pass over to *Britain*. In the mean Time, while Ships were building every where on the Coasts (2), he fell upon the *Franks*, who, by the Assistance of *Carausius*, had establish'd themselves in *Batavia*, that they might not be in a Condition, to make a powerful Diversion, during the ensuing War (3). He was so fortunate to subdue them, and transported several Thousands of them

§. VIII. (1) See the Words of *Jornandes*, §. XIII. not. 2.

(2) EUMEN. VI. c. 5. Qui ascitus imperio, primo adventu suo innumerabili hostium classe ferventem exclusit oceanum, exercituque illum, qui Bononiensis oppidi litus infederat, terra pariter ac mari sepsit. IDEM 4. c. 6. Statim itaque Gallias tuas, Cæsar, veniendo fecisti. Siquidem illa celeritas, qua omnes ortus atque adventus tui nuntios prætervertisti, cepit oppressam Geforiacensibus muris pertinacem tunc errore misero manum piraticæ factionis, atque illis olim mari fretis adluentem portas ademit oceanum. In quo divina providentia tua, & par consilio effectus apparuit, qui omnem sinum illum portus, quem statis vicibus

æstus alternat, defixis in aditu trabibus, ingestisque saxis, invium navibus reddidisti, atque ipsam loci naturam admirabili ratione superasti, quum mare frustra reciprocum prohibitis fuga quasi illudere videretur, jamque nullo usu juvaret inclusos, quasi redire desisset. And, Chap. 7, he proceeds thus: Potuisset illo virtutis ac felicitatis tuæ impetu totum peragi bellum, nisi ædificandis navibus dari tempus rei necessitudo suavisset.

(3) EUMENIUS panegy. VI. c. 5. Dum ædificandis classibus Britannię recuperatio comparatur, terram Bataviam, sub ipso quondam alumno suo *Carausio* a diversis Francorum gentibus occupatam, omni hoste purgavit.

to *Gaul*, where they were established in some Countries belonging to the *Treviri* and *Nervii*, which had been laid entirely waste, during the late Wars (4). *Eumenius* (5), his Panegyrist, says, in Honour to him, that he led an Army over the *Rhine*, ravaged the whole Country quite to the *Danube*, and took one of the most potent *German* Princes Captive. By this Victory, he obtained the Name of *Germanicus*, as we see by the following Inscription, erected in Honour of his Consulate, A. 294, at *Nicomedia*.

OPTIMO. BENIGNISSIMOQ. PRINCIPI. FLAVIO.
VALERIO. CONSTANTIO. NOB. CAESARI.
GERMANICO. MAX. CONS. COLONIA.
NICOMEDIENSIVM. D. N. M. Q. EIUS.

§. IX. At the same Time, while *Constantius* was at War with the *Franks*, *Diocletian* was employed to secure the Confines on the

Galerius sub-
duces the
Marcomanni,
Carpi, *Quadi*
and *Bastar-*
nae.

(4) The same Orator describes this Expedition more at large. panegyr. 4. c. 8. sq. Quamquam illa regio divinis expeditionibus tuis, Cæsar, vindicata atque purgata, quam obliquis meatibus Vahalis interfluit, quam divortio suo Rhenus amplectitur, pæne (ut cum verbi periculo loquar) terra non est. Ita penitus aquis imbuta permaduit, ut non solum, qua manifeste palustris est, cedat ad nixum, & hauriat pressa vestigium, sed etiam ubi paulo videtur firmior, pedum pulsu tentata quatiatur, & sentire se procul mota pondus testetur. Ita, ut res est, subjacentibus innatat, & suspensæ late vacillat, ut merito quis duxerit, exercendum fuisse tali solo militem ad navale certamen. Sed neque illæ fraudes locorum, nec quæ plura inerant perfugia silvarum barbaros tegere potuerunt, quominus ditioni tuæ divinitatis omnes sese dedere cogerentur; & cum conjugis ac liberis ceteroque examine necessitudinum, ac rerum suarum, ad loca olim deserta transirent: ut, quæ fortasse ipsi quondam deprædando vastaverant, culta redderent surviendo. He thereupon describes Cap. 9. very elegantly, how the Prisoners were disposed of, and concludes: Arat ergo mihi nunc

Chamavus, & Frisius, & ille vagus, ille prædator, exercitio squalidus operatur & frequentat nundinas meas pecore vænali, & cultor barbarus laxat annonam. Quin etiam si ad dilectum vocetur, accurrit, & obsequiis teritur, & tergo coercetur, & servire se militiæ nomine gratulatur. *Maximian had already transplanted many. See Eumenius's panegyr. IV. c. 21. Of the Coloniae Lectorum, Tillemont may be consulted, IV. part. 1. art. 8.*

(5) EUMENIUS paneg. IV. cap. 2. Quamquam multa mihi ex illis quoque hoc in tempore necessario transeunda sunt, ac potissimum ea, quibus officio delati mihi a divinitate vestra honoris interfui, captus scilicet rex ferocissimæ nationis inter ipsas, quas moliebatur, insidias, & a ponte Rheni usque ad Danubii transitum Guntensem, devastata atque exhausta penitus Alania: nam & majora sunt, quam ut enarrari inter alia possint, & ne meis quoque stipendiis videar gloriari, sufficit conscientia meæ illa vidiſſe. *Cellarius in orb. ant. T. I. p. 520. supposes, that this Passage was in the Place, where the Guntz falls into the Danube, and where Guntzburg now lies.*

Danube (1). This gave Occasion to his Battles with the *Marcomanni* (2) and *Quadi* (3): But the *Sarmatæ* seem to have given him the most Trouble (4): However, that he vanquish'd them, at last, is evident, not only from the Surname given *Diocletian* of *SARMATICUS MAXIMUS*, but likewise from his Medal with the Reverse, *VICTORIA SARMATICA* (5). Among other Accounts we find, that *Galerius* was successful against the *Carpi*; and we may regard the entire Submission of that Nation to the *Romans*, in the Year 295 (6), as a Consequence of his Victories. *Diocletian* led them over the *Danube*, and dispersed them in *Pannonia* (7), which *Aurelian* had, in some Measure, done before. We find, in the Reign of *Valens*, Mention made of a *Vicus Carporum*, on the *Danube*, towards the Confines of *Mœsia*, where a Residue of these *Carpi* probably dwelt.

§. IX. (1) *The IDATII fasti relate, in the Year 294, CONSTANTIO & MAXIMIANO COSS. IIIS COSS castra facta in Sarmatia contra Acinco & Bononia. Where Acincum, or Aquincum was situate, is uncertain. Some suppose it to be the present Ofen, others place it in the Country, where Gran now lies. Bononia is at present call'd Bonmoſter. v. TILLEMONT. l. c. art. 12. p. 48.*

(2) *AUREL. VITCOR in Cæſ. c. 39. Interea cæſi Marcomanni, Carporumque natio translata omnis in noſtrum ſolum, cujus fere pars jam tum Aureliano erat.*

(3) *EUMENIUS, whoſe Words are quoted in the next Note, mentions the Quadi.*

(4) *EUTROP. L. IX. c. 15. Varia deinceps & ſimul, & viritim bella geſſerunt, Carpiſ & Baſternis ſubactis Sarmatis victis, quarum nationum ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt. Eumenius likewiſe takes Notice of the Overthrow of the Carpi. panegy. IV. c. 5. Adoratae ſint igitur mihi Sarmaticæ expeditiones, quibus illa gens prope omnis exſtinctæ eſt, & pæne cum ſolo nomine relicta, quo ſurviat. Dent veniam tropæa Niliaca, ſub quibus Æthiops & Indus intremuit. Contenta ſit voce gloriæ ſuæ etiam proxima illa ruina Carporum. Reſervetur nuntiis jamjam venientibus, Mauris immiſſa vaſtatio. That the Quadi were Partners of their Miſfortunes, appears from the ſame Panegyrick. Nunc vero toto orbe terrarum, non modo qua Romanus fuerat, virtute veſtra*

*recepto, ſed etiam qua hoſtilis, edomito: quum toties proculcata eſſet Aleman-
nia, toties obtrita Sarmatia, Juthungi,
Quadi, Carpi toties profligati, ſubmittente ſe Gottho pace poſcenda, ſupplicante per
munera rege Perſarum; urebat animum
(quod nunc denique conſitemur) una illa
tanti imperii contumelia, eoque nobis in-
tolerabilior videbatur, quod gloriæ ſola
reſtabat.*

(5) *There are not only Medals extant of
Diocletian, with the Reverse, VICTORIA
SARMAT. ap. BANDUR. T. II. p. 14.
n. 4. it. VICTORIAE SARMATI-
CAE ib. n. 5. but we meet likewiſe with ſome
of Maximian with the ſame Inſcription.
v. Banduri. l. c. p. 51 & 53. For the two
Emperors partook of each other's Surnames and
Victories.*

(6) *In the IDATII faſti, the Overthrow of the
Carpi, is placed in the Year 295.*

TUSCO & ANNULINO COSS.

*His COSS. Carporum gens univerſa in
Romania ſe tradidit. And that of the Mar-
comanni, in the Year 299.*

DIOCLETIANO VII.

& MAXIMIANO VI. COSS

His COSS. viſti Marcomanni.

(7) *JORNANDES de rebus Geticis c. 16.
aſcribes theſe Victories particularly to Galerius,
when he ſays of the Carpi: Quos, imperante
Diocletiano, Galerius Maximinus Cæſar
devicit, & R. P. Romanæ ſubjecit. See the
ſecond Note.*

§. X. IN

§. X. IN the Year 298. *Constantius* undertook another Expedition in-^{Constantius} to *Britain*; and *Maximian*, in the mean While, went to *Gaul*, to pre-^{recovers}vent any Attempt of the *Germans*, to pass the *Rhine*, in the Absence of *Constantius* (1). He embarked at *Bologne*; and a thick Fog, which ^{Britain.} arose about the same Time, fortunately hinder'd the *British* Fleet, which lay at Anchor near the *Isle of Wight*, from discovering that of the *Romans*. They landed without any Opposition, and, in the Battle, which ensued, were so successful, that they vanquished not only *Allectus*, who, after the Murder of *Carausius*, had usurp'd his Dignity, but likewise those *German* Auxiliaries, whom he had drawn over into that Island (2). Another Body of *Romans*, who were not at this Engagement, met, at *London*, with those *Franks*, who had escaped by Flight, slew Part of them (2), and transported the rest to *Gaul*. Thus was *Britain* re-united to the *Roman* Monarchy, after having been separated from it about ten Years, to the great Prejudice both of *Gaul* and *Spain*, which had suffer'd, in the mean Time, more than ever, from their Piracies. All mechanick Arts had made greater Improvements in that Island, than in *Gaul*; and *Constantius* now esteem'd the Convenience of having Architects and other Artificers from thence, as one of the Fruits of his Victory: He employed them in re-building the ruin'd Cities of *Gaul*, particularly *Autun*, and the Fortresses on the *Rhine* (4). A. C. 298.

K k 2

§. XI. ACCORDING

§. X. (1) v. PAGI *ad h. a. n.* 6. Eumen. 4. c. 13. Tu enim ipse, tu domine Maximiane, imperator æterne, novo itineris compendio adventum divinitatis tuæ accelerare dignatus, repente Rheno institisti, omnemque illum limitem non equestribus, neque pedestribus copiis, sed præsentiae tuæ terrore tutatus es. Quanto libet valebat exercitus Maximianus in ripa: Tu vero, invicte Cæsar, instructis armatisque diversis classibus ita hostem incertum consilii inopem reddidisti, ut tunc denique senserit, quod non munitus esset oceano, sed inclusus.

(2) EUMENIUS *panegyrico* IV. c. 16. Sed cum veteribus illis conjurationis autoribus, & mercenariis cuneis barbarorum, tanti apparatus oblitus irruit.

(3) IDEM, c. 17. Enimvero, Cæsar invicte, tanto deorum immortalium tibi est addicta consensu victoria omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris, hostium; sed præcipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque mi-

lites vestri, qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abjuncti, ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quicquid ex mercenaria illa multitudine barbarorum prælio superfuerat, quum direpta civitate fugam capeffere cogitarent, passim tota urbe confecerint: & non solum provincialibus vestris in cæde hostium dederint salutem, sed etiam in spectaculo voluptatem. O victoria multijuga, & innumerable triumphi, qua Britannia restituta, qua gentes Francorum penitus excisa, qua multis præterea gentibus in conjuratione illius sceleris deprehensis, imposita est necessitas obsequendi, denique ad perpetuam quietem maria purgata sunt.

(4) EUMENIUS *speaks in Praise of the Reign of Diocletian and Maximian, because: Alarum cohortiumque castra, toto Rheno, & Istri, & Euphratis, limite restituta. The two Emperors had already, A. 295, rebuilt, from the Foundation, the Walls of Vitodurum, which Place*

*Constantius
beats the
Alemanni
near Langres.*

§. XI. ACCORDING to the Order observed by *Eumenius*, in his Panegyrick, *Constantius* seems to have visited the *Franks*, in their own Country, after he had recover'd *Britain*. The Words he makes Use of are the more remarkable, as they plainly denote, that the *Franks* came from a Country, into which the *Romans* had not yet penetrated (1). After this, he defeated the *Alemanni*, near *Langres* (2), and again near *Vindonissa*, now called *Vindisch*, situate in the Dominions of *Bern* *; And he, moreover, reduced a Swarm of *German* Nations, who had made a fresh Irruption into the Island of *Batavia*, to the Necessity (3) of surrendring one Part of their Company Prisoners, in Order to obtain a free Departure for the Rest.

*Affairs with
the Goths.*

§. XII. THE *Roman* Emperors maintain'd, on the other Hand, a Friendship with the *Goths*. *Eumenius* boasts of *Diocletian's* having compell'd them to sue for Peace (1); and the Army, raised by *Galerius*,

is now call'd Wintethur, and is situate in the following Inscription, in Gruterus CLXVI. 7. Dominions of Zurch; of this we find the

IMP. CAES. C. AVRE. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS. AVG. PONT. MAX.
SAR. MAX. PERS. MAX. TRIB. POT. XI. IMP. X. COS. V. P. P. ET.
IMP. CÆSAR. M. AVR. VAL. MAXIMIANVS. AVG. PONT. MAX. SAR.
MAX. PERS. MAX. TRIB. POT. X. IMP. VIII. COS. IIII. P. P. ET. IMP.
FL. VAL. CONTANTIVS. ET. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS. FILII
CAESS. MVRVM. VITVDVRENSEM. A. SOLO. INSTAVRARVNT.
CVR. AVRELIO. PROCVLO. V. C. PROV. MAX. SEQ.

§. (1) XI. *EUMENIUS panegyrico VI. c. 6.* Quid loquar rursus intimas Franciæ nationes, non jam ab his locis, quæ olim Romani invaserant, sed A PROPRIIS EX ORIGINE SUIS SEDIBUS, atque ab ultimis barbariæ litoribus avulsas, ut in desertis Galliæ regionibus collocatæ & pacem Romani imperii cultu juvarent, & arma dilectu?

(2) *The Action near Langres is described by Eutropius, Lib. 9. c. 15.* Per idem tempus a Constantio Cæsare in Gallia pugnatum est circa Lingones: die una adversam & secundam fortunam expertus est. Nam cum repente barbaris ingruentibus, intra civitatem esset coactus tam præcipiti necessitate, ut clausis portis in murum funibus tolleretur; vix quinque horis mediis, adventante exercitu, sexaginta fere millia Alamannorum cecidit. *Eumenius proceeds thus, l. c.* Quid commemorem Lingo-

nicam victoriam, etiam imperatoris ipsius vulnere gloriosam? quid Vindonis campos, hostium strage completos, & adhuc ossibus opertos?

* Near the Conflux of the Rûs and the Aar.

(3) *EUMENIUS ib. c. 6.* Quid immanem ex diversis Germanorum populis multitudinem, quam duratus gelu Rhenus illexerat, ut insulam, quam divortio sui idem amnis amplectitur, pedestri agmine ausa transmittere, repente laxato flumine clauderetur, & demissis statim obsesta navigiis, ita se dedere cogeretur, ut, quod difficilius est, SORTE COMMUNI, eligeret ex se, quos captivitati traderet, relatura cum reliquiis suis infamiam prodicionis suorum. *The Island, here described by the Orator, seems to have been no other, than the Insula Batavorum.*

§. XII. (1) See above, §. IX. not. 4.

A. 297,

A. 297, in *Illyricum*, to be employ'd against the *Persians*, consisted, in a great Measure, of *Gothick* Auxiliaries (2). We find it besides related of the *Goths*, that they expell'd a neighbouring Nation, whose Name is not mentioned, and that thole People thereupon submitted to the *Romans* (3). Moreover, as these Successes on the *Danube*, whereby the Banks of that River were secured against the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatæ* and *Goths*, gave Occasion to the Surnames of *Gothicus* and *Sarmaticus*; we have no Room to doubt, but that Images, representing the *Danube*, as well as the *Rhine*, were a Part of the splendid Triumph, celebrated at *Rome*, by the two Emperors, A. 303, on Occasion of their Entrance into the twentieth Year of their Reigns (4).

§. XIII. IN the Year 305, *Diocletian* and *Maximian* resigned the Government, and are called in the Inscriptions, erected after that Time, *Seniores Augusti*. *Constantius* and *Galerius*, on the other Hand, who earnestly wish'd for such a Change, assumed the Imperial Title. *Galerius*, at the same Time, procured for *Fl. Valerius Severus*, and for *C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus*, his Sister's Son, in both whom he thought he could safely confide, the Honour of being nominated *Cæsars*: Notwithstanding that, *Magnentius*, Son of *Maximian Herculus*, and *Constantine*, the Son of *Constantius*, were of an Age, in which they might have hoped this Dignity. The Solemnity was performed on the first of *May*. *Diocletian* resign'd the Imperial Dignity at *Nicomedia*, after having conferr'd on *Galerius*, the Name of *Augustus*, and on *Maximinus* that of *Cæsar*: He then retired, as a private Person, into his native Country, where he lived nine Years longer, and resided in his Palace, not far from *Salona* (1). *Maximian*

(2) JORNANDES *de reb. Get. c. 21*. Posthæc a Maximiano imperatore ducuntur in auxilia Romanorum contra Parthos rogati, ubi datis auxiliariis fideliter decertaverunt. Sed postquam Cæsar Maximianus pæne cum eorum solatio Narsen regem Persarum, Saporis magni nepotem, fugasset, ejusque omnes opes, simulque uxores & filios deprædasset, Achillemque in Alexandria cum Diocletiano superasset, & Maximianus Herculus in Africa quinquegentianos adtrivisset, pacem reipublicæ nacti, cœpere quasi Gothos negligere.

(3) LACTANTIUS *de mort. persec. c. 38*. *says of Maximinus*: Mediocrum filias, ut cuique libuerat, rapiebat. Primariæ, quæ rapti non poterant, in beneficiis petebantur; nec recusari licebat subscribente imperatore, quin aut pereundum esset, aut

habendus gener aliquis barbarus. Nam fere nullus stipator in latere ei, nisi ex gente eorum, qui a Gothis tempore vicenaliū terris suis pulsi, Maximiano se tradiderunt, malo generis humani, ut ille barbaram servitutem fugientes, in Romanos dominarentur. His satellitibus & protectoribus cinctus orientem ludibrio habuit. *By the Name of Maximian, in this Passage, Galerius is meant.*

(4) EUTROP. L. IX. c. 16. Post triumphum inclutum, quem Romæ ex numerosis gentibus egerant, pompa ferculorum illustri, qua Narsei conjuges sororesque & liberi ante currum ducti sunt.

§. XIII. (1) *Where Spalatro, which took its Rise from the Ruins of Salona, and where we still meet with considerable Remains of this Palace, is now situate.*

resigned the Government at *Milan*, having given *Constantius* the Name of *Augustus*, and *Severus* that of *Cæsar*. *Constantius* left *Italy* and *Africa* to *Severus*; retained *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain* for himself, and fix'd his Residence at *Triers*.

Constantine succeeds his Father in the Empire. Services done him on this Occasion by the *Alemanni*. §. XIV. *CONSTANTIUS*, in the Year 306, was just departing for *Britain*, to keep the *Picts* in Aw, when his Son *Constantine*, by *Helen* his first Wife, who had, till then, been a kind of Hostage to *Galerius*, arrived fortunately at Court: For *Constantius* died on this Expedition, at *York*, on the Fifth of *July*, and the Army immediately proclaimed *Constantine* Emperor; to which *Erocius*, King of the *Alemanni*, who had accompanied *Constantius* to *Britain*, with some Auxiliaries, did not a little contribute (1): But when *Constantine* notified his Accession to *Galerius*, and sent him, according to the Custom of those Times, his Picture, with the Imperial Robes, the latter, who bore a secret ill Will, to the Family of *Constantius*, refused to acknowledge him Emperor; and, had not the great Affection, express'd by all the Soldiers, towards *Constantine*, induced him to refrain his Wrath, had caused it to be thrown into the Fire. He therefore declared *Severus* Emperor, and allowed *Constantine* the Title of *Cæsar*, with which he was for some Time contented.

He marches against the *Franks*: A Bridge laid over the *Rhine*: *Ludia Francici*. XV. HE first displayed his Valour among the *Franks*, who had taken firm Possession of the Island of *Batavia*, and, whilst the *Romans* were busied in *Britain*, had passed the *Rhine*. We may easily guess the Cruelties, which were at that Time committed, under the Pretence of military Discipline, when we find him giving those Princes of the *Franks*, whom he had taken Prisoners, a Prey to the wild Beasts, at a publick Shew (1). In the *Panegyrics* spoken in Honour of him, this Barbarity is commended, as a Means to restrain the turbulent

§. XIV. (1) AURELIUS VICTOR in epit. c. 41. Cunctis, qui aderant, annitentibus, sed præcipue Eroco (al Croco) Alamannorum rege, auxilii gratia Constantium comitato, imperium capit.

§. XV. (1) EUTROP. L. 10. c. 2. Cæsis Francis atque Alamannis, captisque eorum regibus, quos etiam bestiis, cum magnificum spectaculum muneris præstasset, objecit: Eumenius and Nazarius mention this Cruelty several Times. The following Passage of Eumenius, in particular, affords us more Circumstances. For after having said before, Panegy. VI. c. 10. Adiecisti pœna te-

meritatis reges ipsos Franciæ, qui per absentiam patris tui pacem violaverant: non dubitasti ultimis punire cruciatibus: nihil veritus gentis illius odia perpetua & inexpiabiles iras. Cur enim ullam reputet justæ severitatis offensam imperator, qui quod fecit, tueri potest? He afterwards proceeds: Hoc boni confert pœna hostibus irrogata, ut non solum inimici ferocire non audeant, sed etiam amici impensius revereantur. Inde est igitur, imperator, pax ista, qua fruimur. Neque enim Rheni jam gurgitibus, sed nominis tui terrore munimur. Quamlibet ille aut arescat æstu, aut resistat gelu,

bulent Dispositions of the *German* Nations. Some modern Writers justify this Proceeding, from the Rigour of the ancient *Roman* military Discipline, which allowed very little Mercy to Captive Princes (2), as is evident from the Example of *Jugurtha*: But succeeding Times have shewn, that those Actions served only to justify whatever inhuman Resentment the Enemy, on the next Opportunity, express'd. *Constantine*, after the Conclusion of the War with the *Franks*, was engaged in one with their Neighbours. The *Bruëteri*, *Chamavi* and *Tubantes*, who were afterwards included under the Name of the *Franks*, drew the *Alemanni* and *Chaibones* into an Alliance with them, and prepared for War: But *Constantine* pass'd the *Rhine*, before they were aware of him, and, in a bloody Battle, dispersed them; on which Occasion those *Germans*, who died on the Spot, were more fortunate, than those who were taken Prisoners: For, as *Constantine* would not venture to incorporate them with his Militia, and found them too unruly for Servitude, he caused them to be thrown to the wild Beasts, at the publick Amphitheatres, where they were obliged to encounter with them, 'till they were torn in Pieces (3).
Alter.

gelu, neutro hostis audebit uti vado. Nihil enim tam insuperabili vallo natura præcludit, quod non penetrat audacia, cui aliqua conandi spes relinquatur. Ille est inexpugnabilis murus, quem extruit fama virtutis. Sciunt, posse Franci transire Rhenum, quos ad necem suam libenter admittas; sed nec victoriam sperare possunt, nec veniam. Quid ipsos maneat, ex regum suorum cruciatibus metiuntur, ideoque tantum abest, ut amnis transitum moliantur, magis ut cœpto ponte desperent. Ubi nunc est illa ferocia? ubi semper infida mobilitas? Jam ne procul quidem Rhenum audeatis accollere, & vix securi flumina interiora potatis. Contra hinc per intervalla disposita magis ornant limitem castella, quam protegunt. Arat illam terribilem aliquando ripam inermis agricola, & toto nostri greges flumine bicorni mersantur. Hæc est tua, *Constantine*, de *Ascarici* Regisique supplico quotidiana atque æterna victoria, omnibus quondam secundis præliis anteponenda. Semel acie vincitur, sine fine documento. Cladem suam, quamvis multi pereant, vulgus ignorat: compendium est, devincendorum hostium duces sustulisse.

(2) TILLEMONT, *l. c. p. 151*:

(3) NAZARIUS IX. c. 18. Quid memorem Bruëteros? quid Chamavos? quid Cheruscos, Vangionas, Alamannos, Tubantes? bellicum strepunt nomina, & immanitas barbariæ in ipsis vocabulis adhibet horrorem. Hi omnes sigillatim, dein pariter armati, conspiratione fœderatæ societatis exarserant. Tu tamen imperator, cum tantam belli molem videres, nihil magis timuisti, quam ne timereris. Adis barbaros, & dissimulato principis habitu, quam proxime poteras, cum duobus accedis. Nunquam est excelsior principatus, quam quum se publico submittit officio. Facis verba, spem illorum agitas, & versas credulitatem, negas, te esse præsentem. vere cæca barbaria, quæ in illo vultu signa principis non videris, quem nec sic quidem senseris, quum intra jactum teli securus sui staret, *Constantinum* esse. . . Innumeræ simul gentes ad bellum coactæ, sed uno impetu tuo fusæ, dum collativam vim comparant, compendiosam victoriam præstiterunt. *Eumenius panegy. VI. c. 12.* Ut tamen omnibus modis barbarorum immanitas frangeretur, nec sola hostes regum suorum supplicia mœrerent, etiam immissa
Bruëteris

After this, *Constantine* begun to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*, near *Cologne* (4); but the *Germans* were so terrified, that they could not so much as think of a Revenge. *Constantine* instituted, in Commemoration of these Victories over the *Franks*, certain Games, which were

Bructeris vastatione fecisti, imperator invictæ. In quo prima consilii tui fuit ratio, quod exercitu repente trajecto inopinantes adortus es, non quod aperto Marte diffideres, ut qui palam congredi maluisses, sed ut illa natio, perfugiis silvarum & paludum bellum solita frustrari, fugæ tempus amitteret. Cæsi igitur innumerabiles; capti plurimi, quidquid fuit pecoris, captum, aut trucidatum est. Vici omnes igne consumti. Puberes, qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia servituti, ad pœnas spectaculo dati, sævientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt. Hoc est, imperator, fretum esse virtute sua atque fortuna, hoc est, non pacem emere parcendo, sed victoriam quærere provocando.

(4) *Idem panegy. VI. c. 13.* Insuper etiam Agrippinensi ponte faciundo reliquiis afflictæ gentis insultas, ne unquam metus ponat, semper horreat, semper supplices manus tendat, quum tamen hoc tu magis ad gloriam imperii tui, & ornatum limiris facias, quam ad facultatem, quoties velis, in hosticum transeundi: quippe cum totus armatis navibus *Rhenus* instructus sit, & ripis omnibus usque ad oceanum dispositus miles immineat. Sed pulchrum tibi videtur, & revera pulcherrimum est, ut *Rhenus* ille non solum superioribus locis, ubi aut latitudine vadosus, aut vicinia fontis exiguus, sed etiam ibi novo ponte calcetur, ubi totus est, ubi jam plurimos haufit amnes: quos hic noster ingens fluvius, & barbarus *Nicer*, & *Mœnus* invexit, ubi jam immani meatu ferox, & alvei unius impatiens in sua cornua gestis excedere. Servit profecto, *Constantine* maxime, ipsa rerum natura numini tuo, quum in illa gurgitum altitudine tantarum molium fundamenta jaciuntur, fidam & stabilem firmitatem habitura. It is generally thought, *Constantine* built *Duiz*, for the Security of this Bridge: Which is confirmed by *Rupertus*, Abbot of *Duiz*, in *vita S. Hriberti*, Tom. II. operum, p. 887. Por-

ro de constructione castri diversa opinio est, aliis opinantibus, fuisse opus *Julii Cæsaris*, aliis asserentibus, quod tempore, quo imperator *Constantius* & filius ejus *Constantinus*, expeditionem in *Galliis* habuerunt, constructum fuerit ab eodem *Constantino*, devictis *Francis*. Hanc opinionem firmiorem esse, asserit titulus, non multos ante annos inventus in tabula lapidea, inter fragmenta murorum, & ipsa in partes diuisa, ita tamen, ut partes ipsa ad invicem conjungi possent, qui hujusmodi erat:

CONSTANTINVS. PIVS. ROMANORVM. IMPER. AVGVSTVS. DEVICTIS. FRANCIS. CASTRVM. DIVITENSIVM. IN. TERRIS. EORVM. FIERI. IVSSIT. MILITES. TVRRIM. CVM. INTERTVRRIO. FECERUNT.

Browerus has nevertheless, *annal. Trevirens. L. 3. c. 114.* represented this Inscription in the following different Manner:

VIRTUTE. DN. CONSTANTINI. MAX. PII. FEL. INVIC. AVG. SVPPRESSIS. DOMITISQ. FRANCIS. IN. EORVM. TERRIS. MIL. CASTR. DIVITENSIVM. SVB. PRAESENTIA PRINCIPIS. SVI ---- DEVOTI. NVMINI. MAJESTATIQ. EJVS DVO. DEVIGINTI. HAEC. VOTA FECER.

He refers, on this Occasion, to *B. Rhenanus*, *L. 3. ferum Germanicarum*. *Valesius*, indeed, suspects, that *Rupertus* invented this Inscription: But *Tillemont* seems to think his Suspicion not sufficiently grounded. The Historians of *Cologne* pretend, that this Bridge was there till the Time of *Otto III*, whose Brother, *Bruno*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, demolished it, and that he applied Part of the Stones to the Building of a Monastery at *S. Pantaleon*. v. *Ægid. Galenii sacrar. synt. 9.* *Stephanus Brœlmannus* has made diligent Enquiries into the Remains of it, and from the Conjectures he thence formed, has given a Draught of the whole Bridge.

celebrated

celebrated annually, from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth of *July*, and were called *Ludi Francici* (§).

§. XVI. He was soon after involved in more weighty Concerns: Changes in *Maxentius*, the Son of *Maximian*, who could not but think himself highly aggrieved, that he was neglected at the Change in the Govern-^{the West:}ment, assumed the Imperial Dignity at *Rome*, and persuaded his Fa-^{Constantine assumes the Imperial}ther to retake the Purple, which he had resigned, not without great Title. Reluctance (1). *Severus*, who, with *Galerius*, had 'till then, alone bore the Title of *Augustus*, marched against them, but was so unfortunate, that he was obliged to surrender himself to *Maximian*, at *Ravenna*, and, soon after, to suffer his Veins to be opened, and to bleed to Death. *Maximian* knew very well, that *Galerius* would not passively bear with this, and therefore went to *Gaul*, to secure his Interest. He gave him his younger Daughter, *Fausta*, in Marriage; honoured him with the Title of *Augustus*, A. 307, on the Thirty-first of *March*; and the Panegyrick spoken, in the Presence of *Maximian* and *Constantine*, on Occasion of these Nuptials, is still extant (2): Thus did five Princes, at that Time, bear the Imperial Title, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Maximinus*, *Maxentius* and *Constantine*. *Diocletian* still remained in his Solitude, and had he not employed his Thoughts more, at that Time, on cultivating certain Plants in his Garden, than on the State of the *Roman* Provinces, would have found sufficient Reason, to deplore the fatal Effects of the Form of Government he had introduced.

§. XVII. *GALERIUS*, in the mean Time, led in Person his Army into *Italy*; but found his Soldiers so little inclined to attack *Maxentius*, at *Rome*, that he hastened back with the utmost Expedition, fearing lest they might go over to the Enemy, and thereby precipitate him into *Severus's* Fate, which he was come to revenge. When *Maximian* returned, soon after, to *Rome*, from *Gaul*, he found *Maxentius* more regarded than himself, and suffering his Passion to get so much the better of his Reason, as to divest his Son of the Im-

Maxentius keeps his Ground at Rome.

(§) *Calendar. Romanum vetus ab Ægidio Bucherio editum in Commentario de doctrina temporum. Antw. 1664.*

§. XVI. (1) *Pan. inc. V. c. 11.* Quousque, Maximiane patiar me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare tibi illicitam missionem? an quod divo Augusto post septuaginta ætatis, quinquaginta imperii non licuit annos, tam cito licuit ti-

bi? Ideo te mihi ille, cujus tot aras, tot templa, tot nomina colo, Hercules dedit, ut tu in suburbano otiosus sedens usum dicatæ mihi virtutis amitteres? Redde te gubernaculis meis, & quoniam tranquillo mari portum intrare properasti, vade per fluctus, mei quidem amore sollicitus, sed tua majestate securus.

(2) *Panegyricus incerti auctoris numero V.*

perial Robes, in the Presence of the Army, they took his Part, and obliged *Maximian* to fly. He now had his Recourse to *Galerius*, who was then at *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, whither he had, likewise, invited *Diocletian*: But his Endeavours proved ineffectual, and *Galerius* nominated *Licinius*, his ancient and intimate Friend, to succeed *Severus*, which did but encrease the Dissentions among the *Roman* Princes: For *Maximinus*, who thought he had Right to this Dignity, as he was already *Cæsar*, publickly declared his Dissatisfaction at this Proceeding. *Maximian* made, thereupon, a Tour to *Gaul*, to *Constantine*, and once more resigned the Government; but shewed soon after, that he was again not in Earnest (1).

Commo-
tions in Ger-
many. Con-
stantine en-
deavours to
restore *Gaul*.

§. XVIII. THE *Franks* were, in the mean Time, seditious, and seemed inclined to War, when they saw *Constantine* at the other Extremity of *Gaul*. *Constantine* marched against them with a small Number of Men, to keep them in Aw: But *Maximian* no sooner imagined that he was passed the *Rhine*, than he resumed the Title of *Augustus*, and endeavoured to bring over the Troops, which remained behind, to his Interest: *Constantine* was apprized of it, before he had proceeded to any Hostilities with the *Franks*, and instantly hastened back, to oppose his treacherous Father-in-Law, who was obliged to surrender at *Marseilles* (1). But when he, soon after, formed a Design against the Life of *Constantine*, and was convicted of it, the only Mercy he could obtain, was the Choice, what Manner of Death he would die. His Option was the Halter, and he

§. XVII. (1) TILLEMONT, *l. c. p.* 161.

(2) XVIII. (1) LACT. *l. c. c.* 29. Quare impeditus consiliis senex Maximianus, tertiam quoque fugam moliebatur, redit in Galliam, plenus malæ contagionis & scelestis, ut Constantinum imperatorem, generum suum, generi filium, dolo malo circumveniret; & ut posset fallere, deponit regiam vestem. Francorum gens in armis erat. Persuadet nihil suspicanti, ne omnem secum exercitum duceret, paucis militibus posse barbaros debellari, ut & ipse haberet exercitum, quem occuparet, & ille opprimi posset, ob militum paucitatem. Credit adolescens, ut perito ac seni: paret ut focero, proficiscitur relicta militum parte majore. Ille paucis diebus expectatis, cum jam Constantinum æstimaret intrasse fines barbarorum, repente purpuram sumit, the-

suaros invadit, donat ut solet large, fingit de Constantino, quæ in ipsum protinus reciderunt. Imperatori propere quæ gesta sunt nuntiantur. Admirabili celeritate cum exercitu revolat. Opprimitur homo ex improvviso, nondum satis instructus; milites ad imperatorem suum redeunt. Occupaverat Massiliam, & portas obsiderat. Accedit propius imperator, & in muro adstantem alloquitur, non aspere, nec hostiliter; sed rogat, quid sibi voluisset, quid ei defuisset, cur faceret, quod ipsum præcipue non deceret. Ille vero ingerebat maledicta de muris. Tum subito a tergo ejus portæ referantur, milites recipiuntur. Adtrahitur ad imperatorem rebellis imperator, pater impius, focer perfidus. Audit scelera, quæ fecit, detrahitur ei vestis, & increpito vita donatur.

seems

seems, according to *Lactantius*, to have hanged himself (2). The *Franks* had, indeed, in the mean Time, upon the Emperor's being obliged again to retreat from the *Rhine*, augmented their Preparations; but he returned too soon for them, and thereby, for this Time at least, wholly removed the Apprehensions of an approaching War (3). *Constantine* embraced this Opportunity of the quiet State of *Gaul*, to restore the Country and Cities to a better Condition. Among other Things, we find, by a Panegyrick, held by *Eumenius*, about this Time, in the Presence of *Constantine*, at *Triers*, what magnificent Buildings he had erected in that Place (4): And his Voyage to *Britain* seems, likewise, to have been about the same Time (5).

§. XIX. IN the mean While, *Galerius* died, in the Year 311. *Maximianus* at last agreed with *Licinius*, that the Streight of *Chalcedon*,^{Marches against Max-} which separates *Asia* from *Europe*, should likewise be the Confines^{entius.} between their Dominions, and that *Licinius* should retain the Countries in *Europe*, and *Maximinus* have those in *Asia*. Thus there remained four Emperors: For, besides these two, *Constantine* bore that Title in *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, as *Maxentius* did in *Italy*. The

(2) LACTANTIUS, *l. c. c. 30*. Postremo datur ei potestas liberæ mortis,

Ac nodum informis lethi, trabe nectit ab alta.

PAGIUS ad A. 307. n. 9. & seq. compares this Relation with the Accounts met with in other Historians, and proves that Maximian's Death was in the Year 310.

(3) EUMENIUS *panegyrico 6. c. 21*. Dum a limite paullisper abscefferas, quibus se terroribus barbarorum perfidia jactaverat: scilicet, dum sibi illa proponunt, quando perveniet? quando vincet quando fessum reducet exercitum? quum repente, audito reditu tuo, velut attoniti conciderunt. Nec tuum pro rep. votum amplius quam unius noctis cura tetigit. Postridie enim quam accepto illo nuntio geminatum itineris laborem susceperas, omnes fluctus resedisse, omnem quam reliqueras tranquillitatem, redidisse didicisti. *Constantine, at that Time, still returned Thanks to Apollo for the Victories he obtained, which Eumenius praises in the aforesaid Place.* Vidisti, *Constantine*, Apollinem tuum, comitante Victoria, coronas tibi laureas offerentem, quæ tricenum singulæ fuerunt omen annorum ... Merito

igitur augustissima illa delubra tantis donariis honestasti, ut jam vetera non quærant: jam omnia te vocare ad se templa videantur, præcipueque Apollo noster, cujus ferventibus aquis perjuria puniuntur, quæ te maxime oportet odisse.

(4) EUMENIUS *panegy. VI. c. 22*. Sicut hic video hanc fortunatissimam civitatem, [*Trevirensium*] cujus natalis dies tua pietate celebratur, ita cunctis mœnibus resurgentem, ut se quodammodo gaudeat olim corruisse, auctior tuis facta beneficiis. Video circum maximum, æmulum, credo, Romano: video basilicas, & forum, opera regia, sedemque justitiæ in tantam altitudinem suscitari, ut se sideribus & cœlo digna & vicina promittant. Quæ certe omnia sunt præsentia tuæ munera. Quæcunque enim loca frequentissime tuum numen illustrat, in his & omnibus omnia & mœnibus & muneribus augentur.

(5) EUSEBIUS *de vita Constantini M. L. 1. c. 19*. mentions this Voyage: Istis ratione & consilio ab eo rite compositis, reliquias orbis partes ante oculos proponens, tandem trajecit ad Britannos.

latter committed unheard of Cruelties in *Italy*, and much worse in *Africa*; after his Soldiers had murder'd *Alexander*, who had laid Claim to the Empire there: And he, at the same Time, threatened to make War with *Constantine*, in *Gaul*, under the specious Pretence of revenging his Father's Death (1). *Constantine*, who likewise earnestly wished to be Master of *Italy*, and was encouraged to it by the Instigations of many great Men, who were disaffected to *Maxentius*, marched thither, with his Army, towards the Conclusion of the Year 311, or the Beginning of the ensuing Year; and, by several successful Battles, opened his Way to *Rome*, whither *Maxentius*, indeed, went to meet him, but was defeated †, and, endeavouring to escape, drowned in the *Tyber*. The very next Day, *Constantine* made his Entrance into *Rome*; when the Senat made a Decree, in which the Precedence, among the Emperors, is granted to him (2), and, to his Honour, they caused a triumphal Arch to be erected, which remains there to this Day.

† Octob. 2.

Constantine's
Conversion
to Christian-
ity.

§. XX. THIS may, likewise, be regarded, as a Trophy of Victory for the *Christian* Religion. *Constantine*, from his Youth, had shewn a favourable Disposition to the *Christians*, and, 'till then, entertained the same Principles with his Father; tho', to all outward Appearance, he professed the Religion, which then alone prevailed, in the *Roman* Empire: But his War with *Maxentius* was providentially intended for the Time of his Conversion. I will not here detain the Reader with an Enquiry into the Story of the Cross, which *Constantine* is said to have seen in the Air. The Learned vary too much in their Opinions. Some give Credit to *Eusebius*, who says, that *Constantine* assured him, with an Oath, that he actually saw it; and *Bucherius* even pretends to prove, that it happened near *Nimwegen*, on the *Mosel*, three *German* Miles below *Tiers* (1). Others, with *Lactantius*, who lived at *Constantine's* Court, believe it to have been a Dream: And some modern Writers even look upon it, as a Piece of Policy, in *Constantine*, to render his Conversion more acceptable to the Army (2). This, at least, all Authors concur in, that,

§. XIX. (1) LACTANTIUS, l. c. c. 43.

(2) Idem, c. 44.

§. XX. (1) BUCHER. in Belgio Rom. L. 8. c. 6.

(2) These several Opinions are collated by Dr. Fabricius, in dissertatione, qua disputatur, crucem, quam in cælis vidisse se juravit Constantinus imperator, fuisse phænomenon

naturæ in balone solari. He himself is of Opinion, that *Constantine* did actually see a Cross in the Heavens; but that it was a natural Phænomenon, which may be seen in the Circle about the Sun, and some of which Kind have been frequently observed when there has been a seeming Appearance of two Suns.

on this Occasion, he caused a new Standard to be made, on which was figured the Sign of the Holy Cross, with the two *Greek* Initial Letters of our Saviour's Name; and that he represented this Sign to the Soldiers as a certain Pledge of a Victory to be expected. This was the Origin of the *Labarum*, which has since served the Emperors not only as a Token of the supream Power, but likewise as a chief Banner to the Army. The fortunate Event of the War favoured this Change, and when *Constantine* made his Entry into *Rome*, the Senat, which had always been accustomed to bend the Knee to the Images of the Emperors, affixed to their Standards, was then obliged to adore the Cross placed above it. *Constantine*, as one of the first Fruits of his Victory, put a Stop to the Persecution of the *Christians*: But the History of his Transactions, at that Time, at *Rome*, is interspersed with many Fables, among which the exploded Deed of Donation is, perhaps, the most notorious (3): Since no one dares, at this Time, venture to defend it, even Cardinal *Baronius* himself confessing, that the Church of *Rome* has received more Injury than Benefit by it (4). He would not, however, undertake to root out the *Pagan* Worship of the *Romans*, among whom the Sacrifices, Auguries from the Flight and Cry of Birds, and other *Heathenish* Customs, were retained, 'till the Reign

(3) AUGUSTIN. STEUCHUS *libr. adversus Laurentium Vallam de donatione Constantini*; Jac. Gretserus *in tr. de munificentia principum in sedem apostolicam appendice* l. item in *apologia pro Bellarmino*, c. 21. and Nicolaus Schatenius *in Carolo magno Romano-catholico*, l. 2. c. 6. have indeed formerly attempted to defend this Act of Donation; but with so little success, that the most learned Men, in the Roman Church, unanimously reject it; as Isaac Habertus, *in not. ad archieraticon ecclesie Græcæ*, p. 24. Jo. Morinus, *in historia literate per Constantinum ecclesie, deque origine ac progressu potestatis secularia Romani pontificis*, c. 8. Petrus Josephus Cantelius *hist. urbium metropolitanarum* P. II. diff. 2. n. 7. not to mention Natalis Alexander *sæc. IV. diff. 25.* Petrus de Marca, Antonius Pagi, Tillemont and others. Conf. Cl. Fabricii, *confessio et donatio Constantino supposita*, l. c. p. 4. sq. Fabricius observes, that the first Mention of it is met with in *Aeneas Parisiensis's* Poem, which was wrote about the Year 854. *adversus decem*

objectiones Græcorum. Tillemont, *in the Life of Constantine the Great*, art. XXIX. supposes, that it proceeded from the same Hand, which wrote the fictitious Collection of *Decretalia*, that was published with the Name of *Isidorus Mercator*. To Dr. Fabricius's Remarks on this Deed of Donation, may be properly added, that the famous Great Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland, Prince Osolinski, in a Speech of his to Pope Urban VIII, which is the first among his printed Orations, pretends, that *Vladislaus*, when he took the City of Moscow, found the Original of this Deed of Donation in the Russian Treasury: His Words are, p. 2. qui [sc. *Vladislaus*] denique defertori populo, Græcum Constantinianæ donationis diploma, e superba gaza eripuit, tanquam pro Romano pontifice pugnasset, cui Romam, hostium etiam spoliis affer- vit.

(4) Conf. BARONIUS *ad A. 324. §. 13.* & 118.

of *Theodosius*. He left it to the same Providence, which had so wonderfully effected his Conversion, to move the Hearts of his Subjects: And the *Christian* Religion, which had extended itself, even in the Midst of Persecution, was yet unacquainted with Compulsion, and waited for a compleat Victory, from the Truth of its Doctrine, which had begun to gain Ground at Court, and from that Purity of Morals which is inseparable from it. Nay, *Constantine*, as well as the succeeding *Christian* Emperors, 'till *Gratian*, assumed the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, that they might be the more enabled to cultivate their Religion (5).

He enters
into an Al-
liance with
Licinius, and
puts a Stop
to the Perse-
cution of
the *Christi-
ans*.
A. C. 313.

§. XXI. *CONSTANTINE* set out from *Rome*, in the Beginning of the Year 313. At *Milan* he met with *Licinius*, who, after the Death of *Galerius*, had earnestly sought his Friendship; and both had now equal Reason to employ their united Force against *Maximinus*. A Marriage had been agreed on between *Licinius* and *Constantina*, Sister of *Constantine*, which was now celebrated at *Milan*. The Emperors had invited *Diocletian* to the Wedding: But too great an Enmity subsisted before between him and *Constantine*; and the Edict issued by him and *Licinius*, at *Milan*, in Favour of the *Christian* Religion (1), would, alone, have sufficed to render them odious in the Eyes of this Persecutor. He therefore excused himself, under

(5) Conf. BARONIUS ad A. 312. §. 93. Pagi's Objections to this, in Critici annal. Baronii ad h. A. §. 15, 19. with whom Tillamont, in not. 34. likewise agrees, are confuted by Banduri, p. 246. n. 6.

§. XXI. (1) It will, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the Reader, to see the most remarkable Words of this Edict, as we find them in Lactantius, l. c. c. 48. Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus augustus, quam etiam ego, Licinius augustus, ante Mediolanum convenissemus, atque universa, quæ ad comoda & securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractatu haberemus; hæc inter cætera, quæ videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur; ut daremus & Christianis, & omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset; quo quicquid divinitatis in sede cœlesti nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostra sunt constitu-

ti, placatum & propitium possit existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri ac rectissima ratione ineundum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederet, quam ipse sibi aptissimam esse sentiret; ut possit nobis summa divinitas, cujus religioni liberis mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque præstare. Quare scire dignationem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis omnino conditionibus, quæ prius scriptis, ad officium tuum datis, super Christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc caveres, ut simpliciter unusquisque eorum, qui eandem observandæ religionis Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui, id ipsum observare contendant. Quæ sollicitudini tuæ plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires, nos liberam atque absolutam colendæ religionis suæ facultatem

under the Pretext of old Age. The two Emperors wrote him, thereupon, a Letter, shewing their Resentment, and adding some Threats; which, together with the infirm State of Health he laboured under, had such an Effect on him, that he died soon after (2): And, of all his great Projects, carried nothing to the Grave with him, but a melancholy Conviction of the evil Consequences of them.

§. XXII. A REPORT, that the *Franks* were preparing to pass the Lower-*Rhine*, occasioned *Constantine* to hasten back over the *Alps*, and his speedy Return deterred them from their Design: But, as he resolved, once for all, to reduce these turbulent Neighbours into such a Condition, that he might have no farther Apprehensions on their Account, and looked upon this as the most proper Time to execute his Resolution; he pretended he had no Manner of Suspicion of them, but was directing his March towards the Upper-*Rhine*, where the *Alemanni* had given some Cause of Uneasiness. The *Franks* immediately swallowed the Bait, and passed the *Rhine*; but the Officers, left behind by *Constantine*, assembled, with the utmost Expedition, a Number of Men sufficient to cut off their Retreat: While he himself sailed, with his Fleet, down the *Rhine*, and invaded their own Country, which being then destitute of its bravest Inhabitants, was exposed to the Sword and Plunder (1). From this Time, *Constantine* bore the Sur-
name

tem hisce Christianis dedisse. Quod cum hisdem a nobis indultum esse pervideas, intelligit dignatio tua, etiam aliis religionis suæ, vel observantiæ potestatem, similiter apertam & liberam, pro quiete temporis nostri esse concessam, ut in colendo quod quisque diligeret, habeat liberam facultatem. . . . Et quoniam iidem Christiani non ea loca tantum, ad quæ convenire consueverunt, sed alia etiam habuisse noscuntur, ad jus corporis eorum, i. e. Ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum pertinentia; ea omnia lege, qua superius comprehendimus, citra ullam prorsus ambiguitatem, vel controversiam, hisdem Christianis, i. e. corpori, & conventiculis eorum, reddi jubebis, supradicta scil. ratione servata, ut ii, qui eadem sine pretio, sicut diximus, restituerint, indemnitate de nostra benevolentia sperent, &c.

(2) *Historians vary in the Circumstances. Tillemont has collated the several Relations, in vita Dioclet. p. 85. sqq.*

§. XXII. (1) *Paneg. inc. c. VIII. c. 22.* Ruperat fidem gens levis & lubrica barbarorum, & robore atque audacia, lectis eruptionis auctoribus, institisse Rheno nuntiabantur. Illico obviis adfuisti, & præsentia tua, ne auderent transitum, terruisti. Etiam videbaris rem votis tuis fecisse contrariam, quod inhibita eruptione non foret materia victoriæ: sed inopinato consilio usus. Abeundo enim, simulato nuntio, majoris in superiore limite tumultus occasionem stolidis ac ferinis mentibus obtulisti in nostra veniendi; relictis in occulto ducibus, qui securos adorirentur. Quo quum venissent, consilium tuum sequitur fortuna. Toto Rheni alveo oppleto navibus, deVectus terras eorum ac domos mæstas lugentesque populatus es, tantamque cladem vastitatemque perjuræ genti intulisti, ut vix post illud nomen habitura sit. *And further, c. 23.* Ite nunc omnes, si placet, barbaræ nationes, & exitiales vobis movete conatus, habetis exemplum. Quamvis enim imperator
noster

name of *Franciscus*, and he spent the Remainder of the Year at *Trier*, as appears from some of his Edicts, which were signed there in the Months of *November* and *December* (2). A Panegyrick was likewise spoken there, in Honour to him, about the same Time, from whence these Circumstances are borrowed; and that Orator, moreover, ascribes it as praise-worthy, in *Constantine*, that he again caused the captive *Franks* to be inhumanly butcher'd in the publick Shews.

*Licinius de-
feats Maxi-
minus, and
shares the
Empire
with Con-
stantine.
A. C. 314.*

§. XXIII. On the other Hand, *Licinius*, at his Return from *Milan*, found *Maximinus* to be a powerful Enemy: But when it came to a Battle, the latter was defeated, and, in a few Months afterwards, came to a terrible End, at *Tarso*, leaving the whole *East* open to the Conqueror. *Constantine* and *Licinius* were now the sole Masters of the Empire; but they soon fell at Variance (1), and *Constantine*, after a bloody War, compelled *Licinius* to a new Partition, by which *Mæsia prima*, *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedonia*, and the Rest of *Greece*, were added to that Share, which he before enjoyed (2). As a Confirmation of this renewed good Understanding, *Constantine's* two Sons, *Crispus* and *Constantine*, and *Licinius's* Son, of the same Name, were, by both Emperors, dignified with the Title of *Cæsar*.

*And repels
the Goths
from Mæsia:
Ludi Gothici.
A. C. 323.*

§. XXIV. WHILST *Constantine* made a Progress thro' his Provinces, and was busied not only to ameliorate their State, but to establish the *Christian Religion*, of which the many excellent Laws he promulgated

noster amicorum regum admittat obsequia: idque ipsum valeat ad laudem victoriæ, quod a nobilissimis regibus timetur & colitur; augeri tamen gloriam virtutis suæ gaudet, quoties provocatur. Nam quid hoc triumpho pulchrius, quod cædibus hostium utitur etiam ad nostrum omnium voluptatem, & pompam munerum de reliquis barbaricæ cladis exaggerat, tantamque captivorum multitudinem bestiis objicit, ut ingrati & perfidi non minus doloris ex ludibrio sui, quam ex ipsa morte patiantur? Inde est, quod quum exitum differe liceat, perire testinant, seseque letalibus vulneribus & mortibus offerunt. Ex quo ipso apparet, quam magnum sit, vicisse tam prodigos sui. *And. c. 24.* Facile est, vincere timidos & imbelles, quales amœna Græcia, & delitiæ orientis educunt, vix leve pallium, & sericos sinus vitando soli tolerantes, & si quando in periculum venerint, libertatis

immemores, ut servire liceat, orantes. Romanum vero militem, quem qualemque ordinat disciplina, & sacramenti religio confirmat, aut trucem Francum, ferina sola carne distentum, qui vitam pro victus sui vilitate contemnat, quantæ molis sit superare, vel capere? quod tu, imperator, & nuper in Italia, & in ipso conspectu barbariæ paulo ante fecisti.

(2) *V. chronologiam cod. Theodos. ad h. A. p. 7.*

§. XXIII. (1) *A. 314. ut probat Pagius ad A. 317. n. 4. sqq. & Tillem. in Constant. p. 254.*

(2) *Zosimus, c. 20. p. 159.* Postridie pactis induciis, visum est inter ambos esse debere societatem & fœdus mutuum, ita quidem, ut *Constantinus* imperaret *Illyricis*, & nationibus cæteris, quotquot ulterius essent porrectæ: *Licinius* *Thraciam*, & orientem, & ultiores provincias haberet.

are Evidences, *Crispus* maintained Tranquility in *Gaul* (1). *Nazarius*, in the *Panegyrick*, which he held in the Year 321, when the *Cæsares* celebrated their *Quinquennalia*, extols his gallant Atchievements against the *Franks*, and against the *Germans* in general (2): And there are Medals yet extant, some with the Image of *Constantine* (3), and others with that of *Crispus* (4), the Reverses of which are Monuments of these Victories, and, at the same Time, prove that he was successful against the *Alemanni*.

§. XXV. THE Countries on the *Danube*, which, by the last Parti-^{Constantine} tion, fell to *Constantine's* Share, gave Occasion to a War with the ^{wages War} *Sarmatæ* and *Goths*. That with the *Sarmatæ* begun A. 319, and was ^{with the Sar-} carried on during the three following Years (1): *P. Optatianus* relates, ^{matæ. A. C.} 319.

§. XXIV. (1) *NAZARIUS panegyrico IX. c. 36.* Declarant ecce rationem cupiditatem-que votorum facta *Crispi*, *cæsarum* maximi, in quo velox virtus ætatis mora non retardata, pueriles annos gloriis triumphalibus occupavit . . . Cruda adhuc hieme, iter gelu intractabile, immensum spatium, nivibus infestum, incredibili celeritate confecit . . . Quæ tuum, *Constant.* mite pectus inundavit gratulatio, cui tanto intervallo videre filium licuit, & videre victorem? Narravit utique exhausta bella, & hoc ad tui gratiam, non ad sui ostentationem: qualis excipiendo hoste, quam resistenti vehemens, quam facilis supplicanti. Audivit hæc frater intentus, & puerilem animum spes læta, & blanda gaudia titillarunt; quumque miraretur fratrem, etiam sibi favit, quod ex annis ejus, quam proximus tantæ gloriæ esset, agnovit. Nunc te, *Constantine* maxime, omnes rogamus, quum præsentem laudaveris, quum jam reipublicæ flagitanti, cum *Gallis* desiderantibus reddes, iterum atque iterum moneas revertentem, (neque enim persuaderi facile potest) ut, si quando armis vestris contusa barbaria aliquid tamen moverit, sit ille animo, sit consilio tui similis. Temperet modo dextræ, manui parcat, & sit aliquid, quæsumus, in quo te iterum nolit imitari.

(2) *IDEM l. c. cap. 17.* Sub armis tuis ita conciderunt, ut deleri funditus possent: nisi divino instinctu, quo regis omnia, quos ipse afflixeras, conficiendos filio reservasses.

Quamquam ad gloriam fecunda malis suis natio ita raptim adolevit, robusteque recreata est: ut fortissimo cæsari, primitias ingentis victoriæ daret, cum memoria acceptæ cladis non infracta, sed asperata pugnaret. And he concludes this Speech with saying again, c. 38. Jacet in lateræ Galliarum, aut in sinu suo fusa barbaria. *Publius Optatianus Porphyrius*, in that elaborate Poem, which he compos'd in Praise of *Constantine, the Great*, mentions these Victories, in the following Verses:

--- Sed *Crispi* in fortia vires

Non dubiæ, ripa *Rhenum*, *Rhodanumque* tueri

Ulteriore parant, & *Francis* tristia jura.

This Poet was perhaps not so well acquainted with the Circumstances. The Romans were before Masters of the Countries, situate on both Sides of the Rhone; it is therefore difficult to know, what he means by Ripa Rhodani ulterior. He proceeds thus:

Omnis ab *Arcto*is plaga finibus, horrida Cauro,

Et tibi fida, suis semper bene militat armis Resque gerit virtute tuas: populosque feroces Propellit.

(3) In *BANDURI l. c. p. 253.* with the Reverse.

VIRTUS EXERCITVS GALLICAN.

(4) *IBIDEM p. 318.*

§. XXV. (1) *Rationem chronologiæ vid. ap. PAGIUM ad A. 319. n. 3.*

that they were first defeated at *Campona*, in *Valeria*, not far from *Buda*, afterwards at *Bononia*, in *Lower-Pannonia*, and last of all, at *Margos*, in *Upper-Moesia* (2). *Zosimus* names their King, *Raufimodus* (3). We find Medals of *Constantine* (4) and *Crispus* (5), on the Reverses of which are the Words *VICTORIA SARMATICA*. An ancient *Roman* Calendar, written about the Year 354, and published by *Bucherius*, takes Notice of the *Ludi Sarmatici*, which were celebrated at the End of *November* and the Beginning of *December*, for the Space of six Days (6). *Jac. Gothofredus* supposes (7), that they were instituted on Occasion of the Victories gained in this War; but we have already observed, that *Carinus* celebrated *Ludi Sarmatici* at *Rome* (8).

And repels
the Goths
from *Mæſia*:
Ludia Gothi-
ci. A. C. 323.

§. XXVI. THE *Gothick* War is placed in the Year 323, when that Nation invaded *Thrace* and *Moesia*. *Constantine* repelled them with so much Advantage, that they were obliged to leave all their Prisoners behind them (1). *Eusebius* probably means this War, when he says, that *Constantine* would no longer pay the *Goths* the Stipends which

(2) P. OPTATIANUS. c. 22.

Jam totiens, Auguste, licet *Campona*
cruore

Hostili post bella madens, artissima toto
Corpora fusa solo, submersas amne repleto
Victrix miretur turbas, aciemque ferocem.
Plurima conabor Phœbeo carmine gaudens
Margensis memorare boni cœlestia facta,
Introitus & bella loqui perculsa ruinis
Queis devicta jacet gens duro Marte
caduca.

Testis magnorum vicina *Bononia* præsens
Sit voti compos excisæque agmina cernens
Det juga captivis, & ducat cætera prædas.

(3) ZOSIMUS L. II. c. 21. p. 160. Quum autem *Constantinus* inaudisset, ad *Mœotidem* paludem habitantes *Sauromatas*, *Istro* navigiis transjecto, ditionem suam infestare, copias in eos duxit. Itidem barbari cum *Raufimodo* rege obviam ei profecti, primum quoddam opidum tentabant, satis magno præsidio munitum, cujus ea pars muri, quæ a terra surgebat in altum, erat opere lapideo facta; pars superior ligneo. Quamobrem arbitrati *Sauromatæ*, facillime se potituros opido, si quidquid esset in muro ligneum exulsiſſent: ignem admovebant, & consistentes in muro telis petebant, sed

quum murorum propugnatores telis ac lapidibus ex loco sublimiore dejectis, barbaros interficerent, jamque *Constantinus* advenisset in barbaros impetu facto de loco superiore, multos occidit, plures vivos cepit, reliquis fuga sibi consulentibus. *Raufimodus* majori parte copiarum amissa, naves ingressus *Istrum* transjecit, quum haberet in animo ditionem *Romanam* denuo populari. Quod ubi *Constantinus* comperisset, & ipse transjecto *Istro* subsequitur, ac fuga quosdam ad collem silvis densum delatos adoritur, & multos interficit, quorum in numero *Raufimodus* erat; multisque vivis captis, residuam multitudinem, quæ manus porrigebat, in fidem recepit: eoque pacto magna cum multitudine captivorum ad prætorium reversus est. His in urbes distributis, *Theſſalonicam* accessit.

(4) ap. BANDURI l. c. p. 211.

(5) IBID. p. 318. 2) *Crispus* seems, after the Victory gain'd over the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, to have remained with his Father, and to have assisted at the *Sarmatian War*.

(6) v. *calendarium vetus supra laudatum* § XV. nota 5.

(7) v. *chronologia cod. Theodos.* p. 22. 2.

(8) v. *lib. V. § 29. not. 2.*

§. XXVI. (1) *Anonymus*, a *Valesio* ad *ſinem Ammiani editus* p. 474. c.

they

they had, 'till then, drawn from the *Romans*, and that, in the War which ensued, he made Use of the *Labarum*, with the Cross, against them (2). *Socrates* says, that GOD performed so many Miracles in the Course of this War, that the *Goths* themselves acknowledged the Divine Power, and many of them were converted to Christianity (3). We find, in the above-mentioned Calendar, Notice taken of the *Ludi Gothici*, which lasted from the fourth to the ninth of *February*: And there are likewise Medals extant, with the Reverse, VICTORIA GOTHICA (4): But it is uncertain, whether those Games and Medals refer to the first *Gothick* War; or to the other, of which an Account will be given below, under the Year 332.

§. XXVII. BUT this very *Gothick* War was the Occasion, that the Animosities, which had for some Time subsisted between the two Emperors, broke out at last into an open War: For *Licinius* was offended, that *Constantine* set Foot into those Countries, which were under his Jurisdiction, during his Wars with, and Pursuit after the *Goths*. As *Constantine* had hitherto been a Protector of the *Christian* Religion; so did *Licinius*, tho' he at first dissembled it, favour the *Pagan* Worship. Hence the War, which ensued between the two Emperors, may be regarded as the utmost Conflict between Christianity and Paganism; since, on the Event thereof, depended not only the Dominion of the World, but likewise the Fate of Religion. *Constantine* was every where victorious, 'till *Licinius* was oblig'd, at Length, to yield himself a Prisoner, in the Year 323, when he, soon afterwards, rais'd fresh Commotions, to pay for them with his Life (1). The Cir-

Constantine is hereupon again at Variance with *Licinius*. The *Goths* and *Franks* serve him.

(2) EUSEBIUS *in vit. Const. L. 4. c. 5. p. 391.* Cum superiores imperatores vectigalia Scythis persolverent, ipsique Romani a barbaris servitute pressi quotannis tributa penderent: cum hæc conditio imperatori minime ferenda videretur, alienumque existimaret ab omnium gentium victoris dignitate, perinde ut majores sui tributum pendere; servatoris sui ope præsidioque confusus, triumphale illud signum contra istos etiam obtendens, brevi spatio omnes superavit, & reluctantes quidem armata manu coercens, reliquos prudentibus legationibus placans, ab inculta & fera vita ad humanam civilemque traduxit.

(3) SOCRATES *L. I. c. 14. p. 528. b)* Eisdem temporibus cum Sarmatæ barbari, & Gotthi in agros Romanos irruptionem facerent, tamen imperatoris institutum in ecclesiis construendis nequiquam præpeditum est.

Nam istos crucis vexillo, quod est Christianorum proprium, in prælio fretus tam fortiter devicit, ut non solum tributum, quod ab antiquis imperatoribus dari solet barbaris, ipse illis penitus ademerit, sed illi etiam præ incredibili victoria obstupescit, tunc primum Christianæ religioni colendæ, cujus præsidio Constantinus incolumis evaserat, se totos traderent.

(4) V. BANDURI *l. c. p. 300: 4.*

§. XXVII. (1) PAGI *ad A. 318. n. 5. sq.* asserts, that *Licinius* surrender'd himself at Nicomedia A. 324. and was murder'd A 325, hence he reckons the Time of *Constantine's* reigning alone from A. 325. But *Tillemont* has proved, *artic. L. p. 309.* that *Licinius's* Surrender happen'd in the Year 323, and that if he was not kill'd the same Year, it was in the Year 324.

cumstances of this War concern us no farther here; than to observe, that *Constantine* received eminent Services, as well from some *Gothick* Troops (2), as in particular from an Army of *Franks*, led by *Bonitus* (3): And we have therefore the less Reason to wonder, when we find *Eusebius* saying, in his Praise, that many foreign Persons of Quality attain'd to great Honours and Wealth, at his Court, and in his Service (4).

Constantine
renews his
Wars with
the *Goths*.
A Bridge
laid over the
Danube.
The *Goths*
subdue the
Vandals.

§. XXVIII. In the latter Years of *Constantine's* Reign alone, we meet with not many Occurrences, relating to the *Germans*. His Son *Constantine* presided in *Gaul* (in the same Manner as *Crispus* had done before) 'till his Father's Death *: And he himself went in Person against the *Goths*. The *Chron. Alexandrinum* mentions, that he pass'd the *Danube*, in the Year 328, and built a Bridge of Stone over it (1): Hence the Medals, the Reverse of which represent a

(2) JORNANDES in *Goth. c.* 21. Sicut & sub Constantino rogati sunt, & contra cognatum ejus Licinium arma tulere, eumque devictum, & in Thessalonica clausum, privatum imperio, Constantini victoris gladio trucidarunt. Nam & dum famosissimam & Romæ æmulam in suo nomine concederet civitatem, Gothorum interfuit operatio, qui fœdere inito cum imperatore, XI. suorum millia illi in solatia contra gentes varias obtulere. Quorum & numerus, & militia usque ad præsens in republica nominantur, i. e. fœderati. Tunc etenim sub Ararici & Aorici, regum suorum, florebat imperio. Post quorum decessum successor regni extitit Iberich, virtutis & nobilitatis eximæ. Whereby the Passage in the annales anonymi, which Valefius annex'd to his Amianus, p. 475. b. is explained. Themistius, Or. 15. ad Theod. de virtute Regia, p. 191. a. produces a Circumstance relating to this: For when he boasts of Athanaric, the Prince of the Thervingi's coming to him to Constantinople, he mentions that Constantine caused a Column to be erected, in Honour of his Father, which was then still to be seen behind the Hall where the Senat assembled. Et quemadmodum a magne lapide attrahuntur ultro ramenta ferrea, sic ipse sine labore ac prælio Getarum allexisti regulum; & superbus ille quondam, ac tumidus, sponte ad te venit, ac supplex regiam civitatem ingreditur, cujus ad placandum parentem maximus

ille Constantinus statuam olim erexerat, quæ post curiam adhuc collocata cernitur.

(3) See Ammianus Marcellinus's Words below, §. XLII. not. 5.

(4) EUSEBIUS de vit. Constantini L. 4. c. 7. In quibus etiam nonnullos cæteris clariores, & nobiliores, Romanis honoribus sic illustrabat, ut plerique obliti ad patrios lares reversiones, genus hoc vitæ amplexi sint.

§. XXVIII. *. Medals of this Constantine are extant in Band. p. 331. with the Inscription:

CONSTANTINVS IVN NC

and the Reverse:

GAVDIVM ROMANORVM

and lower:

ALAMANNIA TRA.

It. with the Reverse:

ALAMANNIA DEVICTA: ib. p. 334.

But those, who are vers'd in Medals, agree, that the Victories gain'd by *Crispus* are here meant: For in Honour of them Medals were likewise struck with the Image of *Constantine*, who was at that Time Cæsar. conf. Banduri p. 331. n. 3.

(1) CHRON. ALEXANDR. p. 662. Aurel. Victor. in Cæf. c. 41. Pons per Danubium ductus. & in epitom. c. 41. Hic pontem in Danubio construxit.

Bridge

Bridge over the *Dauube* (2), are supposed to be of this Year. We find a more explicit Account of the War, which he waged, in the Year 332 (3), with some *Gothick Nations* (4). A *Sarmatian Nation* was so harrafs'd by the *Goths*, that they had Recourse to the Assistance of *Constantine*; which he granted, and, according to an ancient Author, under Command of *Constantine*, the younger, who, on the twentieth of *April* 332, subdued the *Goths*, in a bloody Battle, and thereby so humbled them, that their King, *Ariaric*, was forc'd to give his Son as an Hostage to him (5): But the *Sarmatae* were, by this War, involv'd in a greater Mistortune. They had armed their Subjects, to resist the *Goths*: But they no sooner knew their own Strength, and what Use to make of it, than they turn'd their Arms against their

(2) With the Inscription:

SALVS REIP. DANVBIVS.

ap. Banduri p. 248. (2) He likewise has taken Notice of the Medal, with the Reverse:

VICTORIA GOTHICA

p. 250. n. 4.

(3) Hunc annum asserit Pagius eod. n. 3. contra Baron, qui hoc bellum ad. A. 330. retulerat.

(4) IDATIUS ad A. 332. Pacatiano & Hilariano COSS. His COSS. victi Gothi ab exercitu Romano in terris Sarmatarum die XII. Kal Maii. The anonymous Writer, whose Works are publish'd by Valesius, relates this War, directly after his Account of the Consecration of the City of Constantinople: Deinde adversus Gothos bellum suscepit, & implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Constantinum Cæsarem centum prope millia fame & frigore extincta sunt. We find ex l. 4. d. sponsal. cod. Theod. that the Emperor was this Year, in April, at Martianopolis, in Mœsia secunda, and consequently on the Gothick Borders. From Zosimus's Words L. II. c. 31. p. 185, the Thaisali appear to have waged War with Constantine. Nec jam bellum aliud amplius gerebat: adeo quidem, ut Thaisalis, natione Scythica, cum equitibus quingentis irruentibus, non modo nullas copias adversus eos in aciem eduxerit; sed etiam parte majori exercitus amissa, quum hostes ad ipsum vallum usque populos omnia conspexit, arrepta cupide fuga sibi consuluerit. Zosimus's Prejudice against Constantine is indeed well known; but thus much

of this Relation may be true, that the Thaisali drew pretty near him (probably about Martianopolis) and that the War was chiefly left to the Management of his eldest Son.

(5) ANON. a VALESIO ad finem AMMIANI editus, p. 476. Deinde adversus Gothos bellum suscepit, & implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Constantinum cæsarem centum prope millia fame & frigore extincta sunt. Tunc & obsides accepit, inter quos & Ariarici regis filium. Sic cum his pace firmata, in Sarmatas versus est, qui dubiæ fidei probantur. Sed servi Sarmatarum adversum omnes dominos rebellant: quos pulsos Constantinus libenter accepit, & amplius trecenta millia hominum mixtæ ætatis & sexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam, Italiamque divisit: Julianus observes, in orat. I. in Constantii imp. laudem. Tuæ vero matri ex nostrarum legum præscripto, inviolata ac sincera illa jura necessitudinis conservanti, hoc nihilominus est tributum, ut unius esset filia, alterius uxor, soror itidem alterius; mater porro non unus solum, sed multorum imperatorum. Quorum alius susceptum contra tyrannos bellum una cum patre confecit: alius debellatis Getis pacem nobis cum illis tutam ac securam prestitit, alius fines nostros immunes ab hostium incursione, atque impetu servavit, cum ipse in eos sæpius exercitum duceret, donec id per eos licuit, qui paulo post suorum in eum scelerum, atque injuriarum pœnas dederunt.

own Masters, and drove them out of the Country ; whereupon some of them subjected themselves to the Emperor (6). These Exploits, likewise gave Occasion to *Constantine's* bearing the Title of DEBELLATOR GENTIUM BARBARARUM (7), on his Coins : But these Victories may not always have been so compleat, as they are represented in the Panegyricks : For, according to *Eutropius's* Relation, the *Goths* obtain'd an advantageous Peace (8). And, by a Passage in *Julian*, *Constantine* appears, indeed, to have regained *Dacia*, or at least to have compell'd the Natives of that Country, in some Measure, to acknowledge the *Roman* Sovereignty : But these Advantages seem rather to have been obtain'd at the Expence of Mony, than Blood (9). *Constantius Porphyrogenneta* has related some Circumstances of the Wars, which *Constantine, the Great*, had with the *Goths*

(6) EUSEBIUS *de vit. Const.* L. 4. c. 26. Sauromatas vero deus ipse imperatoris pedibus substravit : quos barbara superbia elatos, hoc modo fregit & compressit. Cum a Scythis Sauromatae invaderentur, servosque suos cogerentur armare, ut eorum vim & impetum repellerent : postquam penes servos victoria constitisset, ii jam eadem arma, quibus contra hostem usi sunt, in dominos convertunt, omnesque suis sedibus & domiciliis deturbant. At domini salutis portum præter Constantinum reperiebant nullum. Is cum solitus esset salutem dare miseris, omnibus in Romanam regionem receptis, quos idoneos reperiebat, in suorum militum ordines referebat : reliquis vero ad necessarios vitæ usus agros ad colendum dividebat ; ut fortunate & feliciter hanc sibi calamitatem accidisse faterentur, quando immanem feritatem cum Romana libertate commutassent. Sic deus immanium barbarorum universas gentes imperatori parere fecit. *We shall find in Constantius's Life, that the whole Nation of the exiled Sarmatae did not retire into the Roman Dominions, and that, by the Assistance of the Romans they recover'd their Country.*

(7) *Constantine's Medals, with the Reverse, DEBELLATORI GENTIUM BARBARARVM, and lower GOTHIA, is in Banduri, p. 244. n. 3. who likewise produces other Medals of him, with the Reverse, DEBELLATORI GENTT. BARBARR.*

p. 255. (1) it. VICTOR GENTIUM BARBARAR. p. 256. (7) *What Nations are meant by this Name, may be seen by the Title given him on Inscriptions :*

IMP. CAES. D. CONSTANTII FILIVS. FL. CONSTANTINVS. MAX. VICTOR. AC. TRIVMPHATOR. PIVS. FELIX. INVICTVS. AVG. GERMANICVS. SARMATICVS. GOTHICVS. VANDALICVS.

(8) EUTROPIUS, L. 10. c. 4. Nam etiam Gothos post civile bellum varie profligavit, pace his ad postremum data, ingentemque apud barbaras gentes memoriam gratiæ collocavit.

(9) *As we have been so frequently obliged to quote the Panegyricks, in Illustration of our History, especially under Constantine, we may here take the Liberty of quoting, what Julian says of this Hero, in his Satire, on the Emperors, in Cæsar, p. 338. Post hunc, Constantinum, ut diceret, admoverunt. Atque ille primum quidem fidenti animo in certamen prodibat ; veruntamen in aliorum opera intuenti, sua sibi parva prorsus & nullius pretii visa sunt. Duos enim Tyrannos, si verum dicere oportet, de medio sustulerat : unum quidem imbellem & ignavum ; alterum præterquam, quod afflicta fortuna, etiam senectute confectum, utrumque vero diis hominibusque maxime invisum. Præterea ejus in barbaros gesta, erant ipsi parum decora, & ridicula*

Goths (10); but they hardly deserve our Notice: And *Jornandes* makes no Mention at all of these Wars: He only complains, in general, that the *Romans* begun to think lightly of the *Goths*. But, on the other Hand, he relates (11), that *Geberic*, King of the *Goths*, waged War with the *Vandals*, and defeated *Visumar*, their King, on the River *Maroz*: Whereupon the Residue of the *Vandals* submitted themselves to *Constantine*, who assign'd one Part of *Pannonia* to them for a Habitation.

§. XXIX. IT

ridicula. Tributa enim quodummodo penderat, & delicias vitæque luxum spectarat. Itaque longo a diis diffitus intervallo, hærebat in limine lunæ, cujus amore tenebatur, totusque in eam intuens, de victoria nihil laborabat. Ubi vero ipsum dicere oportuit: His ego rebus, inquit, sum istis longe superior; Macedone, quod adversus Romanos, Germanicas & Scythicas gentes, nor cum Asianis barbaris, bello conflixit; Cæsare & Octaviano, quod mihi res non fuit, sicut illis, contra probos & virtute præstantes viros; sed in crudelissimos & sceleratissimos tyrannos impetum feci. Et Trajano quidem rebus a me in debellandis tyrannis fortiter & prospere gestis merito præponi debeo: IN QVO VERO EAM, QVAM ACQUISIERAT, REGIONEM RECUPERAVI, hæud abs re par judicarer, nisi quoque perdita recipere, quam parare, excellentius est. Marcus vero de se ipso tacens, nobis omnibus primum honoris gradum cedit. Sed numquid nobis Adonidis hortos, inquit Silenus, tanquam egregia facinora, o Constantine, jactas & profers? Quinam sunt, quæso inquit, isti, quos vocas Adonidis hortos? In quibus, ait ille, mulieres Veneris viro, fictilibus injecta terra olerum feraci, ferunt ea quidem, quæ ubi brevi temporis spatio effloruerunt, statim viridatem amittunt. Hæc audiens Constantinus, erubuit: quippe qui hæc adversus sua facta, tanquam hujusmodi essent, dici satis intelligeret.

(10) *He writes, de imper. c. 53. that Constantine applied for Assistance against the Goths, to the Nations, who dwelt in Chersonesus Taurica, with whom he was in Alliance; that they marched against them, under the Command of Dio-*

genes, their Prince, passed the Danube, and did the Goths great Damage: Whereupon the Emperor sent for their Duke, and the Chiefs of their Nation, to Court, and gave them rich Presents: And that afterwards, a certain Quantity of Oyl and Iron was paid them annually by the Grecian Emperors. But Mons. Tillemont observes, p. 395, how little Credit can be given to this Relation.

(11) *JORNANDES de rebus Geticis, c. 22. Nam is, Hilderich patre natus, avo Ovida, proavo Cnivida, gloriam generis sui factis illustribus exæquavit, primitias regni sui mox in Wandalica gente extendere cupiens, contra Visumar eorum regem, Asdingorum e stirpe, quæ inter eos eminet, genusque indicat bellicosissimum, Dexippo historico referente, qui eos ab oceano ad nostrum limitem vix in anni spatio pervenisse testatur, præ nimia terrarum immensitate. Quo tempore erant in eo loco manentes, ubi Gepidæ sedent, juxta flumina Marisia, Miliare, & Gilfil, & Grissia, qui annos supradictos excedit. Erant namque illis tunc ab oriente Gothi, ab occidente Marcomanni, a septentrione Ermunduri, a meridie Hister, qui & Danubius dicitur. Hic ergo Wandalis commorantibus bellum indictum est a Geberich, rege Gothorum, ad litus prædicti amnis Marisæ, ubi tunc diu certatum est ex æquali. Sed mox ipse rex Wandalorum Visumar magna cum parte gentis suæ prosternitur. Geberich vero ductor Gothorum eximius, superatis, deprædatisque Wandalis, ad propria loca, unde exierat, remeavit. Tunc perpauci Wandali, qui evasisent, collecta imbellium suorum manu, infortunatam patriam relinquentes, Pannoniam sibi a Constantino principe petiere, ibique per quadraginta annos plus minus sedibus locatis, imperatorum*

Constantine's
Edicts,
which serve
to illustrate
the German
History.
Whether
the Remo-
val of the
Imperial
Residence
to Constanti-
nople pro-
moted the
Irruptions
of the Ger-
mans.

§. XXIX. It is well known, that after *Constantine* became sole Master of the Empire, he removed his Residence to *Byzantz*, which City he built in a splendid Manner, and call'd it, from his Name, *Constantinople*. *Zosimus* blames him on this Account, and accuses him of having deprived the Borders of their Garrisons, and, as it were, given them a Prey to those barbarous Nations, who, in succeeding Times, over-run the whole Empire. Many modern Writers have indeed propagated this Slander (1); but it were to be wish'd, for the Memory of *Constantine*, that all the Imputations he lies under, could be so easily exploded as this. The whole Sequel of this History proves, that he had Reason to have Regard to the Protection and Tranquility of the *Eastern* Countries; and that the Security of the *Rhine*, and the upper Part of the *Danube* was not endanger'd thereby. Nor were the Borders of the *Roman* Empire ever better secur'd against the *Germans*, *Goths*, and *Sarmatæ*, than in the Reign of *Constantine*, and in that of his Sons. The first Invasion of those People, who made Devastations in the *Roman* Empire, was in the East; and the *Western* Countries were destroy'd at a Time, when they had their own Emperors, who resided in *Italy*. Besides this Change, some other Dispositions made by him in the *Roman* Empire, require our Observation, as they serve, in the succeeding Times, to illustrate the *German* History. He divided the *Præfectura Prætorii* into four Offices (2): The *Præfectus Prætorii Orientis*, and the *Præfectus Prætorii Illyrici*, were to belong to the *Eastern* Empire; and, to the *Western*, the *Præfectus Prætorii Italii* and the *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*. The former of these two had

peratorum decretis ut incolæ famularunt. Unde etiam post longum a Stilicone magistro equitum, & exconsule, ac patricio invitati, Gallias occupavere, ubi finitimos depredantes non adeo fixas sedes habuere. The Places, here described by *Jornandes*, are likewise mentioned by the Geographer of *Ravenna*, L. 4. c. 14. p. 103. Per quas Dacorum patrias transeunt plurima flumina, inter cetera quæ dicuntur *Tysia*, *Tibisia*, *Drica*, *Marrisia*, *Ariric*, *Gilpit* & *Gresia*: Quæ omnia flumina in *Danubio* merguntur.

§. XXIX. (1) Conf. *TILLEMONT*. in vit. *Const.* art. 80, & 83.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. 2. c. 33. p. 187. *Constantinus* autem, recte constituta loco movens, unum hunc magistratum in quatuor imperia discerpfit. Nam uni præfecto prætorii (orientali scil.) totam *Ægyptum*, uni

Lybiæ *Pentapoli* & orientem ad *Mesopotamiam* usque, & præterea *Cilices*, *Cappadoces*, *Armeniam*, oramque maritimam totam a *Pamphylia* *Trapezunte* usque & usque ad castella propter *Phasidem* sita, tradidit. eidem & *Thracia* commissa, & *Myfia*, & *Cyprus*, & *Cyclades*. Alteri (nempe præfecto *Illyrici*) *Macedonas* attribuit, & *Theffalos*, & *Cretenses*, & *Græciam*, & circumjacentes insulas, & *Epirum* utramque, & præter has *Illyrios* & *Dacos* & *Triballos* & *Pannonios* ad *Valeriam* usque & *Myfiam* superiorem. Hi duo erant Præfecti prætorio orientalis imperii. Totidem in occidente. Tertio igitur, (nempe *Ital.*) præfecto totam *Italiam*, *Siciliam* *Sardiniam* & *Corficam* & *Africam* a *Syrtibus* *Cyrenen* usque. Quarto *Transalpinos* *Celtas*, & *Hispanos* cum insula *Britannica* commisit.

Italy,

Italy, a Part of Illyricum, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the Countries in Africa, from the Syrtes, as far as Cyrene: The other had the Direction of Gaul, Spain and Britain, and kept his Court at Trier (3). These *Præfetti Prætorii* had their Substitutes, under whose Inspection the Provinces were partly govern'd by *Consulares*, and partly by *Præsides*. He likewise took the Authority over the Army from the *Præfectura Prætorii*: The Soldiers had till then been govern'd by *Duces*, under the Inspection of the *Præfetti*; but he now instituted a *Magister Militum*, which Office was afterwards divided, and a particular *Magister Equitum* and *Magister Peditum* appointed, and the Number of these was likewise, in the Sequel, encreased. He moreover instituted the Order of *Patricii*, which, next to the Consulship, was the highest Dignity in the Empire. The *Patricii* were, in a Manner, the most secret Counsellors to the Emperor, but had no Administration with it: Whence this Order became a Means, not only to reward the *Præfetti Prætorii*, *Magistri Militie*, and other great Officers, but likewise to remove them from their Posts, under the Pretence of a greater Honour. We shall find, in the Sequel, that *Franks*, *Goths* and other *Germans*, frequently arriv'd at these Honours, and even several German Kings, have been *Magistri Militie* as well as *Patricii*.

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§. XXX.

(3) By Reason of many Circumstances, which taining to the *Prætorium Italiae*, and *Galliarum*, may occur in the Sequel, it will not be amiss here to add an Account of the Countries apper-

PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORIO ITALIÆ, & sub ipso diœceses tres.

ITALIÆ.
SUB DIOECESI ITALIÆ,
PROVINCIAE XVII.
VENETIÆ,
ÆMILIA,
LIGURIA,
FLAMINIA ET PICENUM
ANNONARIUM,
TUSCIA ET UMBRIA,
PICENUM SUBURBI CARUM,
CAMPANIA,
SICILIA,
APULIA ET CALABRIA,
LUCANIA ET BRUTII,
ALPES COTTIARUM,
RHÆTIA PRIMA,
RHÆTIA SECUNDA,
SAMNIUM,
VALERIA,
SARDINIA,
CORSIKA.

ILLYRICI.
SUB DIOECESI ILLYRICI,
PROVINCIAE VI.
PANNONIA SECUNDA,
SAVIA,
DALMATIÆ,
PANNONIA PRIMA,
NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM,
NORICUM RIPENSE.

AFRICÆ.
SUB DIOECESI AFRICÆ,
PROVINCIAE VI.
BYZACIUM,
NUMIDIA,
MAURITANIA SITIFENSIS,
MAURITANIA CÆSAREENSIS,
TRIPOLIS,
AFRICA PROCONSULARIS.

PRAE.

Origin of
the German
Churches.

§. XXX. BUT no Alteration was more advantageous, than that which happen'd in Religion, under this Emperor, after he declar'd himself a Protector of the Christians. Their Number in *Gaul* was the larger, as his Father *Constantius* took no Share in the Persecutions of his Partners in the Administration; and we find, soon after his Conversion, two eminent Bishops, those of *Triers* and *Cologn*. *Maternus*, Bishop of *Cologn*, was, in particular, greatly esteemed by him: For when a Schism was occasioned, by the Sect of *Donatus*, in the Churches of *Carthage*, and the *Donatists* appealed from the See of *Rome* to the Emperor (1), he sent them back to *Rome*, and ordered *Maternus*, with two other Bishops from *Gaul*, to repair thither; who, together with Pope *Melchiodes*, and some *Italian* Bishops, were impowered to enquire into, and to determine the Affair (2). We find, moreover, that *Agræcius*, Bishop of *Triers*, and this *Maternus*, were present at the Council, held at *Arles*, A. 314, on this Account (3). It is therefore probable, that there were then several more Bishops in *Germany* and *Belgica*, or who, at least, were ordained in his Reign: And

PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORIO GALLIARUM,
& sub ipso diœceses tres.

HISPANIÆ. SUB DIOECESI HISPANIAE, PROVINCIAE VII.	GALLIARUM. SUB DIOECESI GALLIARUM, PROVINCIAE XVII.	BRITANNIARUM. SUB DIOECESI BRITANNIARUM, PROVINCIAE V.
BOETICA, LUSITANIA, GALLÆCIA, TARRACONENSIS, CARTHAGINENSIS, TINGITANIA, BALEARES.	VIENNENSIS, LUGDUNENSIS PRIMA, GERMANIA PRIMA, GERMANIA SECUNDA, BELGICA PRIMA, BELGICA SECUNDA, ALPES MARITIMÆ, ALPES PENNINÆ ET GRAIÆ, MAXIMA SEQUANORUM, AQUITANIA PRIMA, AQUITANIA SECUNDA, NOVEM POPULI, NARBONENSIS PRIMA, NARBONENSIS SECUNDA, LUGDUNENSIS SECUNDA, LUGDUNENSIS TERTIA, LUGDUNENSIS SENONIA.	MAXIMA CÆSAREENSIS, VALENTIA, BRITANNIA PRIMA, BRITANNIA SECUNDA, FLAVIA CÆSAREENSIS.

§. XXXI. (1) V. SAMVELIS BASNAGII, *monales politico-ecclesiasticos*, T. II. ad A. 314. n. 6.

(2) OPTATUS Milevitanus episcopus de schismate Donatistarum, L. I. p. 22. Et ta-

men dati sunt judices; Maternus ex Agripina civitate, Reticius ab Augustoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis, &c.

(3) V. Epist. synodicam inter monumenta vetera Optato Milevitano subjuncta, p. 183.

Bucherius

Bucherius supposes, that *Tongres*, now *Liege*, became a See in this Reign (4).

§. XXXI. THESE Churches, as well as those which flourished at that Time in *Noricum* and *Rætia*, together with the other Episcopal Sees, owe the Rise of their Wealth and Eminence to those excellent Laws, which *Constantine* enacted for the Benefit of the Christian Religion. For he not only gave Liberty to his Subjects, to be munificent to the Christian Churches, in their last Wills, and granted many Immunities to the Clergy; but we find, likewise, some Instances (1), that, in great Confidence of the Innocence and Justice of the Bishops, he gave them certain Jurisdictions, which among the numerous good Effects they produced, gave, from the Beginning, as is but too common, in the Course of all human Affairs, Occasion to several Abuses.

§. XXXII. THE Ecclesiastical Government begun likewise to be reduced into a regular Form. The Bishops were distinguished from the other Priests, and composed a particular Order. The Church had so far imitated the political Constitution of the Empire, that the Bishops of each Province had a sort of Union among themselves, and those, who dwelt in the capital Cities, had the Precedence. This Regulation was now confirmed, and likewise introduced into *Gaul*, where, according to the Opinion of *Anton. Pagi*, they had 'till then no *Metropoles Ecclesiasticæ* (1). The Bishop therefore of

N n 2

(4) ÆG. BUCHERIUS in *disput. historica de primis Tungrorum s. Leodiensium episcopis*, c. 3. in fin. Quo tempore exactior dioeceseon sacrarum, ut & profanarum instituta partitio: ac probabiliter tum primum Tungrensis civitatis peculiarem obtinuit episcopum S. Servatium, ut & Colonia Maternum secundum.

§. XXXI. (1) SOZOM. L. 1. c. 9. E. p. 206. Illud porro est plane maximum reverentiæ imperatoris erga religionem argumentum, quod clericos ubique per legem ob eam rem conditam immunitate donari voluit: quodque illis, qui erant in judicium vocati, dedit potestatem, si modo animum inducerent magistratus civiles rejicere, ad episcoporum judicium provocandi; atque eorum sententiam ratam esse, & aliorum judicium sententiis plus habere auctoritatis, tanquam ab ipso imperatore prolatam, statuit. Quin etiam jussit, ut magistratus res judicatas re ipsa exequerentur, militesque eorum voluntati

inservirent: præterea, ut conciliorum decisiones firmæ & immutabiles existerent. Sirmond quotes in append. ad cod. Theodosianum, a Law of Constantine's, importing, that if any one appealed to a Bishop, the temporal Judge should transfer the Cause to him, tho' it were dependant in his Court. Mons. Tillemont suspects the Genuineness of this Law, p. 467. There is however, another Law extant, almost to the same Purpose, which Jac. Gothofredus likewise rejects. V. ejus extravagans, seu subditius titulus de episcopali judicio in fin. codicis Theodosiani. But, in this, Tillemont attempts to answer his Objections, Vid. not. 71. ad vit. Constantini.

§. XXXII. (1) Pagi is of Opinion, ad A. 401. n. L. that before the Times of Constantine the Great, there were no *Metropoles ecclesiasticæ* in *Gaul*, no more than in *Spain*, tho' he does not deny the *Metropoles civiles*: his Words are these: Scriptores antiquos a quibus

the Capital, of each Province, took Place of the others at their Conventions, and had the Direction of those Matters which were to be treated on: Whence arose the Name *Metropolitans*, and, at Length, that of Arch-Bishops. As, moreover, certain Provinces made together but one Diocese, the Bishop of the Capital of the whole Diocese presided over the other *Metropolitans*; whence they were called *Primates*: And the Chief of those, as the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were dignified with the Title of *Patriarchs*, 'till this Honour was likewise afterwards conferred on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and at length on the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Thus, as the *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, resided at *Triers*, the Capital of all *Gaul* (2), the Bishop of *Triers* was esteemed *Primate* of the Bishops of *Gaul*.

Partition of
the Empire
among the
Sons of
Constantine.
Constantine
the Younger
resides at
Triers.

§. XXXIII. *CONSTANTINE* the Great died A. 337, the 22d of May. The Partition he had made of the Empire met, after his Death, with the same Fate, as the last Wills of many other Princes have done: It was subverted, with great Bloodshed, and his three Sons made, at Length, a new Partition among themselves. *Constantine*, the Eldest, retained *Gaul*, *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Constans*, the Youngest, had *Italy*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia* and *Achaia*: And *Thrace*, *Egypt*, and the whole *East*, fell to *Constantius*, the second Son; which was esteemed the most advantageous Share. We meet with no Transactions between *Constantine*, the Younger, and the *Germans*; but this we find, that he resided at *Triers* (1). In the Year 310, he began a War with *Constans*, his younger Brother; but was overcome, and lost his Life on that Oc-

quibus aliqua lux affulgere potest, diligenter inter se contuli, nihilque ex illis eruere potui, quod ostendat, ante Constantini magni imperium metropolitanos in Galliis aliquo jure potitos esse. Quare sicut in Hispaniis ante concilium Eliberitanum, & Constantiniana tempora, nullæ fuere metropoles ecclesiasticæ, licet in iis essent metropoles civiles, & sicut ibidem post introductos metropolitanos nulli primates extitere, ut ostendit Joannes de Segovia, marchio Agripolitani, vir in antiquitate versatissimus, in suis dissertationibus ecclesiasticis lingua Hispanica nuper editis; ita & in Gallia ante Constantini imperium nullas metropoles ecclesiasticas fuisse autumo.

(2) That *Triers* was the Capital of *Gaul*, is demonstrated by Pagi, ad A. 332. n. 5. & 6. among other Proofs, by the Words of Athanasius,

in historia Arianor. ad monachos, c. 33. in which he mentions Paulinus, Bishop of *Triers*: Ex quorum numero clarissimæ sunt confessionis viri religiosi, & episcopi boni, Paulinus, episcopus Trevirorum, quæ Galliarum metropolis est: Lucifer, metropolitanus Sardinia: Eulebius, Vercellis civitate Italia: Dionysius Mediolani, quod & ipsum est Italiae metropolis.

§. XXXIII. (1) V. l. 27. cod. THEOD. de decurionibus data Treviris VI. Idus Januar. 339. adde chronol. Cod. Theodos. p. 40. Porro epistola ejus ad populum Alexandrinum pro Athanasio data est Treviris XV. Kal. Jul. vid. Athanasii Apologia contra Arianos, p. 203. Socrates mentions this Letter, L. 2. c. 2. Eas quidem litteras imperator ipse ad populum Alexandrinum, ab urbe Treviri, quæ est in Gallia, miserat.

caſion.

sion. *Constans*, thereupon, united those Provinces, which his Brother had governed, with his own, and brought all the *Western* Countries under his Scepter, in like Manner as his Brother was Master of all the *East*.

§. XXXIV. THE *Franks* intended, probably, to have taken Advantage of these civil Wars: For we find, that soon after *Constans* became Master of *Gaul*, he was at War with them (1): But the *Roman* Historians do not pretend to boast much of Advantages gained on their Side (2).

The Wars
of *Constans*
with the
Franks.

§. XXXIV. (1) SOCRATES, L. I. c. 7. Isto tempore reipublicæ status magnopere perturbatus fuit. Nam gens Francorum, qui Galliae finitimi sunt, in Romanorum fines incursionem fecerunt. Libanius takes Notice of this Incursion in the Panegyrick, spoken in Honour of the two Emperors, *Constans* and *Constantius* (orat. 3. p. 137.) and at the same Time gives a large Description of the *Franks*, which I shall add here entire. Celta- rum gens est supra Rhenum fluvium, ad oceanum pertingens, tam præclare a natura ad bellorum usus munita, ut appellationem ab ipsis actis nacti, *Franci* nominentur, quasi a Græcanica dictione *φρασχοι*, hoc est septi, munitive ab imperito vulgo corrupta. Hi multitudine numerum pene omnem excedunt: robore autem multitudinis immensitatem superant. His maris procellosi æstus non magis terrori est, quam continens terra: & frigus septentrionale suavius quam aeris temperies: calamitas vero maxima est vita absque negotiis: & felicitatis apex belli tempora sunt. Quod si quis mutilatus fuerit, parte reliqua integra præliatur: & vincientium persecutio non admittit finem: ut si contigerit ut superentur, extremum fugæ, invasionis initium faciant; porro insanæ pervicacitatis præmia, & audaciæ honores, legibus apud ipsos sancitis, obtinent: quietem, otiumque omnino judicant morbum. Quapropter ab omni ævo superiore propinquum illis regnum nacti, neque rationes invenerunt, quibus persuaderent: neque tantam in armis vim habuerunt, ut quiescere cogerent. Verum diu noctuque nulla interposita mora, perseverantes, excursionibus occurrere opus erat: neque cibum sine armis sumere, neque galea deposita secure requiescere licebat: sed tantum non armaturæ coherentes ferrum gestare prisco-

rum *Acarnanum* more oportebat. Idemque his usu venit quod in obicibus, quando mare variis impulsu ventis continuatos fluctus decumanos excitat. Nam quemadmodum ibi priusquam prior fluctus ad oppositos obices fractus sit, secundus occupat, & tertius deinceps: isque motus non intermittit, donec venti cessent: ita certe Francorum animi rerum bellicarum amore ad insaniam concitati, crebras edebant impressiones; ac priusquam primam aciem prorsus repulissent, dux alter exercitus superincidebat: verum tandem oportuit hos fluctuum motus componi, sistique firmiter. Enimvero tum rex apparuit, qui insatiabilem in illis bellandi cupiditatem, ad pacis desiderium convertit: nec ullam artem aliam adhibuit; nisi quod majorem ipse ad pugnandum alacritatem, quam ea, quæ in illis fuit, præ se tulit. Itaque minime ad manus venire & congregi sunt ausi: sed formido tantum congressus, idem atque experimentum efficere potuit: ac dextras quidem non ad hastilium jaculationem intendere, sed ad pactorum & foederum postulationem protenderunt, cujus rei argumento est, quod rectores a nobis admiserint, tanquam eorum, quæ agerentur, inspectores: & belluina rabie abjecta, humanos discursus amplexati sunt, ac plus habendi cupidine relicta, jurisjurandi religionem in honore habuerunt. Denique omnino etiam juramentorum necessitate nulla urgente, quietem adamarunt. Sic pejor a meliori coerceri assolet.

(2) IDATIUS ad A. 341. Marcellino & Probino Coss.

His Coss. pugna facta est cum gente Francorum a Constante augusto in Galliis. ad A. 342. Constantio III. & Constante II. Coss.

His Coss. victi Franci a Constante aug. seu pacati. Et ad A. 343. Franci a Constante perdomiti, & pax cum eis facta.

The

The Coins, however, with the Reverse, TRIUMPHATOR GEN-
TIUM BARBARARUM, and VIRTUS EXERCITUS GALL. (3),
seem to relate to this War. The following Year, 344, this War
came to an End, rather, as it seems, by friendly Negotiations, than
by Force of the Roman Army (4): For *Constans* had the more Rea-
son to establish a Peace on the *Lower-Rhine*, as his Presence was
necessary in *Britain*; whither he went in the Year 343. If the History of
Ammianus Marcellinus had been preserv'd entire, we should have had a
more explicit Account of these Wars, and of his other Transactions with
the *Germans*; for that Writer boasts, in one Passage, of this Em-
peror's Skill in keeping the *Alemanni* very much in Aw (5).

Bishops
from *Belgica*
and *Germany*
assist at the
Council of
Sardica.

§. XXXV. BUT no Transactions, in the Reign of *Constans*, are
so expressly mentioned in History, as the Share he took in the Affairs
of Religion; which we must not here omit, as from thence we may
know the State of some Episcopal Sees, that flourish in the *German*
Church to this Day. His Law, which prohibits Idolatrous Sacrifices,
under Pain of Death, shew with what Zeal he aimed at the Establish-
ment of Christianity: But the Church itself was, at that Time, rent
by a violent Schism. As the Adherents of *Eusebius* had great Influence
at the Court of *Constantinople*; so, on the other Hand, did *Constantine*
and *Constans* favour the Party of *Athanasius*. When the *Eusebiani* sent
the Articles of their Faith, which they had ratified at the Synod of
Antioch, to *Constans*, the Emperor, to *Gaul*, by the Hands of four of
their own Bishops, A. 344, the Bishops of *Gaul* not only rejected those
Articles; but *Maximinus*, Bishop of *Triers*, who had before shewed his
Zeal for the Truth, when *Constantine the Great* sent *Athanasius* into
Exile, to *Triers* †, would not now converse with these Messengers (1).
Constans publickly took *Athanasius*, who had, a second Time, been
forced to quit his Church, into his Protection, and represented the
Case to his Brother, with so much Energy, that both Emperors at

(3) BANDURI, p. 351. & 353.

(4) SOCRATES, L. 2. c. 10. Ista acta sunt
duobus augustis Coss. ad III. scilicet consu-
latum Constantii, ac secundum Constantis.
Quo quidem tempore Constans gentem de-
vicit Francorum, eosque foederatos ac socios
Romanis fecit.

(5) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 30.
c. 7. de Valentiniano: Gallias petiit Alaman-
nicis patentes excursibus, reviviscentibus e-
rectius, cognito principis Juliani interitu,
quem post Constantem solum omnium formi-
dabant.

§. XXXV. † V. HERMANT dans la vie de
S. Athanase L. 4. c. 16. p. 357. The Compiler
imagines, in his Explanation, that he came to-
wards the End of February, in the Year 336,
and staid there, 'till the End of June, 338.

(1) SOSOMENUS, L. 3. c. 10. Inde etiam
ipsi illi episcopi in epistola synodali concilii
pseudo-Sardicensis, sub finem: Maximinum
a Treviris damnat omne concilium, quod
collegas nostros episcopos, quos ad Gallias
miseramus, noluerit suscipere. Add. Her-
mant. l. c. Lib. 5. c. 24.

last agreed to a Council, to be held at *Sardica* (2); a City of *Mœsia*, which was situate on the Confines of the Dominions of *Constantinus* and *Constantius*, and was consequently very convenient for such an Assembly. Their Decrees concern us no farther, than that not only *Maximinus*, with the Bishops of *Metz*, *Tull*, *Verdun*, and other Prelates of *Gaul*; but, likewise, from *Germania prima*, *Martinus*, Bishop of *Mentz*; *Victor* or *Victurus*, Bishop of *Worms*; *Jesse*, Bishop of *Spire*; and *Amantus*, or *Amandus*, Bishop of *Strasburg*; and from *Germania secunda*, *Euphrates*, Bishop of *Cologne*; and *Servatius*, Bishop of *Tongres*, assisted at this Council. The Bishop of *Triers* had so great an Influence there, that he was equally esteemed with Pope *Julius* (3). *Euphrates*, Bishop of *Cologne*, together with the Bishop of *Capua*, were sent, after the Conclusion of the Council, to *Constantine*, the Emperor, to make all possible Instances for the Restoration of the Bishops then in Exile (4).

§. XXXVI. WE find Decrees of a Council held at *Cologne*, on Of the the *Rhine*, A. 346, by which it appears, that *Maximinus*, Bishop of Council at *Triers*, had the Precedency at that Assembly; and that *Euphrates*, *Cologne*, on the *Rhine*. Bishop of *Cologne*, was condemned. But as, at first View, it seems improbable, that *Euphrates*, who, the Year ensuing, did such eminent Service to the Orthodox Church, as is observed before, should be deposed for *Arianism*: So, upon a more narrow Enquiry, we find, so many Marks of Falshood in them (1), that we can hardly make

(2) *ATHANASIUS apol. p. 734.* Ab religiosissimis imperatoribus, Constantio & Constante, jussi sunt episcopi orientis & occidentis Sardicam convenire. The Council of *Sardica* say themselves; Religiosissimi principes nos ex diversis provinciis & civitatibus in unum convocaverunt, cupientes, ut sancta synodus Sardicam conveniret, quo omnis controversia præcideretur.

(3) *HILARIUS in fragmentis ap. Bucherium in Belgio Romano, p. 277. n. 7.* Ignorasse vos negabitis, Athanasio, (cujus damnationem a vobis Valens, Ursacius, Saturnius exigunt) ab Osio, Maximino, Julio redditam communionem.

(4) *ATHANASIUS ad monachos, c. 20. p. 355.* Nam cum sacra synodus legatos episcopos misisset, Vincentium Capuæ, quæ metropolis est Campaniæ, episcopum, & Euphra-

tem Agrippinæ, quæ est metropolis superioris Galliæ; ut prout decretum a synodo fuerat, imperator episcopos, in suas reverti ecclesias concederet, quos nempe expulisset ipse, &c. He thereupon relates the Adventures which these two Prelates met with at Antioch.

§. XXXVI. *Sirmondus takes them to be genuine, who is seconded by Pagius, ad A. 346. n. 6. and the latter endeavours to remove the Scruples, raised by Cointius, ad A. 355. n. 13. and Henschenius ad d. 13 Maii in illustratione vitæ S. Servatii: But Mons. Hermant, dans la Vie de S. Athanase, L. 5. c. 28: aux éclaircissements, n. 3. and Dupin in Bibliotheca nova, p. 326. proves, by the Subscriptions themselves, that those Decrees cannot be received as genuine, tho' we were even not to insist exactly on the Year, and place the Synod somewhat later.*

any.

any Scruple of rejecting these Decrees, as either interpolated, or, at least corrupted (2).

Magnentius, assisted by some other of the Germans, particularly the Franks, assumes the Imperial Dignity.

† M. Januar.

§. XXXVII. *CONSTANS* was murder'd, A. 350 †, and *Magnentius*, the Author of the Conspiracy, proclaimed Emperor in his Room. He was a *German* by Birth, and his Ancestors were, perhaps, among those Captives, which *Maximian* or *Constantius* transported from *Germany* to *Gaul*. He had been instructed in all the Sciences and Disciplines of the *Romans*, in which he had attained to so great a Perfection, that he was highly esteemed by the Emperor *Constans*, and placed at the Head of the Legions, raised by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. As he was now under a Necessity to maintain, by Force, a Title which he had unjustly acquired, he drew a great Number of *Franks* and *Saxons* into his Service (1): He likewise made himself Master of *Italy* by Force, and caused *Nepotianus*, Nephew of *Constantine* the Great, who had assumed the Imperial Dignity, at *Rome*, to be murder'd: But he did not neglect, at the same Time, to make Proposals to *Constantius* for an amicable Treaty, and sent an Embassy to him (2), with which was

(2) Conf. BASNAGE, in annal. politico-ecclesiasticis ad A. 346. n. 4, 5.

§. XXXVII. † See Julian's Words, n. 1.

(1) JULIANUS, orat. l. p. 34. says of Magnentius: Num igitur omnia mihi commemoranda sunt illius scelera, quæ cum adversus rempublicam, tum privatim contra te molitus est? qui cum & domino suo sceleratissime manus inferre non dubitasset (erat enim majorum illius vile mancipium, & de Germanorum præda servatæ infelices reliquæ) & imperare nobis cuperet, cum ne liber quidem habendus esset, nisi id a nobis impetrasset. He thereupon describes his Preparations: Sed bellici illius apparatus, quem cum adversus barbaros comparasset, in nos effudit, vim ac potentiam quis pro rei dignitate possit explicare? He makes on this Occasion particular Mention of those German Nations, who served him. ibid. D. Aderant & AFFINITATIS NOMINE promptissimi sociorum Franci, & Saxones, qui ultra Rhenum, atque occidentis mare habitant, nationes omnium bellicosissimæ. It. orat. 2. p. 56. A. Habebat autem ille secum legionarioes pedites multos; tum non pauciores equitum numerum, quicquid roboris ex Gallis, &

Hispanis, ac Germanis, qui Rhenum accolunt, & mare ad occidentem situm; quod five oceanum, s. Atlanticum mare, five alio quopiam nomine appellare conveniat, nihil admodum pugnabo. Verum bellicosissimas ac longe fortissimas barbarorum nationes ad illum habitare non auditum modo, cujus non adeo certa fides est: sed experientia, quod dici solet, ipsa comperi. Harum igitur gentium non minorem multitudinem, quam quæ ex domesticis copiis sequabatur, secum educens; Vel ut verius dicam, ILLI QUIDEM, UTPOTE GENERIS EJUSDEM AC COGNATI, quam plurimi comitabantur: nostri vero, sic enim Romanos appellare libet, vi ac necessitate compulsi trahebantur.

(2) Athanasius, in the Passage quoted above, n. 3. mentions four Ambassadors, two of whom were Bishops, whom he calls Sarbadius and Maximus. Baronius ad A. 350. v. 28. supposes them to have been Servatius Bishop of Tongres, and Maximinus, Bishop of Trier. Hermant, in the Life of Athanasius, is of his Opinion, with Regard to the former, but not to the latter, who was dead before this Time. V. l. vie de S. Athanase, aux éclaircissements sur le livre 6. c. 19.

Servatius,

Servatius, Bishop of *Tongres*, and another Bishop. The Ambassadors pass'd through *Alexandria*, and *Athanasius's* Enemies took thereupon Occasion to accuse him, at Court, of having an Understanding with *Magnentius*; which Calumny he clear'd himself of with great Presence of Mind (3). *Constantius* was deaf to all Proposals of Accommodation, and took the Field against *Magnentius*. On his March, he defeated *Veteranio*, who attempted to usurp the Empire, in *Pannonia*, and, upon certain Conditions, was united with *Magnentius*, who had already reach'd that Province. He thereupon dispers'd *Magnentius's* Troops near *Sciffa*, and soon after entirely routed him, near *Mursa*, on the *Draw*. To this Defeat, the Defection of *Silvanus*, a Son of the *Franconian* General *Bonitus*, of whom Mention is made above (4), with his Men, from *Magnentius* to him (5), did not a little contribute. Thus, this *German* Hero did, indeed, open a Way to the highest Promotion in the Emperor's Service; which however was, soon after, the Cause of his own Perdition.

§. XXXVIII. *CONSTANTIUS*, the next Year, drove *Magnentius* out of *Italy*, likewise, and by persuading the *Alemanni* to fall upon him, in *Gaul*, raised him a dangerous Enemy there, where he might otherwise have recruited. *Magnentius* had entrusted this Province to his Brother *Decentius*, to whom he, at the same Time, gave the Appellation of *Cæsar* (1): But he was vanquish'd by *Chodomarin*, Prince of the *Alemanni*, who headed this Expe-

Constantius
employs the
Alemanni
against him.
A. C. 352.

(3) *ATHANASIUS* was accused to *Constantius* of having written to *Magnentius*: But he clear'd himself of this Charge, in apologia ad imperatorem Constantium, p. 298. & sqq. He says, among other Things, p. 300. n. 9. Apud te autem, veri studiose imperator, cum fiducia meam propugno causam: rogoque te, uti jam dixi, rem diligenter explores: cum potissimum testes habeas legatos, ad te olim ab illo missos; *Servatium* scilicet, & *Maximum* cum comitibus suis; *Clementium* item & *Valentem*. Disce, quæso, num litteras ad me detulerint: illæ quippe occasio mihi fuissent ad eum rescribendi. Quod si nec mihi ille scripsit, neque me novit, quare ad ignotum virum misissem litteras? Sciscitare, an viso *Clementio*, beatæ memoriæ viri mentionem non fecerim: an, uti scriptum est, lacrymis meis vestimenta non perfuderim, dum humanitatem ejus, animamque illam, Christi amantissimam,

in mente versarem. Disce, quæso, quanta formidine perculsus sim, audita belluæ illius feritate, cum *Valentem* per *Lybiam* iter habere conspicerem, veritus scilicet ne quidpiam ille facinoris aggrediretur, nec quasi latro illos obtruncaret, qui beatum virum amore & memoria complecterentur: inter quos me nulli secundum affirmo.

(4) See above §. XXVII.

(5) See below §. XLII. not. 5.

§. XXXVIII. (1) *ZOSIMUS* p. 229. *Constantium* maximis muneribus vicinos *Rheno* barbaros infestos ei reddidisse; tum ad *Gallicas* nationes, opera quorundam *Constantio* favorem conciliantium ducum, præclusum esse aditum; quum nec per occidentales *Hispanos* ad *Mauros* transjicere posset, quod istis etiam in locis fœderati *Romanorum* benevolentiam *Constantii* captassent.

dition, and will be farther mentioned in the Sequel (2). The *Franks*, on the other Side, over-run the Provinces on the *Lower-Rhine*, the Forts along that Part of the River being divested of their Garrisons. Several Cities in *Gaul* rebell'd likewise against the new Government, and we find, in particular, that the Gates of *Triers* were shut against *Decentius* (3). When *Magnentius* was again routed, in the Year 353, in *Gaul*, by *Constantius's* Generals, between *Diel* and *Gap* (4), he saw on all Sides so little Hopes of retrieving his bad Fortune, that he made away with himself at *Lyons* (5). His Brother *Decentius* was on the March to relieve him, when he received this News; and some *Roman* Troops, who met him by the Way, so harra's'd him, that he likewise strangled himself (6) at *Sens*, after having, for a very short Time, bore the Name of *Augustus*, if we may believe the Medal, on which he has that Title (7). The Resolution both these Brothers took, of dying by their own Hands, agrees with the Opinion, the ancient *Germans* entertain'd, concerning Suicide; and, as the Christian Religion, which they both profess'd, (according to their Medals) could not restrain them from rebelling against their lawful Sovereigns, we have the less Reason to wonder, that it did not keep them from laying violent Hands on themselves.

Silvanus, Son
of *Ponitus*,
drives the
Franks out of
Gaul.
† VI. Id.
Oct.

§. XXXIX. *CONSTANTIUS* celebrated, thereupon, at *Arles*, the Day, on which he had, 30 Years † before, been created *Cæsar*, with splendid publick Shews and the Fighting of wild Beasts. However serviceable the *Germans* had been to him against *Magnentius*, he would now gladly have been rid of them. He undertook, there-

(2) V. locum *Ammiani Marcellini* ad §. XLIX. nota 1.

(3) *AMMIANUS*, L. 15. c. 6. Post hunc damnatorum sorte *Pœmenius* raptus ad supplicium interiit: qui (ut supra retulimus) cum *Treveri* civitatem cæsari clausissent *Decentio*, ad defendendam plebem electus est.

(4) Ad montem *Seleucum*, near the Place, where the Castle of *Aspres* now lies.

(5) *ZOSIMUS* gives, on this Occasion, the following Character of him, L. II. c. 59. p. 230. Ac *Magnentius* quidem hoc modo periit, quum tribus annis & sex præterea mensibus imperasset. Originem generis a barbaris habebat, & vixerat apud *Letos*, quæ *Gallica* natio est. Litteras latinas didicerat.

Audax fortuna prospera, timidus adversa, occultandæ natura insitæ malitiæ mirus artifex, qui mores ipsius & ingenium perspectum non habentibus simplex & bonus esse putaretur.

(6) *ZOSIMUS*, c. l. p. 231. *Decentius* accessit a *Magnentio* ad ferendam opem, jam in *Italiam* contendens, simul ac intellexisset, quod illi accidisset: in ordines quosdam turmasque militares lapsus, quum nullam salutis spem videret, obtorta laqueo cervice mortuus est. *Hieron. in chron.* Apud *Senonas* laqueo vitam explevit. *Idatius, in fastis*, assigns the Day: Laqueo se suspendit XV. Kal. Sept.

(7) *BANDURI*. 411.

fore, a War, with the *Alemanni*, himself; and sent *Silvanus* to the *Lower-Rhine*, to keep the *Franks* within Bounds. This is the same *Silvanus*, of whom I mention'd before, that he deserted from *Magnentius* to *Constantius*, near *Mursa*, and thereby contributed greatly to the Victory that ensued. His Father, *Bonitus* had spar'd no Expence, to give him an Education equal to what the most eminent *Roman* could bestow on his Children; *Silvanus* was therefore not only a great General, but likewise a most accomplish'd Courtier (1). After he had embraced the Party of *Constantius*, he gained such a Reputation, that the Emperor placed him at the Head of the Infantry, and now entrusted him with the important Command on the *Lower-Rhine* (2). This Confidence will appear the less strange to us, when we consider, that, at this Time, there were many *German* Princes in the Emperor's Service, who enjoy'd the most honourable Posts. *Silvanus*, besides, left his Son behind him, as an Hostage, and made so good Use of his Valour and Prudence, that the Face of Affairs in those Parts was soon changed (3).

§. XL. *CONSTANTIUS* went himself, A. 354, in the Spring, from *Arles* to *Valence*, to make Preparations for an Expedition against *Gundomad* and *Vadomar*, two Princes of the *Alemanni*, who had 'till then had a great Share in the Irruptions made into the *Roman* Provinces, and whose Dominions probably extended, as we may judge by Circumstances, thro' those Countries, where the *Black Forest*, *Brisgau*, and the Dominions of *Baden* now are. The Army itself was order'd to rendezvous at *Chalons sur Saone* (1); from whence it march'd, with

Constantius passes the *Rhine* near *Basil*, and treats with the *Alemanni*.

§. XXXIX. (1) v. *VICTOR. in epit. c. 42.* *Silvanus imperator effectus die imperii vigesimo octavo perimitur. Fuit ingenio blandissimus. Quanquam barbaro patre genitus, tamen institutione Romana satis cultus, & patiens.*

(2) *AMM. MARCELLINUS, L. 15. c. 5.* Cum diuturna incuria Galliae caedes acerbis, rapinaeque, & incendia, barbaris licenter grassantibus, nullo juvante perferrent; *Silvanus* pedestris militiae rector, ut efficax ad haec corrigenda, principis jussu perrexit, Arbetione id maturari, modis quibus poterat, adigente, ut absenti aemulo, quem superesse adhuc gravabatur periculosa molis onus impingeret.

(3) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 15. c. 5.* Memorato itaque duce Gallias ex R. P. discursante, barbarosque propellente, jam sibi

diffidentes, & trepidantes, &c. add. §. XLVI. not. 6. *Julian, p. 48. B. speaks indeed somewhat lightly of him, in the Passages quoted §. XLII. n. 6, but it proceeds from his Partiality for Constantius, whom he greatly extols in that Oration. Thus Mamertinus, in gratiarum actione pro consulatu, paneg. 10. n. 13. for the same Reason, to flatter Julian, represents Silvanus as one given to Voluptuousness.*

§. XL. (1) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 14. c. 10.* Haec dum oriens diu perferret, caeli referato tepore, *Constantius* consulatu suo septies, & caesaris ter, egressus *Arelate*, *Valentiam* petit, in *Gundomadum* & *Vadomarium* fratres, *Alamannorum* reges, arma moturus, quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae *Gal-lorum*.

much Difficulty, over the Mountains, towards *Augusta Rauracorum*, which was not far distant from the present *Basil*; where the Emperor intended to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*. But the *Alemanni* so incessantly plied the *Romans*, with their Darts and Arrows (2), that they found the Execution of their Design impracticable. In the mean Time, a Person, who knew the Country, directed them to a Place, where the River was so dry, that the Army could pass it in one Night. The *Alemanni* were the more terrified at this, as their Sooth-sayers would not promise them a fortunate Battle.(3): But there were some *Alemanni*, in the Emperor's Service, who privately acquainted their Country-Men (4), that the Court had received such News from the *East*, that the Emperor was as much inclined to Peace, as they could wish: For *Gallus*, *Constantine* the Great's Brother's Son, whom the Emperor had nominated *Cæsar*, as he had himself no Male Heir, and entrusted with the Government of the *East*, gave such Evidences of his Tyrannick Disposition, and wicked Designs against his Uncle, that a Rebellion was feared. The two Princes therefore sent an Ambassy to the Emperor, begg'd pardon for the Irruptions they had made, and, at the same Time, sued for Peace, which they promis'd to keep most sacred for the future. *Constantius* was in Reality pleased with this Offer; the *German* Generals seconded it, in a Council of War, and the whole *Roman* Army seem'd to wish earnestly for Peace: For they were prepossess'd with the Opinion, that the Emperor was not successful in foreign Wars. *Constantius* therefore made Peace with the *Alemanni*, which they swore to in a particular Manner, customary among them; and he, thereupon, went

(2) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 14. c. 10. Emenfis itaque difficultatibus multis, & nive obrutis callibus pluribus, ubi prope Rauracum ventum est, ad supercilia fluminis Rheni, resistente multitudine Alamanna, pontem suspendere navium compage, Romani vi nimia verabantur, ritu grandinis, undique convolantibus telis.

(3) IDEM, l. c. cap. 10. Dirimentibus forte auspiciis, vel congregi prohibentibus.

(4) AMMIAN mentions, l. c. in particular three Persons, who were suspected: Latinus, the Comes Domesticorum; Agilo, the Tribunus Stabuli, and Scudilo, who was Rector Scutariorum. Ecce autem ex improvise index quidam regionum gnarus advenit, & mercede accepta vadosum locum nocte monstravit,

unde superari potuit flumen, & potuisset, aliorum intentis hostibus, exercitus inde transgressus, nullo id opinante, cuncta vastare, ni pauci ex eadem gente, quibus erat honoratioris militiæ cura commissa, populares suos hæc per nuntios docuissent occultos, ut quidam existimabant. Infamabat autem hæc suspicio Latinum, domesticorum comitem, & Agilonem, tribunum stabuli, atque Scutilonem, scutariorum rectorem, qui tunc, ut dextris suis gestantes rempublicam colebantur. The last of these was a particular Favourite with the Emperor, who employed him, immediately after, in laying the Snare for Gallus. IBID. c. 11. On which Occasion Ammian represents his Genius in these Words: Velamento subgreffis ingenii, persuasionis opifex calidus.

to *Milan* (5), to pass the Winter there. Here the Perdition of *Gallus* was fully determined. He was decoy'd to Court by fair Promises; but, by the Way, was imprison'd in the Palace of the City of *Petobio* †, † Now *Pet. in Noricum*, and from thence carried to *Istria*, where (6) he was^{tau.} oblig'd to leave his Head.

§. XLI. *CONSTANTIUS* was soon after, some say the following An Expedi- Year †, at War with the *Lenticeses*, another Nation of the *Alemanni*, tion against who invaded *Rætia*. He marched himself against them, and encamped the *Lenticeses*, who in- in the *Campi Canini* (which some place in the Regions about *Be-* vade *Rætia*. *lizone*, others about *Chiavenna*) and order'd *Arbetio*, his General, with † A. 355. the greater Part of the Army, to extend himself along the Lake of *Constance* (1): But *Arbetio*, in the very thickest of the Forest, fell into^{conf. Till.} an Ambush, where he lost a great Number of Men, and with great Difficulty escaped himself in Person. The *Alemanni*, on the other Hand, became so insolent, by this Success, that they march'd up to the very Lines of the *Roman* Camp, and bid them Defiance; but the *Romans* making a vigorous Sally, they were entirely routed: Where- upon the Emperor * went back to *Milan*, there to pass the Winter * *Ovans & latus.* again (2).

XLII. *SILVANUS*'s successful Atchievements, on the *Lower Rhine*, had an Effect far different from what he expected. Some in- *Silvanus* as- vidious Persons forged Letters, by Means of which they accused him sumes the Title of Em- peror on the *Lower Rhine* to the Emperor of aspiring to higher Things; and tho', many emi-

(5) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS*, l. c. Iſto poſthæc fœdere gentium ritu, perfectaque ſolem- nitate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna diſceſſit.

(6) *At what Place is uncertain.* V. *TILLEM.* not. 32.

§ XLI. (1) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS* gives, l. 15. c. 4. ſo juſt a Deſcription of the Place, that the Paſſage deſerves our Notice here. Inter montium celſorum amfractus immani pulſu Rhenus exoriens, per præruptos ſcopulos extenditur, nullis aquis externis adop- tatis, ut --- per Cataractas inclinatione præcipiti funditur Nilus. Et navigari ab or- tu poterat, primigenio copiis exuberans pro- priis, ni ruenti curreret ſimilis potius, quam fluenti. Jamque abſolutus, altaque divortia riparum adradens, lacum invadit rotundum & vaſtum, quem Brigantium accola Rætus appellat; perque quadringenta & ſexaginta

ſtadia longum, parique pene ſpatio late di- fuſum, horrore ſilvarum ſqualentium inac- ceſſum, (niſi qua vetus illa Romana virtus & ſobria iter compoſuit latum) barbaris & natura locorum & cœli inclementia refragante. Hanc ergo paludem ſpumofis ſtre- pendo verticibus amnis irrumpens, & unda- rum quietem permeans pigram, mediam ve- lut finali interfecat libramento; & tanquam elementum perenni diſcordia ſeparatum; nec aucto nec imminuto agmine quod intulit, vocabulo & viribus abſolvitur integris, nec contagia deinde ulla perpetiens, oceani gur- gitibus intimatur. Quodque eſt impendio mirum, nec ſtagnum aquarum rapido tranſ- curſu movetur, nec limoſa ſublucio tardatur properans flumen, & confuſum miſceri non poteſt corpus: quod ni ita agi ipſe doceret adſpectus, nulla vi credebatur diſcerni.

(2) *IBID.* l. c.

nent

nent Men among the *Franks* (1), who were in considerable Posts, did their Utmost, to save their Friend and Country-man, and, with him, the Honour of the *Germans* at Court; yet, a Process was privately forming against him. *Silvanus* no sooner heard of it, than he looked upon himself as lost: He knew the Emperor's Temper, and the Power of the Eunuchs at Court, who, in their private Offices, could influence their Master as they pleased: But then, he saw himself in as great Danger, if he entrusted his Person in the Hands of the *Franks*, with whom he had hitherto been at War (2): He was, therefore, reduced, of Necessity and in Despair, to undertake, what he had hitherto been falsely accused of. He secured the Army to his Interest, and caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor at *Cologne* (3), where he had, but five Days before, paid the Soldiers, and exhorted them, to be faithful to *Constantius*. When this News reached *Milan*, the Court resolved to dissemble its Knowledge of this Affair, and to frustrate his Design, by an Artifice. To this End, *Ursicinus* was sent to *Germany*, with Orders to pretend, that he came to relieve *Silvanus*, to whom he brought very gracious Letters; but privately to attempt all possible Means for his Destruction. *Ursicinus* carried his Dissimulation so high, that he declared himself for *Silvanus*; and, the latter was the more credulous, as *Ursicinus* had equal Reason with him to be disaffected to the Court: For both had this Complaint to make, among others, that many undeserving Persons had been preferr'd to the Consulship, in Prejudice to them (4). They had begun to concert Matters for an Expedition to *Italy*, when *Ursicinus*, at Length, found an Opportunity of bribing some Soldiers, to break into the Palace one Morning early, where they murdered *Silvanus*, who, in the Confusion, was

§ XLII. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 15. c. 5. names Malarichus and Mallobaudes. Malarichus was gentiliū rector, Mallobaudes, tribunus armaturarum. AMMIANUS says of Malarichus, l. c. Adhibitīs Francis, quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius jam loquebatur. In this History we meet with the Mention of many Franks of Distinction, viz. Pappo ductor Promotorum, who was 17 Years afterward, MODICUS & ARINTHÆO COSS. præfectus urbis. Bainobaudes, scutariorum, and, afterwards cornutorum tribunus. Teutomenes, protector domesticus. Seniaucus, curiæ equestris præpositus. Add. VALESIUS, l. c. L. 1. p. 35.

(2) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, l. c. p. 62. Laniogaiso vetante, --- docenteque Francos, unde oriebatur, interfectores eum, aut, accepto præmio, prodituros.

(3) AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. c. Cultu purpureo a draconum & vexillorum insignibus ad tempus abstracto, ad culmen imperiale surrexit.

(4) IBID. Ægre ferebat *Silvanus* ad consulatum potestatesque sublimes elatis indignis, se & *Ursicinum*, solos, post exsudatos magnos pro rep. labores, & crebros, ita fuisse despectos.

about

about to take Refuge in a Church (5). *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was, at that Time, in the Retinue of *Ursicinus*, laments his Fate, as a valiant Man, whose Fall was alone owing to malicious Calumnies (6) when he had scarce bore the Imperial Title a Month. On a Medal, yet extant of him (7), he bears the Name of *Flavius*, which was either given him in his Youth, in Honour to *Constantine the Great*, who received eminent Services from his Father, or he assumed it now, on Occasion of this Infurrection.

§. XLIII.

(5) AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. c. c. 5. Subitus armatorum globus erupit: atque ut solet in dubiis rebus audentior, caesis custodibus, regia penetrata, Silvanum extractum ædícula, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Christiani tendentem, densis gladiatorum ictibus trucidarunt.

(6) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 15. c. 5. Ita dux haud exilium meritorum hoc genere oppetit mortis, metu calumniarum, quibus factione iniquorum irretitus est absens, ut tueri possit salutem, ad præsidia progressus extrema. Licet enim ob tempestivam illam cum armaturis prodicionem ante Murfense prælium, obligatum gratia retineret Constantium; ut dubium tamen & mutabilem verebatur; licet patris quoque Boniti prætenderet fortia facta, Franci quidem, sed, pro Constantini partibus, in bello civili acriter contra Licinianos sæpe versati. *But, to see the Difference between an Historian and an Orator, let us view Julian's Representation of this Matter, in his Panegyrick spoken in Honour of Constantius: Verum illud, quod paulo post infelicem tyranni exitum in Gallia contigit, communem in te omnium exercituum benevolentiam indicavit; qui eum intar lupi repente dilaniarunt, qui perinde, atque in solitudine aliqua, muliebrem purpureum indutus, audacior esse cœperat. Qualem vero te post tam præclarum facinus exhibueris; atque ut clementer ac benigne omnes illius amicos ac familiares tractaveris, qui quidem nullius cum eo sceleris participes fuisse, convinci poterant; tametsi multi ad accusandum calumniatores consurgerent, quid duntaxat monebant, ut suspectam horum cum illo amicitiam haberes, istud ego virtutis omnis caput & summam*

esse statuo. Nam & summa cum æquitate & justitia, & multo prudentius a te factum arbitror. Quisquis vero aliud sentit, is cum ab vera de re existimatione, tum ab animo tuo & sententia abhorret. Siquidem eos servari justissimum erat, qui nullius criminis essent convicti. Amicitias vero illorum suspectas, ac devitandas ideo facere non oportere persuasum habebas: cum populorum benevolentia ad tantam dignitatis ac rerum gestarum amplitudinem esses evectus. Quin etiam filium ipsum scelerati ac facinorosi hominis, infantem adhuc, de paterna pœna ac supplicio sentire aliquid passus non es. *And Orat. II. p. 98. C. Præfectus quidam Gallicarum legionum (cujus nomen ac rei gestæ seriem scire vos arbitror) amicitiae ac fidei obsidem imperatori, nec petenti, reliquerat filium suum. Deinde vero minus se leonibus ipsis fidelem præbuit; quæ non sunt, ait Homerus, cum hominibus fœdera certa. Nam & in civitatibus pecunias diripiebat, & eas barbaris irruentibus largiebatur: tanquam his redemptionis quoddam pretium persolveret, cum armis securitatem sibi conciliare, non pecuniis comparare posset. Verum ille pecuniis eos ad amorem suum pertrahere studebat: ac demum purpuream vestem ex gynæceo detractam induens, ridiculus tyrannus, ac vere scenicus repente visus est. Tum vero milites eam perfidiam detestati sunt. Cumque miseri hominis aspectum ne ferre quidem potuissent, quem muliebri stola indutum cernerent; cum ne integro quidem mense illius imperium sustinuissent; facto in eum impetu discerpunt. Hunc igitur ille ab custodibus imperii, amoris in se ac benevolentiae fructum, & justæ ac reprehensione omni carentis imperii*

The *Ostro-Goths* subdued the *Heruli*, *Veneti* and *Astii*.

XLIII. WE shall now leave the *Roman* History, for a while, to take a View of what passed, in the mean Time, among the *Ostro-Goths*. *Ermanaric*, a Prince of the Race of the *Amali* (1), which, like that of the *Hafdingi*, among the *Vandals*, had long possessed the Throne, succeeded King *Geberich* in the Government. This Prince extended the Dominions of the *Ostro-Goths*, which, till then, reached only to the *Pontus Euxinus*, farther towards the North. He subdued the *Heruli*, under *Alaric*, their Prince (2); nor did he fear to fall upon the *Veneti*.

perii mercedem, singulari admiratione dignam recepit. Quod si, quemadmodum se postea gesserit, audire cupitis, hoc vos minime, ut opinor, ignoratis, eum neque in illius filium acerbius quidquam statuere, neque amicos ejus ac necessarios suspectos habere, aut asperius tractare voluisse. Quibus omnibus, quoad potuit, benignum se ac clementem præbuit, etsi quam plurimi calumniari cuperent, & adversus innocentes homines aculeos distringerent. Itaque cum multi forsitan vere iis, de quibus erant suspecti, contra se perpetratis essent obnoxii, æque misericors in omnes fuit, qui quidem convicti non essent, nec sceleratorum ac perditorum consiliorum societate polluti esse viderentur. Hoc vero, quod ejus filio pepercit, qui nefarie sese gesserat, ac datam fidem & jusjurandum violaverat, non tandem regium esse ac divinum arbitrabitur?

(7) V. BANDURI, l. c. p. 422.

§. XLIII. (1) *Jornandes styles him further nobilissimus Amalorum. The Kings of the Ostro-Goths in Italy, who were descended from the same Family, boast of its Nobility, on all Occasions, as appears from Cassiodori varia. L. VII. Epist. 2. Athanaric writes: quævis claritas generis Amalis cedit. And he reproaches Hildaric, King of the Vandals, who was suspected to have caused his Predecessor's Queen, Amalafida, to be murder'd, L. 9. Epist. 1. in the following Manner: Nam & hoc nobilitati vestræ fuisset adjectum, si inter Hafdingorum stirpem retinuissetis Amali sanguinis purpuream dignitatem. The same King recommends L. 2. epist. 25, the History of the Goths, written by Cassiodorus, (of which we have now only Jornandes's Abridgment) and among other Things, says: Iste Amalos generis sui claritati restituit: evidenter ostendens, in decimam septimam progeniem stirpem*

nos habere regalem. And we must to this Day have retain'd an Esteem for that Family, if all the Princes, descended from it, had observ'd the Maxim of King Theodoric, that a Prince ought to discover the Superiority of his Birth by suitable Virtues: For he writes L. 4. epist. 39. to his Kinsman Theodahatus, whose Avarice and Injustice had been complain'd of: Amali sanguinis virum non decet vulgare desiderium.

(2) JORNANDES, c. 23. Gothorum rege Geberich rebus excedente humanis, post temporis aliquod spatium Ermanaricus, nobilissimus Amalorum, in regno successit, qui multas ac bellicosissimas Arctos gentes perdomuit & suis parere legibus fecit. Quem merito nonnulli Alexandro Magno comparare majores. Habebat siquidem, quos domuerat, Gothos, Scythas, Thuidos in Aunxis, Vasinabroncas, Merens, Mordenfimnis, Caris, Rocas, Tadzans, Athual, Navego, Rubegentas, Col-das, & cum tantorum servitio charus haberetur, non passus est, nisi & gentem Eru-lorum, quibus præerat Alaricus, magna ex parte trucidatam, reliquam suæ subigeret ditioni. Nam prædicta gens, Ablavio historico referente, juxta Mæotidas paludes habitans in locis stagnantibus, quos Græci Ele vocant, Eruli nominati sunt, quanto velox, eo amplius superbissima, Nulla siquidem erat tunc gens, quæ non levem armaturam in acie sua ex ipsis elegerint. Sed quamvis velocitas eorum ab aliis sæpe bellantibus non evacuaretur, Gothorum tamen stabilitati subjacuit, & tarditati: fecitque causa fortunæ, ut & ipsi inter reliquas gentes Getarum regi Ermanarico servierint. The Names of those Nations, which are met with in this Passage of Jornandes, are so corrupted, that very few of them carry any Marks of their true Appellations.

The

The latter must be included under the Name of the *Sarmatæ*, and did, perhaps, formerly extend themselves to the *East-Sea*, for that Reason call'd, by *Ptolemy*, *Sinus Venedicus* (3). *Jornandes* says that, in his Time, the Name *Veneti* included three Nations, *viz.* the *Veneti*, properly so called, the *Sclavi* and the *Antes* (4). These Nations afterwards, at the Time of the Irruptions of the *Huns*, were involv'd in the same Fate with the Kingdom of the *Goths*. We meet with them again, in History, in the Times of *Justinian*, the Emperor: They are, in a particular Manner, described by *Procopius*; and they, at Length, founded a very considerable Kingdom. *Jornandes*, moreover, relates,

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that

(3) *PTOLEMÆUS L. III. c. 5.* Tenent Sarmatiam gentes maximæ, *VENEDÆ, PER TOTUM VENEDICUM SINUM.* Et super Daciam *Peucini*, & *Bastarnæ*, & qui totum *Mæotidis* latus tenent, *Jazyges* ac *Roxalini*, & qui interiores sunt iis *Hæmaxobii* & *Alauni Scythæ*. Minores autem gentes tenent Sarmatiam, penes *Vistulam* quidem fluvium, sub *Venedis Gythones* & *Phynni*, post *Bulanes*, sub quibus *Phrungundiones* post *Avarini*, juxta caput *Vistulæ* amnis. Sub his *Ombrones*, post *Anatophracti*, post *Burgiones*, post *Arsyetæ*, post *Sobori*, post *Pingitæ*, & *Bessi* penes *Carpatum* montem. Iis omnibus orientiores sunt *SUB VENEDIS* quidem iterum *GALINDÆ*, & *SUDENI*, & *Stavani* usque ad *Alaunos*. *Ptolemy indeed speaks very confusedly of the Nations he here mentions; however Hartknock endeavours to turn this Passage to his Advantage in his ancient and modern Prussia P. I. c. 1. §. 10. Pliny mentions in Hist. nat. L. IV. c. 13. Quidam hæc habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris & Hiris tradunt.*

(4) *JORNANDES l. c.* Post *Erulorum* cædem idem *Ermanaricus* in *Venetos* arma commovit, qui quamvis armis desperiti, sed numerositate pollentes primo resistere conabantur. Sed nihil valet multitudo in bello, præsertim ubi & multitudo armata advenerit. Nam hi, ut initio expositionis, vel catalogo gentis dicere cœpimus, ab una stirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina reddidere, *i. e.* *Veneti*, *Antes*, *Sclavi*: qui quamvis nunc, ita facientibus peccatis nostris, ubique sæviunt, tamen tunc omnes *Ermanarici* imperiis servielant. *As the Veneti are*

here mentioned, I shall quote a remarkable Passage from Procopius: De bello Goth. L. III. c. 14. p. 33. Hi populi, Sclaveni inquam, & Antæ, non uni parent viro, sed ab antiquo in populari imperio vitam agunt, ac propterea utilitates & damna apud ipsos in commune vocari solent. Aliarum etiam rerum fere omnium ratio ab utrisque barbaris servatur eadem, fuitque olim constituta. Unum enim deum fulguris effectorem, dominum hujus universitatis solum agnoscunt, eique boves, & cujusque generis hostias immolant. Fatum minime norunt, nedum illi in mortales aliquam vim attribuant: at cum sibi vel morbo correptis, vel prælium ineuntibus, jam mortem admotam vident, deo vovent, si evaserint, continuo victimam pro salvo capite mactaturos: elapsi periculo, quod promissere, sacrificant, eaque hostia vitam sibi redemptam credunt. Præterea fluvios colunt, & nymphas, & alia quædam numina, quibus omnibus operantur, & inter sacrificia conjecturas faciunt divinationum. In ruguriis habitant vilibus, & rare sparsis, atque habitationis locum subinde mutant. Cum pugnam invadunt, multi pedibus tendunt in hostem, scutula, spiculaque gestantes manibus. Loricam non induunt: quidam nec subuculam habent, nec palium, sed cum femoralibus tantum, ad virilia usque aptis, hosti se offerunt ad certamen. Una est utriusque lingua admodum barbara, nec forma corporis inter se differunt. Sunt enim proceri omnes, ac robustissimi. Colorem nec summe candidum habet cutis, nec flavum coma, neque is plane in nigrum deficit, at subrufus est, & quidem omnibus.

Vitam

that *Ermanaric* subdued the *Æstii* (5), who possess'd a great Part of the Coasts of the *East-Sea*, and are mention'd in *Tacitus* (6), on Account of their gathering Amber, by which these Coasts first became known to the *Grecians* and *Romans* (7). He likewise subdued the *Roxo-*

Vitam æque, ut *Massagetæ*, victu arido, incultoque tolerant, toti, sicut illi, sordibus & illuvie semper obstiti. Ingenium ipsis nec malignum, nec fraudulentum, & cum simplicitate mores *Hunnicos* in multis retinent. Nomen etiam quondam *Sclavenis*, Antisque unum erat; utrosque enim appellavit *Sporos antiquitas*, ob id, opinor, quia (*σποράδην*) *h. e.* sparsim, & rare positis tabernaculis regionem obtinent, quo fit, ut magnum occupent spatium. Et vero ulterioris ripæ *Istri* partem maximam habent,

(5) *JORNANDES l. c.* *Æstiorum* quoque similiter nationem, qui longissimæ ripæ oceani *Germanici* insident, idem ipse prudentia, virtute subegit, omnibusque *SCYTHIÆ* & *GERMANIÆ* nationibus, ac si propriis laboribus imperavit.

(6) *Of the Æstii Tacitus says: de iM. G. c. 45.* Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore *Æstiorum* gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua *Britannicæ* propior. Matrem deum venerantur, insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela, securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta cæterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita *Germanorum* inertia laborant. Sed & mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque ipso in littore legunt. Nec quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæsitum comperitumve. Diu quin etiam inter cætera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsi in nullo usu, rude legitur; informe perfertur; pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum intelligas: quia terrena quædam atque etiam volucris animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicita humore, mox durescente materia, cluduntur. Fœcundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut orientis secretis, ubi thura balsamaque sudantur, ita occidentis insulis

terrisque inesse crediderim, quæ vicini solis radiis expressa, atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igne tentes; in modum redæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem & olentem: mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

(7) *HERODOTUS makes mention of this Amber, L. III. c. 15.* De extremitatibus *Europæ*, quod pro comperto referam, non habeo, neque enim assentior, fluvium quendam esse *Eridanum* a barbaris vocitatum, qui subit mare ad septentrionem spectans, unde electrum venire narratur, &c. *And DIODORUS SICULUS L. V, p. 302.* E regione *Scythiæ* supra *Galliam* in oceano insula jacet, quam *Basileam* vocitant: in hanc succinum large a fluctibus exspuitur: alias nusquam in orbe terrarum se exhibens. *And moreover Succinum in insula cujus jam facta mentio est, colligitur, & ab incolis in adversum trajicitur continentem, per quam porro in hæc usque loca transfertur.* *Pytheas Massiliensis likewise knew what Amber was; for Pliny quotes from him, L. XXXVII.* *Pytheas Guttonibus, Germaniæ genti, accoli æstuarium oceani affirmat, Mentonomon nomine, spatium stadiorum sex millium, ab hoc dici navigatione abesse insulam Abalum; illuc vero fluctibus advehi (succinum) & esse concreti maris purgamentum, incolas pro ligno uti eo (succino) proximisque Teutonis vendere.* *The Words before-cited of TACITUS, as well as those of other Roman Writers, shew how much the Romans prized Amber. Now, if we grant, that the Æstii only gathered Amber, which was no where to be found but in Prussia; and that the Name of Æstii is still retained in the Province of Estland, we may from thence conclude, that the Æstii possess'd a Part of the present Prussia, with Curland and Livonia. It would be too tedious here to enquire, whether the Scirri and Hirri, and the Galindi and Sudeni, who were mentioned in the foregoing third Note,*

Roxolani (8), and *Jornandes* expressly ascribes to him the Dominion over *Germany* and *Scythia* (9): But that Power (as we shall see in the ensuing Book) did not subsist long, before it was dispersed.

§. XLIV. *URSICINUS* did not find it so easy to repel the *Ger-* Constantine sends Julian to Gaul. His Achievements against the Alemanni. *mans* in *Gaul*, as to put *Silvanus* to Death: For the *Franks* destroyed the City of *Cologn* (1). *Constantius*, who could not well leave *Italy*, resolved therefore to send thither *Julian*, Brother to the afore-mentioned *Gallus*, whom he had just before called to Court, from the obscure State of Life, in which he had been educated: To which End, he confer'd on him the Name of *Cæsar*, on the fifth of *November* †, and a few Days afterwards, gave him his Sister, *Helena*, in Marriage. *Julian* pass'd the *Cottian Alps*, and, A. 356, enter'd upon his Consulship at *Vienne*, where he spent the remaining Part of the Winter, in Preparations for the intended Expedition. Nor did the *Germans* pass this Season in Inactivity; but besieged *Autun*, where, however, they met with a vigorous Repulse from the *Veterans* (2). *Julian*, thereupon, set out, in *June*, in Pursuit of them, and march'd, by the Way of *Autun*, *Auxerre* and *Troies*, to *Rheims*; but was obliged, more than

are to be reckon'd among the *Æstii*, as some Learned Men will have it. The Name of *Prussia* was not so early known in History. The *Æstii* afterwards, when the Kingdom of the *Ostro-Goths*, on the *Pontus Euxinus*, no longer subsisted, and that *Natitn* reign'd in *Italy*, always kept up a good Understanding with them. We find, in particular, that they sought the Friendship of King *Theodoric*, and made him Presents of *Amber*. The Answer returned by that King to their Ambassadors, may be seen in *CASSIODORI varia*, L. V. ep. 2.

HÆSTIS THEODORICUS REX.

ILLO & ILLO legatis vestris venientibus, grande vos studium notitiæ nostræ habuisse cognovimus, ut in oceani litoribus constituti, cum nostra mente jungi videamini: suavis nobis admodum, & grata petitio, ut ad vos perveniret fama nostra, ad quos nulla potuimus destinare mandata: Amate jam cognitum, quem requisistis ambienter ignotum. Nam inter tot gentes viam præsumere, non est aliquid facile concupisse. Et ideo salutatione vos affectuosa requirentes, indicamus, succina, quæ a vobis per harum portitores directæ sunt, grato animo fuisse suscepta, quæ ad vos oceani unda descendens, hanc levissimam substantiam, sicut & vestrorum

relatio continebat, exportat. Sed unde veniat, incognitum vos habere dixerunt, quam ante omnes homines, patria vestra offerente, suscipitis, &c, The *Æstii* were likewise yet famous among the Nations on the East-Sea, in the Time of CHARLEMAIGN. *EGINHARD* in vita *Caroli* M. c. 12. says of those Coasts: Ad litus australe *Sclavi*, & *Æstii*, & aliæ diversæ incolunt nationes.

(8) *JORNANDES*, l. c. cap. 24. *Ermanaricus*, rex *Gothorum*, licet ut superius retulimus multarum gentium extiterit triumphator, de *Hunnorum* tamen adventu dum cogitat *Roxsolanorum* gens infida, quæ tunc inter alias illi famulatum exhibebat, tali eum nanciscitur occasione decipere.

(9) See the Words in the fifth Note.

§. XLIV. (1) See the Passage, ad §. seq. not, 1.

(2) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS*, L. 16. c. 2. Agens itaque negotiosam hiemen apud oppidum ante dictum; inter rumores, qui volitabant assidui, comperit *Augustoduni* civitatis antiquæ muros, spatiosi quidem ambitus, sed carie vetustatis invalidos, barbarorum impetu repentino inessos, torpente præsentium militum manu, veteranos concurlatione pervigili defendisse.

once, in his March, to fight his Way thro' (3). *Marcellus* and *Ursicinus* waited for him at *Rheims*, with the Army. At a Council of War, it was thought proper to march to *Upper-Germany*, which the *Alemanni* entirely possess'd. The *Germans*, not being accustomed, in those Times, to dwell in Cities, had destroyed, or at least made great Devastations in *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires*, *Strasburg*, and the other fortified Places, and encamp'd in the open Fields (4). *Julian* march'd, by the Way of *Dieuze* (*), in *Lorrain*. The *Alemanni*, who lay here and there dispers'd, in all those Parts, took a By-Way, to fall upon him, on the Flank, and almost routed those Legions who compos'd the Rear-Guard; but they were, at Length, repell'd. He, thereupon, took *Brunt* (**), and again oblig'd some Troops of the *Alemanni*, who offer'd him Battle there, to quit the Field (5).

He takes *Cologne*, and makes a Truce with the *Franks*.

§. XLV. I FIND no Reason, why *Julian* did not, at that Time, penetrate farther into the Country of the *Alemanni*: But he returned towards the *Franks*, who had so ravag'd *Lower Germany*, that not a City remained excepting *Cologne* and *Rigomagus*, near the Conflux of the

(3) AMMIAN, MARCELLINUS, *l. c.* Habita itaque deliberatione, adstantibus locorum peritis, quodnam iter elegeretur, ut tutum, multa ultro citroque dicebantur, aliis per Arbor - - - quibusdam per Sedelaucum & Coram ire debere firmantibus. Sed cum subsererent quidam, Silvanum paulo ante magistrum peditum per compendiosas vias, verum suspectas, quia tenebris multis imbrantur, cum VIII. auxiliarum millibus ægre transisse, fidentius cæsar audaciam viri fortis imitari magnopere nitebatur. Et ne qua interveniret mora, adhibitis cataphractoriis solis, & ballistariis, parum ad tuendum rectorem idoneis, percusso eodem itinere Autosidorum pervenit. Ubi brevi, sicut solebat, otio cum milite recreatus, ad Tricassinos tendebat: & barbaros in se catervatim ruentes, partim cum timeret ut ampliores, confertis lateribus observabat: alios occupatis habilibus locis decursu facili proterens, nonnullos pavore traditos cepit: residuos in curam celeritatis omne quod poterant, conferentes, quia sequi non valebat gravitate præpeditus armorum: innocuos abire perpeffus est. Proinde certiore jam spe ad resistendum ingruentibus confirmatus, per multa discrimina venerat Tricassas adeo

insperatus, ut eo portas pene pulsante, diffusæ multitudinis barbaræ metu, aditus urbis non sine anxia panderetur ambage. Et paulisper moratus, dum fatigato consulit militi, civitatem Remos, nihil prolatandum existimans, petit.

(4) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *l. c. circa fin.* Audiens igitur Argentoratum, Brocomagum, Tabernas, Salisonem, Nemetas & Vangionas, & Moguntiacum civitates barbaros possidentes, territoria earum habitare; (nam ipsa oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant) primam omnium Brocomagum occupavit: eique jam adventanti Germanorum manus pugnam intentans occurrit. Cumque in bicornem figuram acie divisa, collato pede res agi cœpisset, exitioque hostes urgerentur ancipiti, captis nonnullis, aliis in ipso prælii fervore truncatis, residui discessere celeritatis præsidio cæti.

* Decempagi: This Place is situate on the River Seille, near Marsal.

** Brocomagus: Between Strasburg and Haguenau.

(5) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *l. c.* TILLEMONT mentions T. IV. p. 804. and 807. not 38. that, while Julian, this Year, enclosed the Alemanni on one Side, Constantius

the *Mosel* and the *Rhine* (1). The *Franks* had been as little solicitous to put *Cologn* into a State of Defence, as the *Alemanni* about the Cities of *Upper Germany*. *Julian* took the Place without any Difficulty, and the *Roman Arms* gain'd such Repute there, that the *Franconian* Princes were induced to make a Truce (2): Whereupon, going by the Way of *Triers* to *Sens*, to spend the Winter there, he narrowly escap'd being surpriz'd by a Party of *Germans* (3).

§. XLVI.

on the other Side, invaded *Rætia*: But the Accounts we have, in *Julian* and *Ammian*, are too obscure, for any Certainty to be drawn from thence.

§. XLV. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. XVI. c. 3. Nullo itaque posthæc repugnante, ad recuperandam placuit ire Agrippinam, ante cæsaris in Gallias adventum excisam: per quos tractus nec civitas ulla visitur, nec castellum: nisi quod apud Confluentes, locum ita cognominatum, ubi amnis *Mosella* confunditur *Rheno*, *Rigomagum* oppidum est, & una prope ipsam coloniam turris.

(2) IDEM l. c. Igitur Agrippinam ingressus, non ante motus est exinde, quam *Francorum* regibus furore mitescente perterritis, pacem firmaret, reipublicæ interim profuturam, & urbem reciperet munitissimam. By this Place the City of *Triers* is perhaps meant, as well as by what *Libanius* says, p. 272. B. C. Alii ad barbarorum insulas, quas *Rhenus* facit, confugere, ad venatum natantium & navigantium nostrorum. Postea illorum pecoribus urbes epulabantur: quinetiam e dubius civitatibus amplissimis hanc quidem cum denis millibus obstaculorum objectam; aliam vero recens uno auditu exinanitam & incertam reperisset, uni ad restaurationem manum prororem, & ad custodiam præsidia decrevit; alteram adeo destitutam omnibus, ut unde non esset lex cogeretur alere, meliori spe consolatus est. Hæc cum videret quidam non modicæ barbarorum cohortis imperator, commodè ratus subsidium misit quasi non valde perperam egerit, & fœdera probans, seque auxiliaturum dicens, ut visum est aliquid proferre brevi tempore paciscitur, æquiorē reddens eum formidine secundorum. *Tillemont imagines*, p. 804,

that *Triers* or *Tongres* is here to be understood. The Conjecture of *Tongres* would not be altogether improbable, if that Place, by the afore cited Passage of *Ammian. Marcellinus*, did not seem to have been wholly destroy'd. *Julianus* ad *Athenienses*, p. 278. D. says, that the *Germans* possess'd 45 Cities in *Gaul*. Ex quo *Constantius*, existimans, *Gallicanam* rem majora paulo incrementa capturum, sed non ad tantam mutationem esse venturam, regendos mihi exercitus ineunte vere tradidit. Ergo adultis jam frugibus castra movi, innumera *Germanorum* multitudine, circumversa per *Gallias* oppida, commorante. Quorum numerus oppidorum ad quinque & quadraginta pervenerat; burgis & castellis minoribus omissis: Agri vero, quem cis *Rhenum* obtinebant barbari, tantum erat spatium, quantum a fontibus illius ad oceanum usque porrigitur: Postremi autem illorum, ac finibus nostris citimi, trecentis a *Rheni* ripa stadiis distabant: Sed triplo adhuc amplior regio populationibus illorum & excursionibus vasta erat & inculta; ubi ne pascendi quidem potestas *Gallis* fieret. Erant & urbes aliquot oppidanis vacuæ, et si nondum vicinos haberent barbaros. His ego calamitatibus vexatam & afflictam nactus *Galliam*, primum *Agrippinam* recuperavi, urbem ad *Rhenum* sitam, quæ ante menses circiter decem in potestatem hostium venerat: Nec non *Argentoratum* vicinum castellum ad *Vosgi* radices.

(3) AMM. MARCELL. l. c. c. 4. Hæc sollicite perpensantem hostilis aggreditur multitudo, oppidi capiundi spe in majus accensa: ideo confidentes, quod ei nec scutarios adesse, & quidem monentibus perfugis didicerant, nec gentiles, per municipia distributos, ut commodius vincerentur. Cum autem

Clausa

Affairs of
Constantius,
with the Sue-
vi, Quadi,
&c.

§. XLVI. IN the Year 357, *Constantius* undertook a Journey to *Rome*, and there made a Sort of Triumphal Entry, the 28th of *April*. Though *Rome* remained the Capital of the Empire, and had retained so much of its antient Grandeur, that *Constantius* could not but confess, that he found it exceeded even all he had heard of its Beauty and Wonders: Yet it had not, till then, been honoured with this Emperor's Presence (1): And he could not now make so long a Stay there as he wish'd: For the *Suevi* were in *Rætia*; the *Quadi* had invaded *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatæ* made Irruptions into *Pannonia secunda*, and *Mœsia superior*; which made him apprehend his Affairs on the *Danube* might fall under the same Disorder those on the *Rhine* had just before been. He therefore set out from *Rome*, on the 29th of *May*, and, towards the Conclusion of the Year, pass'd, by the Way of *Trent*, into *Illyricum* (2); where he secured the Provinces against the *Quadi* as well as *Jazygi* (3), with much Blood-shed.

† A. C. 357.

Julian and
Barbatio at-
tack the *Ale-*
manni, on
two Sides at
once.

XLVII. *JULIAN* had, in the mean Time, † gained great Honour on the *Upper-Rhine*. The *Alemanni* were not so reduc'd, by the Battle of *Brunt*, but that they soon rallied, and found Means to get a Re-inforcement of fresh Troops; the *Romans* resolved therefore to attack them on two Sides at once. *Julian* arm'd himself against them in *Gaul*; while *Barbatio*, General of the Infantry, advanced on the other Side, as far as the Dominions of the *Rauraci*, with 25,000 Men. A Body of them ventur'd, however, in the mean Time, as far as *Lyons*;

Clausæ ergo urbe, murorumque in tuta parte firmata, ipse cum armatis die noctuque inter propugnacula visebatur & pinnas, ira exundante substridens, cum rumpere sæpe conatus, paucitate præsentis manus impediretur. Post tricesimum denique diem abiere barbari tristes.

§. XLVI. 1. conf. TILLEMONT. p. 813.

(2) AMMIAN. MARCELLINUS, L. XVI. c. 10. Cupiens igitur augustissima omnium sede morari diutius imperator, ut otio puriore frueretur & voluptate, assiduis nuntiis terrebarur & certis, indicantibus, Suevos *Rætias* incurfare, Quadosque *Valeriam*, & *Sarmatas*, latrocinandi peritissimum genus, superiorem *Mœsiam*, & secundam populari *Pannoniam*: Quibus percitus tricesimo, postquam ingressus est, die, IV. Kal. Junias ab urbe profectus, per *Tridentum* iter in *Illyricum* testinavit.

(3) As Ammianus in general names the

Sarmatæ, so does *Themistius*, on the other Hand, speak in particular of the *Jazygi*, in the *Panegyrick*, spoken before *Constantius*. Orat. IV. p. 56. D. Quæ cum ille certissime sibi persuaserit, cum cæteras omnes victorias libenter communicat, tum per litteras res a se gestas exponere alienum sua dignitate non reputat. Ita ut pene tanquam alter *Timotheus*, aut *Chabrias*, atque *Iphicrates*, qui obnoxii erant populo duces, hostiles regiones describat; nec non & fluvios, paludes, saltus, fossas, munitiones, militum incursiones, secunda equitum prælia, ac sub ipsum plane aspectum impositum *Rheni* pontem subiciat: *Chaonas* item & *Jazygas* populos, & ab impiis *Germanorum* nationibus injuriarum omnium atque insolentiae pœnas repetitas. But the Time when this Oration was spoken is uncertain, and whether the Words here cited mean this Expedition, is equally dubious.

which

which they had very near surpriz'd. (1). The Remainder of the *Alemanni*, who were well acquainted with the Country, partly assembled in a Body, and fell'd great Trees to stop the Passages; while others fled, with their best Effects, into the Islands, form'd by the *Rhine*, in these Parts. *Julian* had desired of *Barbatio* seven Ships, which he made no Use of: But the latter, who was secretly jealous of *Julian's* acquiring too much Glory, refus'd them. *Julian*, therefore, took the Opportunity of the hot Summer Season, when the Waters were low, and *Bainobaudes* † ventur'd, with a Body of select Men, † *Corruptorum tribunus*, probably *Franks*, who were generally very dexterous at swimming, to pursue the Enemy into those Islands. The Soldiers were obliged partly to wade, and partly to swim, till they made themselves Masters of some of the nearest small Islands, and of the Vessels they found there, which they made Use of to go farther, and thereby so terrified the *Germans*, that they all retreated, with their Effects, to the other Side of the River (2).

§. XLVIII. *JULIAN*, in the mean Time, restored *Zabern*, in Order to stop up the usual Passages, which the *Alemanni* had 'till then taken to enter *Gaul*. *Barbatio*, for his Part, was employed in laying a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, to invade the *Alemanni* in their own Country; thereby to prevent their sending any Auxiliaries to their Countrymen, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. But the *Alemanni* threw large Trees into the River, above the Place where he was laying this Bridge, which, being drove down by the Stream, tore the Boats asunder. (1): And those who were in *Gaul*, unexpectedly fell upon *Barbatio* himself, whom they the sooner put to the Flight, as he had not Time to set himself in a Posture of Defence. They pursued the Fugitives, as far as through the Dominions of the *Rauraci*, and made a considerable Booty (2).

§. XLIX.

§. XLVII. I. AMM. MARCELL. calls this Nation *Læti*, l. c. c. 11. *Læti barbari ad tempestiva furta solertes, inter utriusque exercitus castra occulte transgressi, invadere Lugdunum incautam: eamque populatam nisu valido concremassent, nisi clausis aditibus percussis, quicquid extra oppidum potuit inveniri, vastassent.* We are yet at an Uncertainty, where to place these *Læti* or *Leti*, and what *Valesius* observes of them in *Ammianus* ad h. l. and in rebus *Francicis*, will not suffice to afford us any probable Conjecture.

(2) AMM. MARCELLINUS, c. l.

§. XLVIII. I. LIBANIUS, l. c. Cumque ille fluvium navibus junxisset, barbari cæsis arboribus ingentes stipites secundo amne dimiserunt, qui incidentes in naves, alias dissiparunt, alias confregerunt, nonnullas etiam submerferunt. Igitur, cum primus conatus male cessisset, hic quidem cum triginta illis militum millibus fugam cepisset. At barbari fugientes persequi & cedere, &c.

(2) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, l. XVI. c. 11. Multitudo barbarica rumore nimia velocitate præterita, Barbationem cum exercitu, quem regebat, Gallico vallo discretum, impetu

And march
against Ju-
lian.

§- XLIX. THIS Success so encouraged the Princes of the *Alemanni*, that they drew all their Forces together, and encamp'd near *Strasburg*. They received great Re-inforcements from the right Side of the *Rhine*, and particularly from those two Nations, who had but just before made Peace with *Constantius*. For *Gundomad* had, in the mean Time, been murder'd, and his Subjects join'd their Countrymen; as did those of *Vadomar*, who pretended afterwards, that it was not in his Power to restrain them (1). *Julian* got Intelligence, that these Re-inforcements were three Days and three Nights in crossing the *Rhine*. All this united Force of the *Alemanni* was under the Command of *Chnodomar*, who had infested *Gaul* ever since the Time of *Magnentius*; and whose Arms had, from the Beginning, acquired great Renown, by his Victory over *Decentius*. The *Germans* being inform'd, by a Deserter, that *Julian's* Army consisted but of 13,000 Men, they desired him, by an Ambassy, to desist from his Pretensions to a Country which they had gain'd by their Valour.

The Battle
of Strasburg.

§. L. JULIAN detain'd the Ambassadors, and broke up from *Zabern*, to give Battle to the Enemy, who expected him near *Strasburg*. *Chnodomar* commanded the left Wing (1). His bodily Strength, his fiery Steed, the Splendour of his Armour, the great Plume of red Feathers on his Helmet, and the monstrous Lance he bore, serv'd to keep up the Confidence his Soldiers had reposed in

impetu repentino aggressa, sequensque fugientes adusque Rauracos, & ultra quoad portuit, rapta sarcinarum & jumentorum cum calonibus parte maxima, redit ad suos. AMM. MARCELL. *names* L. XVI. c. 12. the Princes who were present at it. Quo dispalato lædo terrore, Alamannorum reges Chnodomarius & Vetraltus, Urius quinetiam & Urficinus cum Serapione & Suamario & Hortario, in unum robore virium suarum omni collecto, confedere prope urbem Argentoraturn. He moreover relates in what Manner Chnodomar had the Command: Agitabat autem miscibatque omnia sine modo, ubique sese diffunditans, & princeps audendi periculosa rex Chnodomarius, ardua subrigens supercilia, ut sæpe secundis rebus elatus. Nam & Decentium casarem superavit æquo Marte congressus, & civitates erutas multas vastavit & opulentas, licentiusque diu nullo refragante Gallias persultavit.

§. XLIX. (1) AMMIAN. L. XVI. c. 12. Alio itidem modo res est aggravata Romana ex negotio tali. Regii duo fratres vinculo pacis adstricti, quam anno præterito impetraverant a Constantio, nec tumultuare, nec commoveri sunt ausi. Sed paulo postea uno ex his Gundomado, qui potior erat, fideique firmioris, per insidias interemto, omnis ejus populus cum nostris hostibus conspiravit. Et confestim Vadomarii plebs, ut afferebat, agminibus bella cientium barbarorum sese conjuxit.

(2) IDEM l. c.

§. L. (1) We find by AMMIANUS, that the Germans continued, as in the Times of Tacitus, to intermix Foot-Soldiers with their Cavalry. AMM. MARCELL. L. XVI. c. 12. Cumque ita, ut ante dictus docuerat perfuga, equitatum omnem a dextro latere sibi vidissent oppositum, quicquid apud eos per equestres copias præpollebat, in lævo cornu locavere

in his Valour: *Serapio* (2), Son of his Brother *Meserich*, led the right Wing. Besides these two great Commanders, there were five other Sovereigns in the Army, who afterwards felt the Weight of *Julian's* Indignation, and ten Princes, besides an infinite Number of their most distinguished Warriors (3).

§. LI. *AMM. MARCELLINUS* gives a circumstantial Account of the Battle. It may suffice, to observe here, that the *Germans* were beat, and that, in their Flight, attempting to pass the *Rhine*, almost as many perish'd in that River, as in the Field of Battle. But it is surprizing, since *Ammian* himself represents this Action as very obstinate, that the *Romans* are said not to have lost more than 243, and the *Germans* 6,000 Men, in the Field of Battle (1). *Chnodomar*, who, in this Engagement, had done all that could be expected from a General and a gallant Soldier, was, at Length, obliged to quit the

Overthrow of the *Alemanni*. *Chnodomar* is taken Prisoner.

vere confertum. Iisdemque sparsim pedites miscuere, discursatores & leves, profecto ratione tuta poscente. Norant enim licet prudentem ex equo bellatorem cum clibanario nostro congressum, frena retinentem & scutum hasta una manu vibrata, tegminibus ferreis abscondito bellatori nocere non posse: peditem vero inter ipsos discriminum vertices, cum nihil caveri solet præter id quod occurrit, humi occulte reptantem, latere forato jumentum, incautum rectorem præcipitem agere, levi negotio trucidandum. Hoc itaque disposito, dextrum sui latus struxere, clandestinis insidiis & obscuris.

(2) It may, at first, seem strange, that an Alemannian Prince should bear an Egyptian Name. His real Name was Aganaric, but *Meserich*, his Father, who had been long an Hostage among the Romans in Gaul, and, on that Occasion, became acquainted with the Egyptian Superstition, which had spread itself through the Roman Provinces, gave him this new Name. See the Words of *Amm. Marcellinus*, in the following Note.

(3) *AMMIAN. l. c. c. 12.* Ductabant autem populos omnes pugnaces & sævos *Chnodomarius*, & *Serapio*, potestate excelsiores ante alios reges. Et *Chnodomarius* quidem nefarius belli totius incentor, cujus vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur, anteibat cornu sinistrum, audax & fidens ingenti ro-

bore lacertorum, ubi ardor prælii sperabatur immanis, equo spumante sublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus, antea strenuus & miles, & utilis præter ceteros ductor. Latus vero dextrum *Serapio* agebat, etiam tum adultæ lanuginis juvenis, efficacia præcurrens ætatem: *Mederichi* fratris *Chnodomarii* filius, hominis quoad vixerat perfidissimi: ideo sic appellatus, quod pater ejus diu obsidatus pignore tentus in Galliis, doctusque Græca quædam arcana, hunc filium suum *Aganarichum* genitalem vocabulo dictitatum, ad *Serapionis* transtulit nomen. Hos sequebantur potestate proximi reges numero quinque, regalesque decem, & optimatum series magna, armatorumque millia triginta & quinque, ex variis nationibus partim mercede, partim pacto vicissitudinis reddendæ quæsitæ. These Princes, whom *Amm. Marcellinus*, and other Historians, call *Reges*, govern'd over certain Districts, and are term'd Kings, more in Regard to their being independent, than for their Power; and the Title of *Kuning* or *Chuning*, so common among the *Alemanni* and *Franks*, is rather intended to denote the Illustrious Extraction of their Princes, than their Power or Despotick Rule.

§. LI. (1) It was therefore, probably, a Mistake of the Transcriber of *Zosimus* to put 60,000 Men. *V. VALES. ad h. l. p. 116. 7.*

Field. He endeavour'd to escape to his Camp (2); but was known by the Way, and, being surrounded by a Troop of Horse, was forc'd to yield. His whole Retinue follow'd his Example, for they esteem'd it the greatest Dishonour to forsake their Prince, dead or alive (3). *Julian* caused him to be brought before him, in the Sight of the Army; but treated him better, than he, perhaps, expected, and sent him to the Emperor, who was just then returned from his Expedition on the *Danube*. *Constantius* order'd him to be carried to *Rome*, where he died, in the *Castræ Peregrinæ*, of a Lethargy, a Disease, which no one ever thought he would have been liable to (4).

§. LII.

(2) *AMMIANUS, l. c.* Rex Chnodomarius reperta copia discedendi, lapsus per funerum strues, cum satellitibus paucis celeritate rapida properabat ad castra, quæ prope Tribuncos & Concordiam, munimenta Romana fixit intrepidus, ut adscensis navigiis, dudum paratis ad casus ancipites, in secretis se secessibus amandaret. Et quia non nisi Rheno transito ad tentoria sua poterat pervenire, vultum, ne agnosceretur, operiens, sensim retulit pedem. Cumque propinquaret jam ripis, lacunam palustribus aquis interfusam circumgrediens, ut transiret, calcata mollitie glutinosa, equo est evolutus: & confestim, licet obeso corpore gravior, ad subsidium vicini collis evasit: quem agnitum (nec enim potuit celare qui fuerat, fortunæ prioris magnitudine proditus) statim anhelocursu cohors cum tribuno secuta, armis circumdatum aggerem nemorosum cautius obsidebat, perrumpere verita, ne fraude latenti inter ramorum tenebras exciperetur occultas. Quibus visis compulsus ad ultimos metus, ultro se dedit, solus egressus: comitesque ejus ducenti numero, & tres amici junctissimi, flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, si ita tulerit casus, tradidere se vinciendos. *VALESIUS, in notis ad h. l. lit. q. has explodit Cluverius's opinion about this Camp.*

(3) *This Example serves to prove what TACITUS says, de mor. Germ. c. 25.* Infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi tuo ex acie recessisse, illum defendere, tueri sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus assignare, præcipuum sacramentum est.

(4) *AMM. MARCELL. l. c.* Et ut augeret

eventus secundi lætitiâ, concilio Chnodomarium jussit sibi offerri: qui primo curvatus, deinde humi suppliciter fusus, gentili-que prece veniam poscens, bono animo esse est jussus. Et diebus postea paucis ductus ad comitatum imperatoris, missusque exinde Romam, in Castris Peregrinis, quæ in monte sunt *Cælio*, morbo veterni consumtus est. *Julian continues the afore-cited Letter to the Athenians concerning this Battle, p. 279, thus:* Deinde confixi haud inglorie, cujus pugnae procul dubio ad vos fama pervenit. In qua cum captivum hostium regem dii in manus meas dedissent, tanti facinoris gloriam Constantio non invidi. Quamquam etsi triumphare mihi non licebat, hostem tamen jugulare fas erat: neque tota Gallia traducere, ac per urbes ostentare, & Chnodomarii calamitatibus insultare prohibebat quispiam. Verum nihil horum committendum putavi; sed ipsum statim ad Constantium misi, cum is commodum e Quadis ac Sarmatis rediret. Ita contigit, ut cum ego dimicasssem, ille solum iter fecisset, & cum Istri accolis pacifice collocutus esset, non ego, sed ille triumpharit. *LIBANIUS mentions, in Or. parentali in Julianum, c. 27, 28, and 29, this Battle, and in particular, c. 29, how Julian treated Chnodomar: p. 254, f.* Virum autem istum cæsar, cum ob ea, quæ ausus fuerat, rationem reddere jubebat, tam diu quidem magni fecit, quam diu prudenti atque decente utebatur oratione. Cum autem postremo abjecta quædam & humilia prioribus sermonibus suis, generosam mentem spirantibus, adjiceret, seque de capite meture proderet, suæque salutis (supplex) mentionem

§. LII. *JULIAN* returned, after this Victory, to *Zabern*, and from *Julian* thence to *Metz*, where he left his Booty and Captives, having himself invades the formed greater Designs, and intending to infest the *Alemanni* in their Dominions of the *Ale-* own Country, before they could recover themselves. He therefore *manni*, made a Motion, from *Metz* to *Mentz*; caused a Bridge to be laid there, over the *Rhine*, and pass'd into *Germany*. To cause the greater Terror and Disorder among the *Alemanni*, he order'd 800 Men to sail up and down the *Mayn*, in light Vessels, to land wherever they could, and to set Fire to every Thing that should come in their Way. When the *Alemanni*, therefore, saw a great Smoak, on the right Side of the *Mayn*, and, supposing the Enemy's principal Force to be there, cross'd the River; *Julian* advanced, on the left Side, laying waste and burning whatever he met with; 'till he came to a thick impassable Forest, of which the *Speshard* seems still to be a Remainder. Here he found all the Passages stop'd up, and, as the Season of the Year was pretty far advanc'd (*), full of Snow. As he could, therefore, proceed no farther, he undertook to restore the Fort, which *Trajan* had formerly built thereabouts. Whilst he was thus employ'd, three Princes of the *Alemanni*, whose Dominions were in that Neighbourhood, and who, 'till then, had taken Part with *Chnodomar*, sent Ambassadors, to treat about a Peace. But *Julian* allow'd them no more than a Truce for ten Months; and, leaving a Garrison in his new Fort, led his Soldiers back over the *Rhine* (1), with so much Glory, that *Amm. Marcellinus* compares this Expedition to the *Punick* and *Cimbrian* Victories.

Q q 2

§. LIII.

tionem faceret, odio quasi illum fuit persecutus. Gravius tamen nihil in eum statuit, nec in vincula eum conjecit, verecunde secunda sua, qua tum utebatur, fortuna usus, & secum probe considerans, quantum unica dies potuerit efficere.

§. LII. (*) *Æquinoctio quippe autumnali exalto.*

(1) *MARCELLINUS, L. 17. c. 1.* Et dum nullus obsisteret, munimentum, quod in *Alamannorum* solo conditum *Trajanus* suo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario studio reparatum est: locatisque ibi pro tempore defensoribus, ex barbarorum visceribus alimenta congesta sunt. Quæ illi maturata ad suam perniciem contemplant, metuque rei peractæ volucriter congregati, precibus & humilitate suprema petiere missis oratoribus pacem.

Quam cæsar omni consiliorum via firmata, causatus verisimilia plurima, per decem mensium tribuit intervallum: id nimirum solerti colligens mente, quod castra, supra quam optari potuit occupata sine obstaculo, tormentis muralibus, & apparatu valido deberent communiri. Hac fiducia tres immanissimi reges venerunt, tandem aliquando jam trepidi, ex his qui misere victis apud *Argentoratum* auxilia, jurantes conceptis ritu patrio verbis, nihil inquietum acturos, sed fœdera ad præstitutum usque diem, quia id nostris placuerat, cum munimento servaturos intacto, frugesque portaturos humeris, si defuisse sibi docuerint defensores: quod utrumque metu perfidiam frenante fecerunt. *We cannot so exactly determine, where this Munimentum Trajani was; but it is nevertheless very certain, that Lindenbrogius is mistaken,*

On his Return, defeats an Army of the Franks.

M. Jan. 358.

Barbario drives the Juthungi out of Rætia.

§. LIII. HE directed his Course towards *Paris*, designing to spend the Winter there. *Severus*, General of the Cavalry, who pass'd thro' *Cologne* and *Juliers* to *Rheims*, met, by the Way, with an Army of *Franks*, who were, probably, *Salii* and *Attuarii*, as they were the nearest, and had entertain'd Hopes, while the *Roman* Army was in *Alemannia*, of making great Booty. They now retreated into a Fort, on the *Maes*: *Julian* there besieged them, and when, after a Siege of fifty-four Days, they were forc'd to surrender †, he sent them all to *Constantius*, the Emperor (1), who caus'd them to be intermix'd with his Troops, where their Stature and Strength made them the Admiration of every one.

§. LIV. *CONSTANTIUS* was, in the mean Time, at *Sirmium*, treating with the *Persians*, whose King, *Sapor*, had threaten'd the *Romans* with a formidable War, if they would not relinquish their Pretensions to *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*. This made the Invasion of the *Juthungi*, one of the Nations of the *Alemanni*, into *Rætia*, the more inconvenient for the *Romans*. The Historian observes, as somewhat

in taking it to be the *Colonia Trajana*. This Uncertainty of its Situation, renders it likewise dubious, whether it be the same Munimentum, which *Valentinian*, as we shall observe in the next Book, fortified against the *Alemanni*,

§. LIII. (1) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS*, L. 17. c. 1. & 2. Quibus ut in tali re compositis firmiter, ad sedes revertens hibernas, sudorum reliquias reperit tales. Remos *Severus* Magister equitum per *Agrippinam* petens, & *Juliacum*, *Francorum* validissimos cuneos in sexcentis velitibus, ut postea claudit, vacua præfidiis loca vastantes offendit: hac opportunitate in scelus audaciam erigente: quod cæsare in *Alamannorum* secessibus occupato, nulloque vetante, expleri se posse prædæ opimitate sunt arbitrati: Sed metu jam reversi exercitus, munimentis duobus, quæ olim exinanita sunt, occupatis, se quoad fieri poterat tuebantur. Hac *Julianus* rei novitate perculsus, & conjiciens quorsum erumperet, si iisdem transisset intactis, retento milite circumvallare disposuit. . . . *Mosa* fluvius præterlambit, & adusque quartum & quinquagesimum diem, Decembri scilicet & Januario mense obsidionales tractæ sunt moræ, destinatis barbarorum animis incredibili pertinacia reluctatis. Tunc

pertimescens solertissimus cæsar, ne observata nocte illuni, barbari gelu victum amnem pervaderent, quotidie a sole in vesperam flexo, adusque lucis principium, lusoriis navibus discurrere flumen, ultro citroque milites ordinavit, ut crustis pruinarum diffractis, nullus ad erumpendum quopiam facile perveniret. Hocque commento inedia, & vigiliis, & desperatione postrema lassati, sponte se propria dederunt. Statimque ad comitatum augusti sunt missi. *LIBANIUS*, in orat. II. in *Juliani necem*, c. 32. adds some other Circumstances. Sed adulta jam hieme *Franci* numero mille, quibus nives perinde voluptati ac flores sunt, cum vicos aliquot evassent, quorum in medio castrum erat desertum, circumfessi ab eo, & in illud castrum inclusi sunt: quos cum fame ad deditionem cœgisset, ad augustum victos ablegavit, rem plane novam atque insolitam. Lex enim apud eos est aut vincere, aut mortem oppetere. At compedibus tamen constricti sunt, idem uti videtur passi quod apud *Sphaæteriam Spartani*. Eos itaque acceptos *Constantius* dono sibi missos dixit, suisque legionibus eos miscuit, turres quasdam iis sese admiscere ratus: adeo multos alios unus ex illis æquiparare existimabatur.

singular

singular, that they ventur'd to undertake Sieges, in which the *Germans* had, 'till then, very little Experience (1): But *Barbatio*, who succeed-
ed *Silvanus*, as General of the Foot, was now more successful against
them, than he had before been against the other *Alemanni*, in *Gaul*,
and freed the Court from these Apprehensions, as well as himself from
the Reproach, that he was a greater Hero in Words, than in Actions.

§. LV. THE Irruption of the *Juthungi* was but, as it were, a Fore-
runner of the Designs of the *Quadi* and *Jazygi*. The *Quadi*, during
the Winter †, cross'd the *Danube*, and made IncurSIONS into both *Pan-*
nonia's, and into *Upper-Moesia*. It has been observed before (1), that a *Quadi* and
Sarmatian People had been expell'd their Country by their own Slaves. *Sarmatæ*.
One Part of them had taken Refuge among the *Quadi*, and having, on
certain Conditions, subjected themselves to them, now took Part with
them in this War. *Constantius* marched, in the Spring, against them (2);
caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube*, and ravag'd that
whole Tract of Land, which lay opposite to *Pannonia Secunda* and
Valeria (3). The *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*, who offer'd to withstand him,
were defeated, and the Army advanc'd farther Westward, that the
most distant Regions of the *Quadi* might likewise feel the *Roman* Re-
sentment. But the Chiefs of the Nation, among whom *Arabarius* is

Constantius
marches a-
gainst the
Quadi and
Sarmatæ.
A. 357, 358.

§. LIV. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 17. c. 6. 101. Inter quæ ita ambigua *Juthungi*,
Alamannorum pars, *Italicis* conterminans
tractibus, obliti pacis ac fœderum, quæ ad-
epti sunt obsecrando, Rætiæ turbulente
vastabant, adeo, ut etiam oppidorum tenta-
rent obsidia præter solitum. Ad quos re-
pellendos cum valida manu missus *Barbatio*,
in locum *Silvani* peditum promotus magister,
ignavus sed verbis effusior, alacritate mili-
tum vehementer erecta, prostravit acerrime
multos, ita ut exigua portio, quæ periculi
metu se dedit in fugam, ægre dilapsa, res
suas non sine lacrymis reviferet, & lamentis.
Huic pugnae *Nevitta*, postea consul, equestris
præpositus turmæ, & adfuisse, & fortiter
fecisse, firmatur.

§. LV. (1) Vide supra §. XXVIII.

(2) AMMIAN. MARCELL. L. 17. c. 12. de-
scribes, on this Occasion, the Arms of the *Sar-
matæ* and *Quadi*. Augusto inter hæc qui-
escenti per hiemem apud *Sirmium*, indica-
bant nuntii graves & crebri, permixtos *Sar-
matas* & *Quados*, vicinitate & similitudinē

morum, armaturæque concordēs, *Pannonias*
Mœsiarumque alteram cuneis incurfare dis-
persis. Quibus ad latrocinia magis quam
aperto habilibus Marti, hastæ sunt longio-
res, & loricae ex cornibus rasis & levigatis,
plumarum specie linteis indumentis innexæ:
equorumque plurimi ex usu castrati, ne aut
fœminarum visu exagitati raptentur, aut in
subsidiis ferocientes, prodant hinnitu densi-
ore vectores. Et per spatia discurrunt am-
plissima, sequentes alios, vel ipsi terga ver-
tentes, insidendo velocibus equis & morige-
ris, trahentesque singulos, interdum & binos,
uti permutatio vires foveat jumentorum, vi-
gorque otio integretur alterno.

(3) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, l. c. p. 137.
Gerebantur hæc in ea parte *Sarmatiæ*, quæ
secundum prospectat *Pannoniam*: parique
fortitudine circa *Valeriam* opes barbaricas,
urendo capiendoque occurrentia, militaris
turba vastabat - - - quo eventu vires &
animos i citante, junctis densius cuneis ad
Quadorum regna properabat exercitus.

particu-

particularly mentioned, as one of the most powerful (4), prevented the Ruin of their Country, by seeking an amicable Accommodation, which *Constantius*, who, by Reason of the *Persian* War, which threatened him, was glad to put an End to these Troubles, readily granted. A Treaty was thereupon set on Foot with the *Sarmatæ* likewise: The *Quadi* were forc'd to restore those *Sarmatæ*, who were under their Subjection, to their Liberty; and the Emperor promis'd to re-instate them in their Country, from which they had been expell'd by their Slaves, on Condition, that they should, for the future, be under the Supremacy and Protection of the *Romans* (5). He appointed *Zizaim*, a *Sarmatian* Prince, who had distinguish'd himself above the rest of his Nation, by sundry Advantages both of Body and Mind, and had already commanded, as General, over many of them, to be their King (6). The Army, thereupon, march'd towards *Brègetio* (which lay on the opposite Side of the *Danube*, near where the *Gran* discharges itself into that

(4) *IBIDEM*, p. 138. Hortante hoc exemplo clementiæ, advolarunt regales, cum suis omnibus, *Araharius*, & *Ufaser*, inter optimates excellentes, agminum gentilium duces, quorum alter *Transjugitanorum* *Quadorum*que parti, alter quibusdam *Sarmatis* præerat, locorum confiniis & feritate junctissimis: quorum plebem veritus imperator, ne ferire fœdera simulans, in arma repente confurgeret; discreto consortio, pro *Sarmatis* obsecrantes jussit paulisper abscedere, dum *Araharii* & *Quadorum* negotium spectaretur. Qui cum eorum ritu oblatis, stantes curvatis corporibus, facinora gravia purgare non possent, ultimæ sortis infortunia metuentes, dederunt obsides imperatos, nunquam antea pignora fœderis exhibere compulsi. *When the Emperor had thus concluded the War with the Quadi, he began to treat with Ufaser, a Sarmatian Prince.* *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS* proceeds thus: His ex æquo bonoque compositis, *Ufaser* in preces admissus est: *Arahario* pertinaciter obstrepente, firmanteque pacem quam ipse meruit, ei quoque debere proficere, ut participi, licet inferiori, & obtemperare suis imperiis consueto. Verum quæstione discussa aliena potestate eripi *Sarmatæ* jussi, ut semper *Romanorum* clientes, offerre obsides, quietis vincula conservandæ, gratanter amplexi sunt.

(5) *IDEM* c. l. p. 138. Quibus ordinatis,

translata est in *Sarmatas* cura, miseratione dignos potius, quam similitate: quibus incredibile quantum prosperitatis hæc attulit causa: ut verum illud existimetur, quod opinantur quidam, fatum vinci principis potestate, vel fieri. Potentes olim ac nobiles erant, hujus indigenæ regni, sed conjuratio clandestina servos armavit in facinus. Atque ut barbaris esse omne jus in viribus adfuevit, vicerunt dominos ferocia pares, sed numero præminentes. Qui confundente metu consilia, ad *Victor* halos discretos longius confugerunt, obsequi defensoribus, ut in malis, optabile, quam servire suis mancipiis arbitrati: quæ deplorantes post impetratam veniam recepti in fidem, poscebant præsidia liberati: eosque iniquitate rei permotus, inspectante omni exercitu, convocatos allocutus verbis mollioribus imperator, nulli nisi sibi ducibusque *Romanis* parere præcepit. Atque ut restitutio libertatis haberet dignitatis augmentum, *Zizaim* regem iisdem præfecit, conspicuæ fortunæ tum insignibus aptum profecto, ut res docuit, & fidelem: nec discedere quispiam post hæc gloriose gesta permissus est, antequam (ut placuerat) remearent nostri captivi.

(6) *AUR. VICTOR. in Cæs. c. 40.* Genti *Sarmatarum*, magno decore confidens apud eos, regem dedit.

River)

River) to settle the Affairs of those *Quadi*, who dwelt betwixt the *Gran* and the *Waag*: They likewise all submitted (7), and swore to the Peace, on their Swords, which, among the ancient *Germans*, was one of the most obligatory Oaths (8).

§. LVI. P E A C E was no sooner established on these Confines, than the Emperor made War with the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, not only to revenge their Incursions into *Moësia*; but likewise to re-instate their former Masters, pursuant to his Promise, in their Dominions. According to *Ammian's* Account, these *Limigantes* dwelt in those Countries, which were situate along the *Theis* (†) and *Maros* † up to the *Danube*. They hazarded a Battle with the *Romans*, on this Side of the *Theis*, but, after a stout Resistance, were obliged to retreat. The *Romans* cross'd the *Theis*, and burnt and ravag'd the whole Country opposite to the Coasts of *Moësia*, as far as where, on the other Side, the *Morava* falls into the *Danube*. At the same Time, their former Ma-

And drives the *Sarmatæ Limigantes* out of the Neighbourhood of the *Theis*:
† *Rialo, seu Mariscus.*

(7) AMM. MARCELLIN. l. c. p. 139. His in barbarico gestis, Bregetionem castra commota sunt: ut etiam ibi belli Quadorum reliquias, circa illos agitantium tractus, lacrymæ vel sanguis extingueret. Quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduarii filius regis, & Agilimundus subregulus: aliique optimates, & iudices, variis populis præsidentes, viso exercitu in gremio regni, solique genitalis, sub gressibus jacuere militum, & adepti veniam iussa fecerunt: sobolemque suam obfidatus pignore, ut obsequuturi conditionibus impositis, tradiderunt, eductisque mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, juravere se permansuros in fide. The *Quadi* appear, at the same Time, by these Passages, to have, indeed, had a King, but they had, besides, certain Princes among them; and as the Judges are every where mention'd as presiding, this Office seems to have been in the highest Esteem. And *Atharic*, the Gothick Prince, is sometimes call'd *Rex*, sometimes *Judex Thervingorum*. These are manifest Proofs of what *Tacitus* says of the *Germans* in general. M. G. c. 12. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis & principes, qui jura per pagos, vicosque reddunt.

(8) The *Scythian Nations*, in general, are known to have had this Custom. *Apuleius de Deo Socratis*, says of them, that they swore by their Scymiters. Of the *Alani*, *Ammian* says below, L. 31. d. 2. Gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem re-

gionum, quas circumeunt, [s. ut in Codice Vaticano legitur, circumcircant,] præfulem verecundius colunt. *Adamus Bremensis* says of the *Danes*, c. 30. Cæsari miserunt gladium, videlicet capulotenus aureum, & alia multa, pacem firmam, ritu gentis, per arma juraverunt. This Ceremony will seem the less strange to the *Germans*, as, to this Day, in Acts of Investiture, before the Imperial Throne, the Oath is administer'd in that Manner.

§ LVI. (1) AMM. MARCELL. L. 17. c. 13. p. 140. Has enim terras Parthiscus irruens obliquatissime meatibus, Istro miscetur. Sed dum solus licentius fluit, spatia longa & lata sensim præterlabens, & ea coarctans prope exitum in angustias, accolæ ab impetu Romanorum alveo Danubii defendit, a barbaricis vero excursibus suo tutos præstat obstaculo, ubi pleraque, humidioris soli natura, & incrementis fluminum redundantia, stagnosa & referta salicibus, ideoque invia nisi perquam gnaris: & super his insularem amfractum aditu Parthisci pæne contiguum amnis potior ambiens, terræ consortio separavit. We find afterwards, among the Accounts of the Countries which they inhabited, that the Tract of Land, which lies opposite to the Conflux of the *Morava* and the *Danube*, appertain'd thereunto, and that they border'd, towards the North-East, with the *Thaifali*.

sters invaded their Country on one Side, and the *Thaifali* on the other (2). The *Limigantes*, who saw themselves unequal to this triple Power, and almost despaired, even of maintaining that Liberty, which they had so dearly bought, sued for Peace, offering to quit the Country, and to accept of whatever Habitation the Emperor should assign to them. They were therefore obliged to give up the Country to their former Masters, who, under the Direction of their new King, took immediate Possession of it; and the *Limigantes* had other Territories assigned them. This done, *Constantius* led away the Army, which gave him the Surname of *Secundo Sarmaticus*; and entered *Sirmium* again, in a Sort of Triumph (3).

Who are
soon after
extirpated.

§. LVII. BUT the *Limigantes* did not long remain in Peace, in the Country where *Constantius* had placed them (1). He, therefore, set out in the Spring of 359 †, from *Sirmium* for the *Danube*. The *Limigantes* complained, that they could not possibly live in the Country assign'd them, and begg'd the Emperor would grant them a Place, wherever he pleased, in the *Roman* Provinces, since they were willing to live peaceably and to pay a Tribute. *Constantius* was not displeased at this Proposal, in Hopes of employing them to re-inforce his

(2) AMM. MARCELLINUS, l. c. p. 141. Statimque ne alacritas intepesceret pugnatorum, impositi lintribus per abdita ducti velites expediti, occuparunt latibula Sarmatarum: quos repentinus fefellit adspectus, gentiles lembos, & nota remigia conspicantes. Ubi vero procul micantibus telis, quod verebantur, propinquare senserunt, ad suffugia locorum palustrum se contulerunt: eosque secutus infestius miles, cæsis plurimis ibi victoriam reperit, ubi nec caute posse consistere, nec audere aliquid credebatur. Post absumptos pæne diffusosque Amicenses, petiti sunt sine mora Picenses, ita ex regionibus appellati conterminis: quos tutiores fecere sociorum ærumnæ, rumorum assiduitate compertæ. Ad quos opprimendos (cratenim arduum sequi per diversa conspersos, imprudentia viarum arcente) *Thaifalorum* auxilium, & *Liberorum* adæque *Sarmatarum* adsumtum est. Cumque auxiliorum agmina locorum ratio separaret, tractus contiguos *Mœsiæ* sibi miles elegit; *Thaifali* proxima suis sedibus obtinebant; *Liberi* terras occupaverant, e regione sibi oppositas. The *Picenses*, from whom these *Sarmatæ*, who dwell opposite to them, received their Name, dwell in

Mœsia about the River *Pinco*, which is now called *Morava*.

(3) AMMIANUS, l. c. p. 143. Post hunc dicendi finem concio omnis alacrior solito, aucta spe potiorum & lucris, vocibus festis in laudes imperatoris assurgens, deumque ex usu testata, non posse *Constantium* vinci, tentoria repetit læta. Et reductus imperator ad regiam, otioque bidui recreatus, *Sirmium* cum pompa triumphali regressus est. Julian *ridicules this Triumph*, in epist. ad Athen. p. 513.

§. LVII. (1) AMM. MARCELLINUS, L. 19. c. 11. Inter hæc ita ambigua *Constantium*, *Sirmii* etiam tum hiberna quiete curantem, permovebant nuntii metuendi & graves, indicantes id, quod tunc magnopere formidabat, *Limigantes Sarmatas*, quos expulisse paternis avitisque sedibus dominos suos ante monstravimus, paulatim posthabitis locis, quæ eis anno præterito utiliter sunt destinata, ne, ut sunt versabiles, aliquid molirentur inimicum, regiones confines limitibus occupasse: vagarique licentius genuino more, ni pellerentur, omnia turbaturos.

† Eusebio & Hypatio COSS. vid. Ammianus, L. 18. init.

Army;

Army; since, in many of the Provinces, the People became more and more averse to War, and the Levies were consequently unsuccessful (2). The Imperial Camp was near *Acimincum* ††, whither the Emperor suffered the *Sarmatæ* to come: But they watch'd their Opportunity, and, when least expected, attack'd the Emperor himself (3). The *Romans* immediately drew into Order of Battle, and so retaliated their Treachery, that they were all either kill'd on the Spot, or reduc'd to Slavery: Since which Time no farther mention is made in History of the *Limigantes*.

§. LVIII. *JULIAN* had spent the Winter at *Paris*, and was intent upon entirely subduing the *Alemanni*. In these Days, it was not customary to open the Campaigns in *Gaul*, before the Beginning of *July*, because they were obliged to wait for Provisions from *Aquitain* (1): But *Julian* thought it would be equal, whether the Soldiers consumed the Remainder of their Stores, which was sufficient for twenty Days, in the Field or in the Camp; and therefore broke up sooner than usual. He first advanced against the *Salii*, a *Franconian* Nation (2), who had taken Possession of some *Roman* Frontiers, in the

Julian surprizes the Salii. Whence the Franks took this Name?

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(2) *IBIDEM*. Qui vana quædam causantes, & irrita, pavore adigente mentiri, principem exorabant in veniam, obsecrantes, ut similitate abolita, transmissio flumine ad eum venire permetterentur, docturi, quæ sustinerent incommoda: paratique intra spatia orbis Romani, si id placuerit, terras suscipere longe discretas, ut diuturno otio involuti, & quietem colentes, tanquam salutarem deam, tributariorum onera subirent, & nomen. His post reditum tribunorum compertis, imperator exsultans, ut negotio quod rebatur inexplicabile, sine ullo pulvere consummando, cunctos admisit, aviditate plus habendi incensus: quam adulatorum cohors augebat, id sine modo strepentium, quod externis sopitis, & ubique pace composita, proletarios lucrabitur plures, & tirocinia cogere poterit validissima. Aurum quippe gratanter provinciales corporibus dabant, quæ spes rem Romanam aliquoties adgravavit.

†† *s. Alcumincum*, *Lazius* L. XII. *Rom. reip.* c. 11. p. 937. supposes it to be *Salancken*.

(3) *IBIDEM*. Quæ *Limigantes* licet properari sentirent, nihil tamen præter preces fingentes stabant incurui; longe alia quam

quæ gestu præferebant & verbis, altis mentibus perpensantes. Visoque imperatore ex alto suggestu jam sermonem parante lenissimum, meditanteque alloqui velut morigeros jam futuros: quidam ex illis furore percitus truci, calceo suo in tribunal contorto, *MARHA, MARHA, quod est apud eos signum bellicum*, exclamavit, eumque secuta incondita multitudo vexillo elato repente barbarico, ululans ferum, in ipsum principem ferebatur.

§. LVIII. (1) *AMM. MARCEL. L. 17. c. 8.* Operiensque *Julium* mensem, unde sumunt *Gallicani* procinctus exordia, diutiusangebatur. Nec enim egredi poterat, antequam ex *Aquitania*, æstatis remissione solutis frigoribus & pruinis, veheretur annona.

(2) *Some learned Men have attempted to derive the Name of Salii, from the German Word Saal, which then signified Curia or Palatium; and imagine, that all the Franks in general were called Salii. But, by the Connection of History, this Name appears neither to have denoted all the Franks in general, nor any particular Order of Men among them, but to have been proper to some particular Franconian Nation. It is uncertain, whether the Sala, or the present Yssel*

gave

Neighbourhood of the *Scheld*, near *Toxandria* (3). He surpriz'd them before they could get into a Body, and forc'd them to submit (4). Not far from thence, he likewise met with a Body of the *Chamavi*, who were marching against the *Salii*; attack'd them, took many Prisoners, and put the Rest to Flight. These Fugitives, having rallied, sent afterwards Ambassadors to him, and he granted them a Peace, on Condition, that they should immediately retreat to their own Country, beyond the *Rhine* (5). He pick'd out the choicest of his Prisoners, the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, particularly of the former, and internix'd them with the Auxiliaries in the Roman Army. *Zosimus* writes, that, even in his Time, there was a Body of Men call'd *Salii*; and, in the *Notitia*

gave Rise to it, or whether the Name was taken from those watry Places, which in the ancient Low German were termed Saal, whence Salland on the Yssel, a principal Part of the present Province of Overijssel. This last Derivation is observed by Menso Altingius, l. c. p. 115. Depressius solum, cui superstitare solet quælibet aqua reses, sive tacitis laticibus eo colliquata, sive data opera pecori aquando corrivata, siva eluvionibus effusa, SALAM vocant, qui Rheni divortia accolunt, &c. It is certain at least, that Part of the Franks dwelt in those Countries about the Yssel, and the Salii and Tubantes are frequently spoken of promiscuously.

(3) *Toxandria is the present Tessenderlo, in the Diocese of Liege, from whence the Pagus Tessandriæ took its Name; which is met with in antient Records, and reached to the Country about the Confluence of the Maes and Waal. V. Cl. Dithmarus in diss. de comitatu Teisterbantiæ §. V.*

(4) *AMMIAN, MARCELLINUS, l. c. Quibus paratis, petit primos omnium Francos, eos videlicet, quos consuetudo Salios appellavit, ausos olim in Romano solo, apud Toxandriam locum, habitacula sibi figere prælicenter. Cui cum Tungros venisset, occurrit legatio prædictorum opinantium reperiri imperatorem etiam tum in hibernis, pacem sub hac lege prætendens, ut quiescentes eos, tanquam in suis, nec lacefferet quisquam, nec vexaret. Hos legatos, negotio plene digesto, oppositaque conditionum perplexitate, ut in iisdem tractibus moraturus, dum*

redeunt, muneratos absolvit. Dictoque citius secutus profectos, Severo duce misso per ripam, subito cunctos adgressus, tanquam fulminis turbo percussit: jamque precantes potius quam resistentes, in opportunam clementiæ partem effectû victoriæ flexo, dedentes se, cum opibus liberisque suscepit. Libanius in orat. parentali in Julian. cap. 32. p. 261. Cum tempus signum sustulisset, ilico exercitum educit, & circa flumen instar fulguris visus, gentem integram adeo terruit, ut migrare in orbem Rom. peterent. Agros itaque petentibus dedit, & barbaris adversus barbaros auxiliaribus est usus.

(5) *MARCELLINUS, L. 17. c. 8. Chamavos itidem ausos similia adortus, eadem celeritate partim cecidit, partim acriter repugnantes, vivosque captos compegit in vincula: alios præcipiti fuga trepidantes, ad sua, ne militem spatio longo defatigaret, abire interim permisit innocuos: quorum legatis paulo postea missis precatum, consultumque rebus suis, humi prostratis sub obtutibus ejus, pacem hoc tribuit pacto, ut ad sua redirent incolumes. In Eunapius's Excerpta we meet with more Circumstances of these Transactions with the Chamavi: And Zosimus likewise relates this War, L. 3. c. 6 & 7, but very confusedly; and even names the Quadi, instead of the Chamavi. We therefore prefer Ammianus Marcellinus and Julian's own Accounts to these two Grecians, who were so little conversant in these Affairs of the West, that Zosimus even places Paris in Germany.*

Imperii

Imperii, the *Salii* are placed among the *Palatina Auxilia* (6). Julian immediately caused three strong Castles to be built on the *Maes*, to secure those Countries, by Degrees, against any future sudden Irruptions of the *Germans*.

§ LIX. HE thereupon laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, and invaded the Dominions of the *Alemanni*. The first he fell into, were those of King *Suomarius*, who, in former Years, had been very active in infesting *Gaul*: But he went to meet the *Romans*, made his Submission, in Order to avert the total Devastation of his Country, and sued for Peace. He was oblig'd to restore all the *Roman* Prisoners, and to engage for the Delivery of a certain Quantity of Provisions; for which he was tied down to produce Receipts, or liable to deliver the same over again. Some Troops were thereupon sent against another King of the *Alemanni*, named *Hortarius*, who had stopp'd up all the Passages to his Dominions with monstrous large Trees. But *Charietto*, a valiant *Frank*, who was afterwards made *Comes rei militaris per utramque Germaniam* (1), found a By-Way, and *Hortarius* soon saw, by the Smoak, arising from the Villages which were set on Fire, that he had now no other Means left of serving his Country, than by submitting to *Julian*. He was obliged to come to him in Person, to ratify the Treaty, and, after having restored all the *Roman* Prisoners, bound himself to deliver a certain Quantity of Wood, and other Materials, to rebuild the Cities, which had been destroy'd by the *Alemanni* (2).

§ LX. JULIAN spent the Winter in *Gaul*, to bring the Affairs of the Provinces, where requisite, into a better State; and, in Time, to make the necessary Preparations for the ensuing Campaign. He caused the Magazines, along the *Rhine*, which had been destroy'd, to be rebuilt; and order'd, that for the future, Provisions should be again brought from *Britain*, up the *Rhine* (1): For, after he had subdued

Julian compels *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, two Princes of the *Alemanni*, to sue for Peace.

And causes the *Roman* Forts, along the *Rhine*, to be re-built.

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(6) SUB DUCE THEBAIDOS:

Cohors XI. Chamavorum.

in not. imp. p. 1699.

Cohors VII. Francorum ib.

SUC DUCE PHOENICES.

Ala prima Francorum curiæ.

And among the *Auxilia Palatina*, besides the *Batavi*, *Bructeri* and *Amplivarii*, we meet with the *Tubantes*, *Salii*, *Matthiaci*, *Juniores Gallicani*, *Salii Gallicani*, and *Tungri*.

§ LIX. (1) MARCELLIN. L. 27. c. 1. Tunc [sc. *Charietto*] per utramque Germaniam comes.

(2) MARCELLINUS, L. 27. c. 1.

§ LX. (1) LIBANIUS, in orat parentali, 40. p. 265. Cum enim ex memorata modo insula annona olim, mari superato, Rheno fuerit advecta; barbari vero id, cum integris adhuc essent viribus, non amplius fieri permetterent: frumentarias naves olim quidem subductas computrescere contigerat. Paucae enim admodum earum ultro citroque navigare sinebantur, quibus in portibus exoneratis, plaustris frumentum erat imponendum, quod fluvius antea advehere sueverat. Ista vero res maximos exigebat sumtus. Pri-

stinum

the *Salii* and other Nations (2,) who dwelt about the Mouth of the *Maes* and the *Rhine*, the Navigation on that River was restor'd to its former Safety (3). His chief Design was to gain an entire Conquest over the *Alemanni*, the next Campaign. He sent *Hariobaudes* (4), who spoke the *German* Language, under the Pretence of an Embassy to *Hortarius*, but in Reality, that he might discover the State of those *Alemanni*, whose Borders joined to his. He himself undertook, in the mean Time, the Care of re-building the Cities, and, at the Beginning of the next Year, seven of them were begun (5); among which we discover, in *Ammianus*, the Names of *Neus*, *Bonn*, *Andernach* and *Bingen*. The *Alemannian* Princes had performed their Promise, and

stinum itaque morem cæsar revocans, valdeque existimans esse molestum, si non jam annonæ vecturam pristino statui restituat: exiguo temporis spatio & naves fieri curavit plures, quam antea extiterant unquam, & qua aptissime ratione frumentum adveheret fluvius, dispexit.

(2) *De Chamavis* EUNAPIUS, p. 15. A. Chamavis invitis, impossibile est, e Britannia insula Romanis coloniis commeatus & cibaria immittere. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* we find these Words, Chamavi, qui & Franci, p. 718. add M. VELSERI explicatio, p. 729.

(3) To this must be refer'd, what Julian says of himself, l. c. p. 279. D. Cum sexcentarum itaque navium classe solvens, e quibus quadringentas vix totis decem mensibus fabricaveram, omnibus sum in Rhenum inVectus: quod propter ingruentes & vicinos barbaros imprimis difficile videbatur. Sane Florentius adeo fieri istud posse desperaverat, ut de transitu cum barbaris duobus argenti librarum millibus pacisceretur. Qua de re certior factus Constantius, (nam cum eo ille communicaverat) mandavit mihi, id ut agerem, nisi omnino turpe esse judicarem. Hoc vero quid ni turpe foret, cum ejusmodi esse vel Constantio ipsi videretur? qui barbaros obsequiis omnibus fovere, ac retinere consueverat? Verum nihilo in illos a nobis est impensum. Quin adversus eos exercitum movens, aspirantibus diis, Saliorum partem excepi: Chamavos expuli: infinita boum armenta cum mulieribus ac parvulis in potestatem redegi: ita vero omnes exterrui, ac

tantus illis excursionis meæ injectus est metus, ut statim obsides acceperim, & annonæ subvectionem tutam reddiderim. Et p. 280. C. Longum est omnia complecti, ac singula percernere, quæ quatuor annis a me gesta sunt. Horum vero summa ista sunt capita. Ter, cum adhuc Cæsar essem, Rhenum trajeci: viginti captivorum millia a trans-rhenanis barbaris repetii: ex duobus præliis & una obsidione, mille homines in potestatem accepi, nec eos ætate confectos, sed juvenes: quatuor lectissimorum peditum numeros: tres nihilo inferiorum equitum; scholas duas honoratissimas ad Constantium misi; oppida cepi nunc quidem omnia, tum vero paulo minus quadraginta potitus fueram.

(4) MARCELL. L. 18. c. 2. Vacantem tribunalum, fidei fortitudinisque notæ.

(5) IBID. c. 2. Quo fidenter ad hæc patranda digresso, ipse, anni tempore opportuno, ad expeditionem undique milite convocato, profectus, id inter potissima mature duxit implendum, ut, ante præliorum fervorem, civitates multo ante excisas introiret, receptasque communiret; horrea quin etiam extrueret pro incensis, ubi condi posset annona, a Britannis sueta transferri. Et utrumque perfectum & spe omnium citius. Nam & horrea veloci opere surrexerunt, alimentorumque satietas in iisdem condita; & civitates occupatæ sunt septem; Castra Herculis, Quadriburgium, Tricesimæ, Novesium, Bonna, Antunnacum, & Bingio. Of these Cities, see Valefius ad h. l. and Petrus Divæus antiq. Belg. c. 19.

deliver'd

deliver'd what Materials were requir'd of them for these Buildings ; and *Julian* so excited his Soldiers, that the *Legionarii* vied with the Strangers in forwarding this Undertaking.

§ LXI. *HARIOBAUDES* returned, in the mean Time, from his Ambassy, and gave an Account of what Observations he had made. *Julian* drew the Armies together near *Mentz*. In a Council of War, some of the chief Generals advised immediately to cross the *Rhine* † there ; but *Julian* was of a different Opinion, and insisted upon treating *Suomarius*, whose Country lay nearest to the *Rhine*, with all possible Lenity, in Regard to his League with the *Romans*. The other *Alemanni* expected, in the mean Time, that the *Romans* would pass the River into his Dominions, and had assembled in a Body there, to defend them ; *Suomarius* pretending he was not in a Condition to do it himself. Now when they saw that *Julian* march'd upwards, on the other Side, they directed their Course thither likewise, and would not let the *Roman* Army escape their Sight. *Julian* had, in the mean Time, pitch'd upon another Place, where a Bridge could conveniently be built. He encamped there, and one Night sent 300 of his boldest Soldiers, with so little Noise, over the *Rhine*, that the *Alemanni*, who only observed the Fire in the *Roman* Camp, did not perceive it. *Hortarius*, who was, indeed, in Peace and League with the *Romans* ; but, nevertheless, liv'd in good Intelligence with his Country-Men, entertain'd, the same Evening, the Kings, Princes and chief Commanders of the Army of the *Alemanni* ; who, according to the Custom at *German* Banquets, staid together, 'till the next Morning. The *Roman* Party fell upon this Company, just as they were going to separate, when the Masters, indeed, being on Horse-back, escaped ; but some of their Servants were slain. This Stratagem caused so great a Terror, that every one thought, the *Romans* were already Masters of the Country ; they, therefore, left the Banks of the *Rhine*, and every Nation hastened to their respective Homes, to save their Wives, Children, and best Effects, from the Enemy's Hands. By this Means, the *Romans* gain'd convenient Time to build their Bridge, and cross the River *.

§ LXII. THEY marched thro' the Territories of *Hortarius*, without molesting them, but laid all the Dominions of the other *Alemannian* Princes waste, to the *Mark*, which separated the *Alemanni* and *Burgundians* (1). where they pitch'd their Tents. Hither came two Brothers,

§ LXI. † Pontem illic constitutum transiri, debere.

* AMM. MARCELL. L. 18. c. 2.

§ LXII. (1) AMM. MARCELL. c. 1. p. 147. Statimque difficultate omni depulsa, ponte contrato, sollicitarum gentium opinionem

He thereupon passes the Rhine.

Ravages Alemannia, as far as the Confines of the Burgundians.

Brothers, Princes of the *Alemanni*, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, to sue for Peace of the *Romans*. These two Princes, who had never seen a *Roman* Camp before, were astonish'd at the Splendour and Regularity of it, as well as at their military Power: But this their Surprise did not hinder *Macrianus* from engaging with them afterwards. *Vadomarius*, whose Country was opposite to that of the *Rauraci*, and who has been mentioned before †, came likewise into the Camp. He brought a Letter with him from the Emperor *Constantius* to *Julian*, in which he commanded him to spare this Prince's Country (2). *Vadomarius*, at the same Time, excused himself, that he had by no Means consented to the Assistance some of his Subjects had lent, two Years before, to *Chnodomar*, in the Battle against the *Romans*, near

nione præventa, visus in barbarico miles, per Hortarii regna transibat intacta. Ubi vero terras infestiorum etiam tum tetigit regum, urens omnia, rapiensque, per medium rebellium solum grassabatur intrepidus. Postque sæpimenta fragilium penatium inflammata, & obtruncatam hominum multitudinem, visosque cadentes multos, aliosque supplicantes, cum ventum fuisset ad regionem, cui *CAPELLATI*, vel *PALAS* nomen est, ubi terminales lapides *ALAMANNORUM*, & *BURGUNDIORUM* confinia distinguebant, castra sunt posita: ea propter, ut *Macrianus* & *Hariobaudus*, germani fratres & reges, susciperentur impavidi; qui propinquare sibi perniciem sentientes, venerant pacem auxiliis animis precaturi. Post quos statim rex quoque *Vadomarius* venit, cujus erat domicilium contra *Rauracos*: scriptisque *Constantii* principis, quibus commendatus est arctius, allegatis, leniter susceptus est. Et *Macrianus* quidem cum fratre inter aquilus admissus & signa, stupebat armorum viriumque varium decus, visa tunc primitus, proque suis orabat. *Vadomarius* vero nostris coalitus, utpote vicinus limiti, mirabatur quidem apparatus ambitiosi procinctus, sed vidisse se talia sæpe ab adolescentia meminerat prima. Libratis denique diu consiliis, concordii assensione cunctorum, *Macriano* quidem & *Hariobaudo* pax est attributa: *Vadomario* vero, qui suam locaturus securitatem in tuto, & legationis nomine precator venerat pro *Urio*, & *Urficino*, & *Vestralpo* regibus, pacem itidem obsecrans, interim responderi non poterat, ne, ut sunt fluxi-

oris fidei barbari, post abitum recreati nostrorum, parum acquiescerent per alios impetratis. Sed cum ipsi quoque missis legatis post messes incensas & habitacula, captosque plures & interfectos, ita supplicarent, tanquam ipsi hæc deliquissent in nostros: pacem conditionum similitudine meruerunt. Inter quas id festinatum est maxime, ut captivos restituerent omnes, quos rapuerant excursionibus crebris. The Words in this Passage, about the Confines of the *Alemanni* and *Burgundians*, serve to illustrate the Wars, carried on by them jointly, and sometimes between one another.

† Vide supra § XL.

(2) Of this *Vadomarius*, *Eunapius* is likewise to be understood, p. 17. *Vadomarius* nescio quis inter Germanos potentia & autoritate excelluit, quæ res eum ad tantam superbiam extulit, ut proprium filium, dum captivos redderet, quos per excursiones ceperat, obsidem daret, & cum minime captivos restitueret, nihilominus obsidem sibi restitui postulavit, multa mala minatus, si non reciperet. Hunc vero *Julianus* ad ipsum remisit, hoc adjiciens, unum adolescentem, etsi nobilitate præstantem, non esse idoneum apud se pro multis obsidem. Sed aut captivos, quæ ad tria millia in ejus potestate erant, cum restituere oportere, aut se injusta facere sibi conscium esse. Hæc scripsit & legationem misit, quam non multo post est subsequutus, a *Nemetibus* ad *Rhenum* movens, jam enim apud *Rauracos* erat, quæ est *Romanorum* colonia.

Strasburg.

Strasburg *. He endeavour'd, likewise, to obtain a Reconciliation for the Princes, *Urius*, *Ursicinus*, and *Vestralphus*, who had all either been in Person at that Battle, or their Subjects had assisted at it: But this *Julian* would not so readily grant; that, for the future, they might bethink themselves, before they attempted any Thing against the *Romans*. He therefore suffered several *Roman* Parties to over-run their Countries, 'till they again sued for Peace, by an Ambassy of their own; which they, as well as the other *Alemanni*, obtained, on Condition, that they should restore all the *Roman* Prisoners, of which they had made a large Number, in their Incursions, and thus ended this *Alemanian* War.

§ LXIII. *CONSTANTIUS* hereupon recall'd the Choice of the Army in *Gaul*, under Pretence of employing them, in the *Persian* War: But this Stratagem was so unsuccessful, that the Army proclaimed *Julian* Emperor (1) at *Paris* †: And *Constantius*, who was involved in the *Persian* War, enter'd into certain Treaties with him. *Julian*, who foresaw, that a War was inevitable, and therefore desired to place *Gaul* in perfect Security, pass'd the *Rhine*, near *Santen*, and fell upon the *Attnarii* *, a *Franconian* Nation, which inhabited about the *Lippe*, and had hitherto, with the greatest Boldness, infested the *Roman* Confines, as they thought themselves secure from their Arms, in their raw and mountainous Country: But *Julian* so humbled them, that they were obliged to accept of whatever Conditions he prescribed. He thereupon returned over the *Rhine*, viewed the *Roman* Forts, along that River (2), as far as the Borders of the *Rauraci*, and order'd them to be repaired: Which done, he continued his Journey thro *Besançon* to *Vienne* (3); where he celebrated, in a splendid Manner, the fifth Anniversary.

* *Vide supra* § XLIX.

§ LXIII. (1) *MARCELLINUS*, L. 20. c. 4. Impositusque scuto pedestri, & sublatius eminens, nullo silente augustus renuntiatus, jubebatur diadema proferre: negansque unquam habuisse, uxoris colli & capitis poscebatur. Eoque adfirmante, primis auspiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo, equi phalera quærebatur, uti coronatus speciem saltem obscuram superioris prætenderet potestatis. Sed cum id quoque turpe esse asseveraret: Maurus nomine quidam, postea comes, qui rem male gessit apud Succorum angustias, petulantiam tunc hastatus, abstractum sibi torquem, quo ut draconarius utebatur, capiti Juliani im-

suit confidenter. *Zosimus*, L. 3. c. 10. p. 265. Sublimem in scutum quoddam elatum, imperatorem augustum adpellant, & diadema capiti ejus imponunt.

* *Aliis Hattuarii, Ansuarii, &c. v. Valerii notitia Galliarum.*

(2) *We have almost Room to suppose that the Alemanni, till then, always possid'd some Places in Gaul, which Julian but now recovered: For in Ammianus Marcellinus, it is said: Locisque recuperatis, quæ olim barbari intercepta retinebant, ut propria, iisdemque pleniore cura firmatis. See the following Note.*

(3) *AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS*, L. 20. c. 10. Rheno exinde transmissa regionem subito pervasit Francorum, quos Attnarios vocant,

versary of his Dignity as *Cæsar*, which he enter'd upon, A. 355 (4). He made, in the mean Time, the necessary Preparations for an Expedition against *Constantius* (5), and, on this Occasion, so carefully conceal'd his Apostacy from the *Christian* Religion, that he even frequented their publick Worship (6).

Fresh Com-
motions a-
mong the
Alemanni.

§. LXIV. BUT his Designs narrowly escaped being frustrated. The *Alemanni* began to be in Motion, invaded the neighbouring *Rætia* (1), and beat *Libinon*, whom *Julian* had sent against them (2). These Com-
motions

vocant, inquietorum hominum, licentius etiam tum percurfantium extima Galliarum. Quos adortus subito nihil metuentes hostile, nimiumque securos, quod scruposa viarum difficultate arcente, nullum ad suos pagos introisse meminerant principem, superavit negotio levi; captisque plurimis & occisis, orantibus aliis, qui superfuere, pacem ex arbitrio dedit, hoc prodesse possessoribus finitimis arbitratus. Unde reversus pari celeritate per flumen, præsidiaque limitis explorans diligenter, & corrigens adusque Rauracos venit: locisque recuperatis, quæ olim barbari intercepta retinebant, ut propria, iisdemque pleniore cura firmatis, per Besuntionem Viennam hiematurus abcessit. *LIBANIUS in orat funebr.* Cum venisset ad Rhenum ostenso barbaris vultu, ac iteratis sacramentis firmato fœdere ad civile bellum se invitus accinxit. *Julian himself mentions this Expedition of his, Ep. 38. ad Maximum philosophum p. 414. B.* Cum primum imperator invitus creatus sum (cujus rei conscii sunt dii, & quantum in me situm fuit, ipsis declaravi) bellum gerens in barbaros, & trimestri spatio in ea militia consumto, ad Gallos revertens, circumspiciebam & percontabar de omnibus qui illinc venirent; num quis philosophus, num quis scholasticus, aut pallio penulave indutus, eo appulisset. Cum autem Vesuntionem appropinquarem (est autem oppidum nunc relictum, magnum tamen olim, & magnificis templis ornatum, mœnibus firmissimis, & loci natura munitum, propterea quod cingitur Dubi: estque, ut in mari, rupes excelsa, propemodum ipsis avibus inaccessa, nisi qua flumen abiens tanquam litora quædam habet projecta) cum, inquam, prope

abessem ab hac urbe, vir quidam Cynicus cum pera & baculo mihi occurrit.

(4) MARCELLIUS, L. 21. c. 1. Quinquennalia augustus jam edidit: & ambizioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus assumti vili corona circumdatus erat, Xystarchæ similis purpurato.

(5) IDEM. l. c. c. Accidebat autem, incendebatque ejus cupiditatem pacatis jam Galliis incessere ultro Constantium, conjiciens eum per vaticinandi præfagia multa (quæ callebat) & somnia, ex vita protinus excessurum.

(6) IDEM. l. c. c. 2. Utque omnes nullo impediante, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Christiano fingeat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinæ auguriisque intentus, & cæteris quæ deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato, discessit. *ad quem loc. conf. nota Valesii.*

§. LXIV. (1) AMM. MARCELLINUS L. c. c. 3. p. 207. Dum hæc ita aguntur, propinquante jam vere, nuntio percitus inopino, ad tristitiam versus est & mœrorem. Didicit enim Alamannos a pago Vadomarii exorsos, unde nihil post istum fœdus sperabatur incommodum, vastare confines Rætiis tractus: nihilque finere intentatum manus prædatorias fusius discurrentes. M. Velleus reads Rætiarum tractus, and Cluverius is of the same Opinion, L. 3. c. 4.

(2) AMM. MARCELLINUS, c. 1. Quod ne dissimulatum redivivas bellorum materias excita-

motions took their Rise among the Subjects of *Vadomarius*. This Prince, whom *Ammianus* represents as a brave Soldier, and a subtle Genius, was a Favourite of *Constantius*; and *Julian* intercepted a Letter from the Emperor to him, in which he was desired to give him a Diversion in *Gaul* (3). The Emperor was, probably, in Hopes of making as advantageous an Use of the *Alemanni*, against *Julian*, as he had before done, against *Magnentius*. *Vadomarius* knew, in the mean while, how to dissemble with *Julian*, and wrote to him in the most obliging Terms; but was caught in the Snare, which he himself had laid. He was so confident, that he even visited the *Roman* General, who lay encamp'd on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and staid to take a Repast with him: But there were already Orders given to detain him; and he was accordingly sent Prisoner to *Julian*, who would not admit him into his Presence, but immediately sent him away to *Spain* (4). *Julian*,
S f never-

excitaret; Libinonem quendam comitem cum Celtis & petulantibus misit; hiemantibus secum, negotium, ut poscebat ratio, correcturum. Qui cum mature prope opidum Sanctionem venisset, longe visus a barbaris, qui jam certamina meditantes sese per valles abdiderant: hortatusque milites licet numero impares, cupidine tamen pugnandi vehementius irritatos, aggreditur inconsulte Germanos, interque dimicandi exordia ipse corcidit omnium primus: cujus interitu erecta barbarorum fiducia, Romanisque ad ducis vindictam accensis, certamen committitur obstinatum, & urgente magnitudinis mole disjecti sunt nostri, occisis paucis & vulneratis. *Valesius imagines, that, instead of Sanctionem, ought to be read Bezan-tionem. But Cluverius says, L. III. c. 4. that by opidum Sanctionem is to be understood Seckingen, which lies on the left Banks of the Rhine, towards Basel.*

(3) *JULIANUS, epist. ad Athen. p. 286. A.* At ille pro his omnibus officiis in nos barbaros commovit, & me apud eos hostem denunciavit: imo ad vastandas Gallias mercede illos auctoravit: scripsit insuper ad eos, qui erant in Italia, & ut eos caverent, qui e Gallis venirent, hortatus est. Tum circa Galliarum limitem, vicinis in oppidis, Brigantiae elaborati frumenti tricies millies centena medietorum milia: totidem ad Alpes Cottias condita servari jussit; ut ad-

versum me copias moveret. Quam quidem non verbotenus jactata, sed re ipsa scitote esse perfecta. Nam & literas, quæ ad concitandos barbaros scriptæ erant, accepi; & annonam omnem, quam parari jusserat, reperi.

(4) *LIBANIUS, in orat. parant. c. 52. p. 277.* Illa itaque cum rerum esset conditio, ad pristinas artes suas confugit *Constantius*, litteris barbaros, ut antea fecerat, evocans, & beneficii loco ab iis poscens, ut Romanas provincias jugo suo submitterent, ex multis adeo, ut perjurus fieret, unico tantum persuasit. Hic vero simul latrocinia exercebat, & in iis, quos occupaverat agros indulgebatur genio, & cum *Romani* exercitus ducibus, tanquam omni culpa vacaret, convivia inibat. Eum itaque contra fidem datam agere ausum, dum computationibus indulgeret *Julianus* cepit, atque in ejus agros facta irruptione, meritam perjurii poenam illi inflixit. Cum vero undique eorum, qui servaverant pacta, metu percussorum, fieret concursus, omnesque criminum ejus summe pueret, & sacramenta novis sacramentis firmarentur, suggestu in mediis barbarorum terris consento, ex illo, in loco qui subditorum erat, inferiori consistentes cum reliqua turba despiciens barbarorum principes, partim quidem in memoriam ipsis nonnulla revocavit, partim minas interposuit, atque ita discessit. *Libanius makes further*

nevertheless, did not yet think himself secure; and as he was greatly concern'd for the peaceable State of *Gaul*, he now himself went, a fourth Time, over the *Rhine*, and fell so unexpectedly upon the Authors of these last Troubles, that most of them were oblig'd to yield themselves Prisoners (5). The others, who had kept the Peace, renew'd it; and the Fate of their Neighbours serv'd as a Warning to them, not to violate their Engagements (6).

And from
thence con-
tinues his
March a-
gainst Con-
stantius,
Augusta Rau-
viciu.

§ LXV. JULIAN, thereupon, declar'd the War at *Augst* †, and order'd the Army to march, partly thro' *Rætia*, and partly thro' *Italy*, into *Illyricum*. He went himself, by the Way of the *Black Forest*, as far as where the *Danube* becomes navigable. There he embark'd for *Bonnonia* (1). *Constantius*, who had hitherto been busied with the

farther Mention of him: Quandoquidem multis gentibus, innumeris talentis in te concitatis, eorum ductorem facile correptum, maleficorum supplicio coercuisti, ejusmodi lucro non inhiare, latus petendo, edocens. Marcellinus, L. 21. c. 4. p. 208. Finitisque epulis Vadomarium fortiter apprehensum, rectori militum arte custodiendum apud signa commisit, textu lecto jussorum, conitibus ejus ad sua redire compulsi, super quibus nihil fuerat imperatum. Exhibitus tamen idem rex ad principis castra, jamque spe veniæ omni præclusa, cum interceptum notarium, & quæ scripserat ad Constantium comperisset, jam publicata, ne convicio quidem tenus compellatus, missus est ad Hispanias. Id enim studio curabatur ingenti, ne Juliano discedente a Galliis, immanissimus homo provinciarum statum ægre compositum licentius conturbaret. By the same Historian, this German Prince appears to have afterwards obtain'd the Government of Phœnicia. For he says of him, L. c. c. 3. Ad perstringendum, fallendumque miris modis ab ætatis primitiis callens, ut postea quoque ducatum per Phœnicen regens ostendit. He then mentions his valiant Achievements in the East, L. 29. c. 1. Exacta hieme rex Persarum gentis Sapor pugarum fiducia pristinarum immaniter arrogans, suppleto numero suorum abundeque firmato, erupturos in nostra cataphractus & sagittarios & conductam misit plebem. Contra has copias Trajanus comes, & Vadomarius ex rege Alamannorum, cum eg-

minibus perrexere pervalidis, hoc observare principis jussu appositi, ut arcerent potius quam lacefferent Persas. Qui cum venissent Vagabanta, legionibus habilem locum, rapidos turmarum procursus hostilium in se ruentium acriter exceperunt inviti: operaque consulta retrocedentes, ne ferro violarent adversorum quemquem primi, & judicarentur discissi fœderis rei, ultima tradente necessitate congressi sunt: confossisque multis discessere victores.

(5) MARCELL. L. 21. c. 4. Hoc casu elatior Julianus regis opinione citius intercepti, quem profecturus ad longinqua formidabat, nihil remittentibus curis barbaros adoriri disposuit, quos peremisse Libinonem comitem in congressu cum militibus docuimus paucis. Et ne rumor adventus sui nos ad remotiora traduceret, superato Rheno noctis alto silentio, cum auxiliorum expeditissimis globis, nihil metuentes hujusmodi circumvenit: excitatosque hostilium fragore armorum, dum gladios circumspectant & tela, celeriter involavit: & quosdam occidit, orantes alios prædamque offerentes dediticios cepit: reliquis qui remansere pacem precantibus dedit, quietem pollicitis firmam, conf. Libanius in orat. funebr. p. 286.

(6) The *Brigavi* are, in the *Notitia Imperii*, mention'd among the *Auxiliaries*. Perhaps they were compos'd of those, whom Julian, on this Occasion, made Prisoners of War.

§ LXV. (1) Urbem IX. M. vall. Sirmo d'ffitam.

Persian

Persian War, in *Asia*, was broke up, and on his March to meet him ; but died, by the Way, at *Mopsu-rene* in *Cilicia* (2). *Julian* therefore, now obtain'd the quiet and sole Possession of the Empire, which he, however, soon after, lost, together with his Life (3). The *Ale-nanni* and *Franks*, in the mean Time, kept the Peace ; insomuch that, during his Reign, no Mention is made of the *German*s, excepting the eminent Services he received from some *German* Princes, in the *Persian War* (4).

(2) *A. C.* 361. *d.* 3. *Nov. v. Till. not.* 52.(4) *De iis conf. Marcell. L.* 25, *c.* 6(3) *MARCELLIN. L.* 21. *c.* 8 & 9.

& 8.



T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K VII.

To the GRAND TRANSMIGRATION of a Swarm
of Nations.

SECT. I. **T**HE Alemanni invade Gaul, in Valentinian's Reign: II. But are defeated by Jovinus. III. Valens makes War with the Goths. IV. The Franks and Saxons make Depredations in Britain. V. Valentinian invades the Alemanni, in their own Territories, and obliges them to retire over the Neckar. VI. Makes a fruitless Attempt to build a Fort there. A Body of Romans defeated. VII. The Saxons invade Gaul. VIII. Valentinian excites the Burgundians against the Alemanni: Of the Origin of the Burgundians. Colonies of the Alemanni in Italy. IX. Valentinian endeavours to surprize Macrianus, a Prince of the Alemanni. Of the Aquæ Mattiacæ. X. The Quadi invade Valeria; XI. Which induces Valentinian to make Peace with the Alemanni. The farther Fate of Macrianus. XII. Valentinian's Expedition against the Quadi. His Death. XIII. Situation of the Gothick Nations. Description of the Alani. XIV. An Account of the Hunns. XV. The Hunns overcome the Alani: And reduce the Ostro-Goths to great Streights. XVI. Athanaric, Prince of the Wisi-Goths, endeavours, in vain, to oppose them. XVII. A Body of Goths advances
towards

towards the Danube. Athanaric escapes to the Mountains. XVIII. The Romans take the Goths into their Protection: XIX. But the latter are soon obliged to take up Arms against the Romans. XX. A pitch'd Battle between the Goths and Romans. XXI. The Goths force the Passes of Mount Hæmus, and over-run Thrace. XXII. Frigerid defeats the Gothick Prince, Farnobius, and the Taifali. XXIII. Gratian's War with the Lenticenses. XXIV. Valens is defeated by the Goths near Adrianople. XXV. The Goths attempt, in vain, to become Masters of Adrianople and Constantinople. XXVI. Massacre of the Goths, in Asia. XXVII. Gratian endeavours to withstand the Goths, Alani and Huns. Declares Theodosius Emperor in the East. XXVIII. A Treaty with the Goths. XXIX. Athanaric comes to Constantinople. XXX. The Greuthungi are defeated. XXXI. Maximus usurps the Empire in the West; but is defeated by Theodosius. XXXII. What Share the Germans, particularly the Franks, had in this War. XXXIII. Treaties of Valentinian II with the Franks. XXXIV. Arbogastes invades the Dominions of the Franks. XXXV. Valentinian II is assassinated, and Eugenius proclaimed Emperor. XXXVI. The new Emperor confirms the Leagues with the Franks and Alemanni: XXXVII. But is defeated by Theodosius, with the Assistance of the Goths. XXXVIII. State of the Church in Germany, Rætia, &c. XXXIX. Conversion of the Goths to the Christian Faith. XL. Their Apostacy into Arianism: Of Ulphila, and the Gothick Translation of the Gospels.

§. I. **A**S this Book gives us a greater Light into the History of The Alemanni invade Gaul, in Valentinian's Reign. the Franks, Saxons and Burgundians; so it likewise presents to our View the great Changes, that happen'd in the Countries on the Black Sea and the Danube: For, the Irruptions of the *Hunns*, having obliged the *Goths* to retreat, they, thereupon, over-run *Thrace*, and struck the first Blow towards the Decay of the *Roman Empire*. The more these *Goths* become known, by the Names of *Wisi-Goths* and *Ostro-Goths*, the more plainly does it appear, not alone from their Language, which is only distinguished from the ancient *Alemannick* and *Saxon* Tongues, as one Dialect is from another, but from their Manners and Arms, that we have hitherto had Reason to intersperse their Transactions with the *German History*. The *Hunns* likewise, who are now providentially, as it were, first led out of their almost unknown Country, have, together with the *Alani*, in the Sequel, as great a Share in the *German* as in the *Roman History*: Especially since, after the Death of *Theodosius*, whose Prudence and Valour kept all these People in

in Aw, they, during the Reigns of his Sons, entirely broke thro' those Restraints, which the *Rhine* and *Danube* had so long laid them under.

* *Magister
Officiorum.*

DURING the short Reign of *Jovian*, we find no Mention of any Thing that relates to *German* History. After his Death, *Valentinian* was chosen Emperor, who admitted his Brother *Valens* to a Share in the Government, and left to him the Administration of the *East*. The *Western* Provinces he kept for himself (1), and went to *Milan*, there to enter upon his Consulship for the Year 365: But he was soon after obliged to remove from thence to *Gaul*. The *Alemanni* were dissatisfied with the *Roman* Court, because some Deduction had been made from their usual Subsidies, and the *Roman* Minister * had given a cold Reception to the Ambassadors, when they made their Remonstrances thereupon. The *Alemanni*, therefore, thought themselves no longer obliged to keep Measures, but invaded *Gaul*. *Valentinian*, just before his Arrival at *Paris*, received the News, that *Procopius*, one of *Julian's* Relations, had assumed the Imperial Dignity, in the *East*, and had, at first, almost resolved to alter his Journey, and to go into *Ilyricum*, to prevent this Rebellion from spreading as far as *Pannonia*: But the Danger, in which he must have left *Gaul*, was represented to him, in so lively a Manner, that he changed his Resolution, and continued his Journey to *Rheims*, to be the nearer at Hand, to make his Preparations against the *Germans*.

But are de-
feated by
Jovianus.
† 366.

§ II. THEY went, the Beginning of the next ensuing Year †, in several Bodies, over the *Rhine*, which was frozen up, and penetrated very far into *Gaul* (1). *Charietto*, who had, at that Time, the Command in both *Germanies*, was joined by *Severian*, who lay at *Chalons* on the *Saonne*, and fell upon one of their Armies; but with so little Success, that his Men were routed, he himself lost his Life, and *Severian* came off very much wounded. The *Heruli* and *Batavi*, who serv'd in the *Roman* Army, had lost their Ensigns, and were obliged to display their utmost Valour to recover them (2). *Valentinian*, thereupon,

§ I. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 26. c. 5. Et post hæc cum ambo fratres Sirmium introissent, diviso palatio, ut priori decuerat, Valentinianus Mediolanum, Constantinopolim Valens discessit. From hence we may infer, that the West was glimmed the most considerable Part of the Empire.

§ II. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 27. c. 1. Statimque post Kal. Januarias, cum per glaciales tractus hiemis rigidum inhorresceret sidus, cuneatim egressa multitudo licentius vagabatur.

(2) IBID. Horum portioni primæ Charietto, tunc per utramque Germaniam comes, occursum, cum milite egreditur ad bella in eunda promptissimo, adscito in societatem laboris Severiano, itidem comite, invalido & longævo, qui apud Cabilona Divitensibus præsidebat & Tungricanis. Proinde confertius agmine in unum coacto, ponteque brevioris aquæ firma celeritate transmissio, visos eminus barbaros Romani sagittis, aliisque levibus jaculis incessabant, quæ illi reciprocis

thereupon, sent *Jovian*, General of the Cavalry *, against them, who* *Magister Equitum*. encounter'd and defeated them near *Scarponna* (3), which is now a small Village, a little above *Pont a Mousson*. He then went in Search of another Body of them, whom he found, in great Security, on the Banks of a River, (which, by all Circumstances, seems to have been the *Mosel* (4). Some were bathing, others dressing their Hair, and again others diverting themselves with Liquor. They were therefore cut to Pieces, or put to the Flight, before they could take to their Arms (5). A third Body waited for the *Romans* at *Chalons* on the *Marne*, and did not quit the Field, till, after a stout Resistance, they had left 6000 slain, on the Spot, and 4000 Prisoners (6). A Troop of *Romans*, in the Pursuit, took the King himself Prisoner, and the Soldiers, in their Fury, hung him on a Gibbet; which, however, their

ciprocis jactibus valide contorquebant. Ubi vero turmæ congressæ strictis conflixere mucronibus, nostrorum acies impetu hostium acriore concussa, nec resistendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam preperit, cunctis metu compulsi in fugam, cum Severianum vidissent equo deturbatum, missilique telo peroffensum. Ipse denique Charietto, dum cedentes objectu corporis, & vocis jurgatorio sono, audentius pertinet, pudendumque diluere dedecus fiducia diu standi conatur, oppetiit telo letali confixus. Post cujus interitum, ERULORUM, BATAVORUMQUE vexillum direptum, quod insultando tripudiantes barbari crebro sublatum altius ostendebant, post certamina receptum est magna. The Heruli, here mentioned, seem, since Gallienus's Time, to have made a separate Body among the Auxiliaries in the Roman Army. See above L. 5. § XLIII. not. 4.

(3) IDEM l. c. c. 11. Jovinus equitum magister accingitur: & instructus paratusque, cautissime observans utrumque sui agminis latus venit prope locum *Scarponna*; ubi inopinus majorem barbarorum plebem, antequam armaretur, temporis brevi puncto preventam, ad internecionem exstinxit.

(4) Vid. BUCHERIUS Belg. p. 346. §. 4. TILLEMONT T. V. P. 1. p. 52. not. 2.

(5) MARCELLINUS, L. 27. c. 2. Exultantes innoxii prælii gloria milites ad alterius globi perniciem ducens, sensimque incedens rector eximius, speculatione didicit

fida, direptis propius villis vastatoriam manum quiescere prope flumen: jamque adventans, abditusque in valle densitate arborum obscura, videbat lavantes alios, quosdam comas rutilantes ex more, potantesque nonnullos. Et nactus horam impendio tempestivam, signo repente per lituos dato latrocinia castra perrupit: contraque Germani nihil præter inefficaces minas jactanter sonantes, & fremitum, nec expedire arma dispersa, nec componere aciem, nec resurgere in vires permittebantur, urgente instanter victore. Quo circa forati pilis & gladiis cecidere complures, absque iis, quos versos in pedes texere flexuosi tramites, & angusti.

(6) IBIDEM Hoc prospero rerum effectu, quem virtus peregerat & fortuna, aucta fiducia Jovinus militem ducens, diligenti speculatione præmissa, in tertium cuneum qui restabat, prope castra commovit: & maturato itinere omnem prope *Catelaunos* invenit ad congregiendum promptissimum. Et vallo opportune metato, suisque pro tempore copia cibo recreatis & somno, primo auroræ exortu in aperta planitie composuit aciem dilatatam arte sollerti, ut spatiis amplioribus occupatis æquiparare Romani hostium multitudinem apparerent, inferiores numero, licet viribus pares. Signo itaque per bucinas dato, cum pede collato res agi cœpisset, sueta vexillorum splendentium facie territi steterunt Germani, &c.

General

General highly disapproved (7). These Victories caused the greater Joy at *Paris*, as the Emperor *Valens* sent, about the same Time, to his Brother, the Head of *Procopius*, as a Token of his having suppressed that Rebellion.

*Valens's War
with the
Goths.*

§ III. WHILST *Valentinian* was employed, in *Gaul*, against the *Alemanni*, *Valens* made War with the *Goths* (1). But we find, by the Accounts we have of this War, that it was not with all the *Goths* in general, but only the *Wisi-Goths*; and particularly those, who dwelt in *Dacia* (2). These *Goths* had sent 3000 Auxiliaries to *Procopius*; who, after his Overthrow, were cut off, and obliged to yield themselves Prisoners, whereupon they were dispersed in several Parts of the Country. The *Wisi-Goths* were, at that Time, governed by *Athalaric*, whose Father was so highly esteemed by *Constantine*, the Great, that he caused a Statue to be erected in Honour of him, and who himself, as well on Account of his Valour and Magnanimity, as of his excellent Genius, may be reckoned among the most eminent *Gothick* Heroes. This Prince demanded of the Emperor *Valens* the captive *Goths*, and pretended, as an Excuse, that they had been obliged to furnish *Procopius* those Auxiliaries, as a Prince of *Constantine's* House, by Virtue of their Treaties with former Emperors, promising that, since Fortune had now decided the Dispute, he would live in the same good Understanding with the Conqueror, as with his Predecessors: But *Valens*, who was then in a profound Peace, thought it adviseable, instead of restoring the Prisoners, to make War with the *Goths* themselves. He encamped, in the Spring of the Year 367, near *Daphne*, a Fort, which *Constantine*, the Great, had erected against the *Goths*, and there laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Danube* (3).

(7) IBIDEM Exin progressus ulterius, revertens, ubi nullum repererat, didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum ab Ascaris, quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamannica, suffixum patibulo. Ideoque iratus in tribunum animadvertere statuit, ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore fecisse: cumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox, documentis evidentibus constitisset.

§ III. (1) We find in *Theodoretus*, L. 4. cap. 11. a particular Circumstance of *Valens's* Armament for this Expedition. *Valens* potitus imperio quanquam primæ doctrinæ apostolicæ ornamentis decoratus, cum Gothi Istrum trajecissent, & Thraciam popularentur,

consilio inito de colligendo exercitu, & bello contra eos suscipiendo, non putavit sibi consentaneum, ut nudus divina gratia expeditionem faceret, sed se perfecta sacrosancti baptismatis armatura tegeret, idque præclare & sapienter admodum.

(2) Hence, we know, *Jornandes* has not mentioned this War, as his Province was chiefly the History of the *Ostro-Goths*; which might serve as an Answer to *Monf. Tillemont*, who he says, T. V. P. I. p. 145. of *Jornandes*. Il paroît avoir été assez mal instruit de l'histoire de sa nation, puis qu'il ne parle point du tout de cette guerre contre *Valens*.

(3) MARCELLINUS, L. 27. c. 5.

The

The *Goths* retired among the Mountains †; so that the Emperor† *Montes*
 could not do any great Matters against them, but was forced to con- *Serration.*
 tent himself with ravaging the Plains, by which Means, those, who
 could not escape with the Rest, were taken Prisoners. He intended
 to have visited them again the next Year *; but the Inundation of* 268.
 the *Danube* was so great, and the Water remained so high, during
 the whole Summer-Season, that he was obliged, at last, to send his
 Army, just as they came, into Winter-Quarters, to *Marcianopolis*, the
 largest City in *Thrace*. The next Year **, he, at Length, crossed the** 369
 River near *Novidun* (4), a Place in *Scythia Minor*, and advanced some
 Days March. *Athanasius* (5) came out to meet him, but was put to
 Flight (6). The Emperor had now made three Campaigns against
 the *Goths*, whence they had Reason to conclude, that he intended to
 pursue the War with Vigour. They had likewise suffer'd greatly by
 the Stop of Commerce, and therefore sent Ambassadors to *Valens*, to
 sue for Peace. The Emperor, who thought the Honour of the *Roman*
 Name now sufficiently vindicated, was not averse to their Proposal.
 He sent, therefore, on his Part, the two Generals *Victor* † and *Arin-*† *Magister*
thæus ††, to the *Goths*, to treat about the Conditions, and, at the *Equitum.*
 same Time, to see whether they were in Earnest. When the Articles†† *Magister*
 were concluded on, and the two Monarchs were upon the Point of *Peditum.*
 having a personal Interview, concerning them, *Athanasius* excused him-
 self from passing the *Danube*, to the Emperor, because he had promi-
 sed his Father, upon Oath, never to set Foot in the *Roman* Dominions.
Valens indulged him so far, that it was proposed to meet on the *Da-*
nube, in Boats, to which *Athanasius* consented, and, in that Manner,
 the Peace was sworn to (7). *Eutropius*, who wrote his *Roman* History,

(4) *Castrum fuit in Scythia, ut docet NOTITIA IMP. ROMANI, et PROCOPIUS L. IV. de oper. publ. a Justiniano conditis. Ptolomæus ad Mæsiæ refert. Hodie Nivors est, ut videtur Cluverio L. 3. c. 42.*

(5) MARCELLINUS calls him *Judex Theringorum*. See the Passage of *Themistius* not. 9.

(6) MARCELLINUS L. 27. c. 5. p. 338. Simili pertinacia tertio quoque anno per *Novidunum* navibus ad transmittendum annem connexis, perrupto barbarico, continuatis itineribus longius agentes *Greuthungos*, bellicosam gentem adgressus est. Postque leviora certamina *Athanasius* ea tempestate judicem potentissimum ausum resistere cum manu quam sibi crediderat abun-

dare, extremorum metu coëgit in fugam: ipseque cum omnibus suis *Marcianopolim* rediit adhiemem agendam, ut in illis tractibus habilem.

(7) IDEM l. c. Et quoniam asserebat *Athanasius* sub timenda exsecratione jurisjurandi se esse obstrictum, mandatisque prohibitum patris, ne solum calcaret aliquando *Romanorum*, & adigi non poterat, indecorumque erat & vile, ad eum imperatorem transire: recte noscentibus placuit, navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quæ vehabant cum armigeris principem, gentisque judicem inde cum suis, fœderari ut statutum est pacem. Hocque composito, & acceptis obsidibus, *Valens* *Constantinopolim* rediit.

by the Command of this Emperor, gives him, on Account of these Advantages, the Name of *Gothicus*, in his Dedication: And, the famous Orator *Themistius*, spoke a Panegyrick in Honour of this Peace, by which several Circumstances may be illustrated. He describes the Manner, how the Peace was ratified in a Boat (8); and relates the Discourse that passed between the Emperor and *Athalaric* (9): He likewise says, that the *Goths* had only the Liberty of two Cities allowed them, for their Commerce and Traffick with the *Romans* (10), and extols the Care of *Valens* to restore the Fences on the Confines, which were run to Ruin, especially those about the Mouth of the

(8) *THEMISTIUS* orat. X. p. 132. C. Est illud sane quidem eximium ac magnificum, cum apparatu bellico trajicere litrum, his deinceps hostilem agrum populari, iteratis toties stativis eo progredi, quo ne per legatos quidem penetrare unquam ausi fuisset. Sed quamlibet ea splendida sint, ac generosa paucisque admodum olim concessa principum: tamen cum diei illius venit in mentem, cujus ego spectator fui, tum demum mihi ponte illo *Xerxis*, quo cum exercitu trajecit *Hellespontum*, ad laudem atque gloriam amplior una illa navis videtur, qua foedus imperator percussit; illo inquam ponte, qui bellum transmisit, oneraria illa, quæ pacem importavit. Equidem *Scythicas* acies non vidi, sed concionem metus plenam, terroris consilium, *Romanorum* imperatorem *Scytharum* regibus imperantem, vidi: nec clamores atque ululatus barbaricos audivi, sed gemitus precesque, & vocem captivis potius quam foedus percutientibus dignam, quibus omnibus adamante solidior aliquis, infractus atque emollitus esset.

(9) *IBIDEM* p. 134. C. Igitur ad imperatoris orationem eodem affici modo barbaros sentiebamus, quo ab oratore præstantissimo *Græcos* atque *Athenienses* affici nihil mirum videatur. Quanquam patronum illi adhibuerant, qui neutra capi facile posset, quique non perinde ingenio esset, ut lingua barbarus, sed intelligentia prudentiaque multo quam armis peritior. Ideo enim regis appellationem repudiat, usurpat judicis. Est enim illa potentia, hæc prudentia sapientiaque propria. Verum re ipsa tum est comprobatum, causam agere quam judicare multo esse difficilius. Et is ridiculus esse orator convictus est, qui judex alioquin op-

timus haberetur. Si quidem adeo illum dicendi facultate superabat, ut ipsismet barbaris suum illum patronum suspectum redderet, & dicendi certamen ipsi, quam armorum, operosius efficeret. Verum enimvero prostratum ac dejectum erexit illico, ac conternato manum porrexit, eumque sub iisdem iis testibus, qui se injuria affectos crediderant, amicum effecit.

(10) *IBID.* p. 135. A. Vidisses tum incredibile, ac longo intervallo revocatum spectaculum, pacem dantes non redimentes *Romanos*. Nemo hic aurum barbaris numeratum vidit, non argenti tot talenta, non veste oneratas naves, non ea quæ prius a nobis tolerabantur, cum excursionem omni graviolem atque acerbiolem pacem ac quietem haberemus, cum annum tributum pensitarem. Cujus quidem nomen ipsum, cum rei interim nihil nos pueret, ejurare solebamus. At imperator quamvis alioqui munificentissimus, eo tamen tempore videri parcissimus non erubuit: qui insuper consuetam iis annonam detraxit, & pro tantis copiis, quæ ad eos importabantur, vix uni exiguum aliquid concessit, quo usus interprete fuerat: quasi nihilo magis pensitatio ipsa ad *Romanos* quam ad *Scythas* pertineret. Ita porro per omnia palam istud facere pugnavit, non tam se cupiditate teneri pacis, quam barbaris velle parcere: adeo ut neque mercaturæ aut fori commercium, quod superiori pace magna ubique iis cum libertate concessum fuerat, in eorum arbitrio & potestate relictum voluerit. Verum tamen commune utrique genti lucrum ex mutuis ultro citroque contractibus esset: in duabus nihilominus duntaxat uribus flumini impositis emporia constituit.

Danube

Danube (11). Now, tho' the Orator turns every Thing to the Honour of the Prince, who was the Subject of his Praise; yet the Advantages, he obtained, do not seem to have been so very great; since the Emperor, to procure this Peace, was obliged to make some Concessions to *Athalaric*, and to meet him, as it were, half Way on the *Danube*.

§ IV. In the Year 367, *Valentinian* conferred on his eldest Son, *Gratian*, who was then about 9 Years of Age, the Imperial Dignity, and the Title of *Augustus*, at *Amiens*. When he went from thence to *Triers*, he received News from *Britain*, of that Province being almost wholly become a Prey to those Nations, who inhabited the Northern Parts of the Island; that the *Saxons*, who became every Day more experienced in Navigation, had ravaged the Northern Coasts of *Gaul*, and that the *Franks* invaded it by Land (1). He entrusted the Conduct of this War to *Theodosius*, the Great; who restored the

The Franks and Saxons make Depredations in Britain.

(11) *IBID.* p. 135. *D.* Hoc autem eo pertinebat, ut indicio esset, a se ita fœdus iniri, ut omnia barbaris ad nutum imperaret, & cautionis prudentiæque erat, ut concluso certis ac definitis locis commercio, si quid male agerent, latere facile non possent. Novit enim, opinor, illud, servari a se posse barbaros, naturam mutari non posse: ideoque omnem iis perfidiæ opportunitatem præcidit. Hæc enim causa & cur castella partim nova extruxerit, partim disjecta ac subversa restituerit, partim quod deerat, adjunxerit: sive altitudini, sicubi humiliora essent; sive crassitudini, qua parte id erat necessarium: tum aquæ copiam adjecerit, ubicunque ejus inopia magnum incommodum afferebat. Adidit & horrea in omnibus locis, & vicino in mari portus, & militem conscriptum, & præsidia, quæ non inanibus nominibus numerum mentiantur. Præterea armorum ac telorum vim, & machinas atque omnia summo cum studio ac diligentia probata. Nam hæcenus ob præsidiorum incuriam bellum ac pacem in suo utique arbitrio sita esse hostes crediderant: cum milites non modo sine armis, sed magna ex parte sine tunicis; & animis non minus quam corporibus imbelles & abjectos animadverterent: præfectos vero & centuriones mercatores potius esse, ac mancipiorum institores; quibus hoc unum negotium incumberet, ut quam plurima emerent & distraherent. Prædiariorum porro numerum imminui, quo eorum qui deerant sti-

pendium privatum illi ad lucrum interverterent. Castella vero ipsa collapsa, ac tam viris quam armis destituta. Quæ cum barbari cernerent, non absurde ita de se sentiebant, superiores se incursionibus futuros: Quare ut bellum adhuc profiteri vererentur, licere tamen furtim omni cum impunitate prædas agere putabant. Itaque per omnem ripam non jam singuli, non bini duntaxat, sed manipulatim ac turmatim oberrabant, latrones scil. non milites, prædas suas, spolia nominantes. Non ita vero hoc tempore: sed a superiori regione, quasi adamantinus quidam murus & mare usque perductus videtur: tanta castellorum, armorum militumque munitione firmata omnis atque obvallata provincia est.

§ IV. (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 17. c. 8. Franci & Saxones iisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit terra & mari, prædis acerbis, incendiisque, & captivorum funeribus hominum violabant. *The Saxons seem likewise to have invaded Britain and the neighbouring Isles: for when Claudian de IV. Conf. relates the brave Exploits of Theodosius, the Elder, he says, among other Things, v. 3.*

maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcades.

After this Explanation it would be needless to follow F. Pagi, who attempts to prove, from this Passage, that some Saxon People dwelt actually, at that Time, in Britain.

Roman Government in Britain, saved the City of London, and repelled the Enemy beyond that Wall, which separated the Roman Provinces from them. We find, likewise, that he was successful against the Franks, probably in the Island of Batavia, and against the Saxons at Sea (2).

Valentinian
invades the
Alemanni in
their own
Territories;
and obliges
them to re-
tire over the
Vichus.

§ V. VALENTINIAN, on his Part, prepared for an Expedition against the Alemanni: But, while he was thus employed, one of their Princes unexpectedly surprized the City of Mentz, when there happened to be a very small or no Garrison in it; and on a great Festival, when the Inhabitants, being at their Devotion, became a Prey to him, without any Resistance, and were hurried into Captivity (1). Among the Princes of the Alemanni, none were so formidable to the Romans, as Vithicabius, a Son of the famous Vadomar, who had been so troublesome to Julian. According to his outward Appearance, it would not have been expected of him; for he seemed weak and sickly: But this infirm Body was animated by a Soul the more vigorous, capable of weighing all Circumstances, and disposing them for the Ends he aimed at; so that whatever Hostilities the others undertook, they were the Effects of his Counsels. The Romans, therefore, left no Stone unturned, 'till they had bribed one of his Confidents, treacherously to assassinate him: So widely had the Maxims of State now deviated from the Magnanimity of the ancient Romans, who esteemed it even a Treachery, but to give Ear to those, who spontaneously offered to be Actors of such Villanies. By the Death of Vithicabius, the Irruptions of the Alemanni were, in some Measure, interrupted; and Valentinian employed this Respite to recruit his Army, and to send for Sebastian, with the Troops under his Command, in Italy and Illyricum: Whereupon he passed the Rhine, with Gratian, and the two Generals Jovinus and Severus, the Beginning of the Sum-

(2) PACATUS DREPANIUS, an eminent Gaul, in his congratulatory Oration on Theodosius, the Great's, Victory over Maximus, cap. 5. extols his Father's Achievements against the Franks and Saxons in the following Words: Quæ Rhenus aut Vahalis vidit aggrediar. Jam se mihi Sarmatica cæde sanguineus Ister objiciet. Attritam Pedetribus præliis Bataviam referam. Saxo consumtus bellis navalibus offeretur. Redactum ad paludes suas Scotum loquar. Compulsus in solitudines avias omnis Alemannus, & uterque Maurus occurrent. He says, moreover, of him,

that, by his successful Expeditions against the Saxons, he merited the Surname of Saxonicus.

§ V. (1) MARCELLINUS L. 27. cap. 10. Sub idem fere tempus, Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute ut rebatur profecto, Alamannus regalis, Rando nomine, dlu præstruens quod cogitabat, Moguntiacum præsidii vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit. Et quoniam casu, Christiani ritus invenit celebrari solemnitate, impræpedite cujusquemodi fortunæ, virile & muliebri sexus, cum suppellectili non parva indefensum abduxit.

mer

mer (2). The Roman Army marched in three Bodies: But, after some Days, they joined again, near *Solicinium* (3), in the Neighbourhood of which Place, the *Alemanni* had secured a steep Hill, which seem'd inaccessible every where, but on the North Side. *Valentinian*, nevertheless, resolved to attack them; but, while he was recognizing the Enemy, he narrowly escaped falling himself into the Hands of one of their Parties. He therefore ordered *Sebastian* to take a By-Way, to invest the Mountain on the North Side; and leaving *Gratian*, who was yet too young to be in Action, in the Camp, with those Legions, which, from *Dicclelian's* Surname, were called *Jovianæ*; he undertook the Attack himself, aided by two of the most valiant Officers, one of whom was a *German*, who served as a Guide. They reached, with great Difficulty, the Top of the Hill, and, after a bloody Fight, brought the *Germans* into Disorder, who, when they endeavoured to save themselves on the other Side, where the Mountain was not so steep, fell in with a Body of Troops commanded by *Sebastian*, who entirely dispersed them. But the *Romans* sustained likewise no small Loss, which, together with the Season of the Year, was, perhaps, the Reason why *Valentinian* did not compleat the Victory, but returned over the *Rhine* (4). He celebrated this Victory at *Triers*, with splendid Theatrical Representations, which *Ausonius*, who taught the young Emperor, *Gratian*, the Sciences, was a Spectator at; by whose Relation we find, that the *Romans* boasted of having drove the *Alemanni*

(2) The Time of this Expedition we may judge of from several Decrees, dated in some of the Cities about the Rhine, in this Year; which we find in the Codex Theodosianus, e. g. L. 18. de episcopis, A. 368. about the Middle, and L. 8. de medicis & profess. towards the End of January, L. 3. de reparationis appellat. L. 1. si vagum mancipium. L. 9. de cohortalibus. L. 9. de pistoribus, in March, L. 10. de exactionibus. L. 1. de executoribus. L. 8. de tironibus, in April, L. 2. de meratis, in May, si vagum petatur mancipium, in June, all at *Triers* L. 3. de prediis naviculariorum, towards the End of July, at *Worms*. L. un. ne damna provincialibus, towards the End of September at *Cologne*, and L. 12. de pistoribus. L. 29. de cursu publ. L. 3. de relationibus, in December again at *Triers*. See Jac. Gothofredi chronologiam cod. Theod. ad h. A.

(3) *Al. Soliconno*, v. RHENANUS, rer. Germ.

L. III. who imagines *Sultz*, which lies below *Rothweil*, on the left Banks of the *Neckar*, to be here meant. It is at least more probable, than to understand *Solms*, which lies between *Mentz* and *Triers*, as some have supposed from *Crusius's* Account, Ann. l. 7. P. l. cap. 2. p. 159. *Bucherius* takes this, Lib. 11. c. 9. § 3. to be *Sultzbach* in the *Berg-Straß*, above *Heidelberg*. He supposes *Valentinian* to have crossed the *Rhine* near *Mentz*, and to have fallen upon those *Alemanni*, who dwelt between the *Mayn* and the *Neckar*, and were partly retreated over the *Neckar*.

(4) As we find by the Decrees of this Year, which are dated the Beginning of December at *Triers*. *Blondel*, indeed, asserts in his *Treatise de la primaute dans l'eglise*, p. 133. that *Valentinian* spent this Winter in *Illyricum*; but his Opinion is exploded by *Mons. de Tillemont*, not. 37. ad vit. *Valentiniani*.

beyond

beyond the *Neckar* (5), and taken from them *Lupodunum*; which, according to *Freherus's* Conjecture, is the present *Ladenburg* (6). Several Stones, and other ancient Monuments, which are still met with about that Place, are Testimonies, that the *Romans* made some Stay there (7).

Valentinian
makes a
fruitless At-
tempt to
build a Fort
there.

§ VI. IN the Year 369, *Valentinian* took Advantage of the Tranquility of the *Alemanni*, to repair the Forts and Towers along the *Rhine*, and, as Opportunity offer'd, to build new ones, sometimes even on the *German* Territories (1). Several Decrees, yet extant, of this Emperor, that were enacted this Year, in Places adjacent to the *Rhine*, shew, that he assisted in Person at these Operations (2). *Marcellinus* here mentions the Fort, which he had caused to be erected before, on the *Neckar*, probably in the last Expedition (3): But, when he proceeded farther, and would have fortified a Place belonging to the *Alemanni* (4); they, who thought their Liberties endan-

(5) This appears from a Poem, composed by *Ausonius*, in Honour of the *Mosel*, v. 420.

Nec præmia in undis
Sola, sed Augustæ (scil. *Trevirorum*) veniens
quod mœnibus urbis,
Spectavit junctos natiq̃ue, patrisq̃ue tri-
umphos,
Hostibus exactis Nicrum super & *Lupo-*
dunum,

Et fontem *Latis* ignotum annalibus *Istri*.
add. *BUCHERIUM* L. II. c. 9. § 4. Some Authors attempt, indeed, to apply this Passage to the Battle won afterwards by *Gratian* with the *Lenticensis* near *Argentuarium*; but *Valentinian* was dead at the Time of that Battle; and we find, by this Poem, that it was composed in his Life-Time.

(6) Vid. *MARQUARDI FREHERI* de *Lupoduno*, antiquissimo *Alemanniæ* oppido, commentariolus.

(7) Conf. *ID.* l. c. p. 6. & in origin. *Palat.* P. I. c. 4.

§ VI. (1) *MARCELLINUS* L. 28. c. 2. p. 403. At *Valentinianus* magna animo concipiens & utilia, *Rhenum* omnem a *Rætia*rum exordio adusque fretalem oceanum magnis molibus communiebat, castra extollens altius, & castella, turesque assiduas, per habiles locos & opportunos, qua *Galliarum* extenditur longitudo: nonnunquam etiam

ultra flumen ædificiis positis subradens barbaros fines.

(2) E. G. L. 4. cōd. *Theodos.* de reparatione appellat, at *Altaripa*: and L. 8. cōd. *Theodos.* de privilegiis eorum, qui in sacro palatio, we find publ. at *Brisac* (*Brisaci*) vid. *Gotofredum*, l. c. ad hunc annum.

(3) *MARCELLINUS* l. c. Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum & tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, præterlabente *Nicro* nomine fluvio, paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu immani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit: & quæstis artificibus peritis aquarum rei, copiosaque militis manu, arduum est opus adgressus. Per multos enim dies compaginata formæ e roboribus, conjectæ in alveum, fixis refixisque aliquotiens prope ingentibus stilis, fluctibus erectis confundebantur, avulsæque vigurgitis interrompebantur. Vicit tamen imperatoris vehementior cura, & morigeri militis labor, mento tenus, dum operaretur, sæpe demersi: tandemque non sine quorundam discrimine castra præsidiaria inquietudine urgentis amnis exempta, nunc valida sunt. *Freherus* and *Gruterus* affirm this Place to be the present *Manheim*: But *Cluverius* is of a different Opinion.

(4) *IBID.* l. c. In monte *Piri*, qui barbaricus locus est. *Freherus* supposes it to be *Heydelberg*.

ger'd

ger'd by all Fortifications, and could least bear with them in the Midst of their own Country, first represented to the *Romans*, that this was a Breach of Treaty ; and, as this had no Effect, they fell upon the Workmen, and flew them all on the Spot.

§ VII. *VALENTINIAN* could not immediately revenge this ^{The Saxons invade Gaul.} Loss, because the *Saxons* made, at the same Time, an Invasion. *Nannenus*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, found his Forces too weak to withstand them ; wherefore the Emperor sent *Severus*, General of the Infantry, to his Assistance (1). The Army being thus re-inforced, the *Saxons* would not hazard an Engagement, but sued for an amicable Accommodation. To this the *Romans* were ready, and allowed them to return unmolested, on Condition, that they left a certain Number of their young Men behind, who were incorporated with the *Roman* Soldiery. But the *Romans* violated their Promise, and placed a large Number of Men, in Ambush, on both Sides of the Way, by which the *Saxons* were to pass, who fell upon them, and, after a stout Resistance, kill'd Part, and took Part Prisoners. *Ammianus Marcellinus* confesses this Breach of Faith of the *Romans* : But, as the evil as well as good Qualities of a Nation, either in general, or upon any particular Occasion, are equally the Subject of an Author's Pen, he takes upon him to excuse this Action, because the *Saxons* were not to be regarded otherways, than as a Gang of Robbers ; as if it were not a Matter of Importance to all Men to seek the Means of avoiding or concluding a War with an unjust Enemy.

§ VIII. *VALENTINIAN* himself continued his Assiduity, in ^{Valentinian excites the Burgundians against the Alemanni.} securing the *Rhine* against the *Alemanni*, and, as he had humbled those who dwelt about the *Neckar*, he now employed his Thoughts against *Macrianus*, whose Dominions were in the *Northern Parts* of *Alemannia*, about the *Mayn*, and who infested the *Romans* from that ^{Whether the Burgundians are to be accounted Comans.}

§ VII. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 28. c. 5. Erupit Augustis ter COSS. Saxonum multitudo, & oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, sæpe nostrorum funeribus pasta : eruptionis primæ procellam Nannenus sustinuit comes, regionibus iisdem oppositus, dux diurno bellorum labore compertus. Sed tunc ad mortem destinatæ plebi congressus, cum milites quosdam ruisse, & se vulneratum impari fore certaminibus adverteret crebris, docto imperatore quid agi deberet, id est adeptus, ut peditum magister Severus opitu-

latum rebus dubiis adveniret. Qui ducens militem rei sufficientem, cum venisset ad loca, discriminatis ordinibus, barbaros ante conluctationem adeo terruit, & turbavit, ut nec controversas opponerent manus, sed signorum aquilarumque fulgere præstricti venialem poscerent pacem. Diuque variatis consiliis cum id reipubl. conducere videretur, pactis induciis, & datis ex conditione proposita juvenibus multis, habilibus ad militiam, discedere permissi sunt Saxones, sine impedimento unde venerant reversuri, &c.

Side,

Side, no less, than *Vithicabius* had before done from the other. *Valentinian* treated privately with the Princes of the *Burgundians*, who were Neighbours to the *Alemanni* (1), and prevailed upon them, to attack the *Alemanni* on the other Side, while he fell upon them from the *Rhine*. The *Burgundians*, who were frequently at Variance with them †, as well on Account of their Borders, as of some Salt-Springs, which were on the Confines of both Nations, and, therefore, the more readily accepted of this Offer (2), raised an Army, which, according to

§ VIII. (1) *VALESIUS* in notis ad h. l. p. 417. n. 9. imagines, that the *Burgundi* and *Burgundiones* were different Nations: But it is very improbable. *Jerom* and *Orosius* name the same Nation *Burgundiones*, which *Marcellinus* calls *Burgundi*.

† See above, Lib. VI. § VI.

(2) *MARCELLINUS*, L. 28. c. 5. p. 416. Deditque consilia alia post alia imperatori probanti, *Burgundios* in eorum excitari perniciem, bellicosos & pubis immensæ viribus affluentes, ideoque metuendos finitimis universis. Scribebatque frequenter ad eorum reges per taciturnos & fidos, ut iisdem tempore præstituto supervenirent, pollicitus ipse quoque, transito cum Romanis agminibus *Rheno*, accurrere pavidis, pondus armorum vitantibus insperatum. Gratanter ratione gemina principis acceptæ sunt litteræ: prima quod jam inde temporibus priscis, sobolem se esse Romanam *Burgundii* sciunt: dein quod salinarum finiumque causa *Alamanis* sæpe jurgabant. *Valesius* ad h. l. imagines these to be the same Borders, on which the *Hermunduri* formerly waged War with the *Chatti*, on Account of these very Salt-Springs. This Opinion he founds on the Supposition, that the *Burgundians*, at this Time, inhabited the Country of the *Chatti*; and the *Alemanni*, that of the *Hermunduri*; but this is highly improbable. The *Alemanni* rather possess'd great Part of the Country of the *Chatti*, and *Marcellinus* expressly mentions, that the *Burgundians* were obliged to march thro' the Country of the *Alemanni*, when they went to the *Rhine*. *Bucherius* undertakes to give a more particular Account of this Salt-Spring, when he writes L. 11. c. 11. n. 8. Erant igitur salinæ istæ in gentis utriusque confiniis: extat adhuc hodie fluviolus Sala,

qui sub monte *Fogelsberg* apud vicum *Saltz* oritur, & per oppida *Salemunster*, *Salefeld* & *Hanau* fluens *Mœno* paulo infra *Frankfurtum* confunditur. Ad hujus igitur fluvii fontem salinas istas ego quidem fuisse puto; nam *Saltz* Germanice *salem* significare sat constat. But he seems to confound the *Sala* among the *Franks* with the River *Kitzing*. Moreover, as to the Origin of the *Burgundians*, the afore-cited Passage from *Marcellinus* has led some into the Error of deriving the *Burgundians* from the *Romans*. conf. *Valesius* ad locum *Marcellini* not. n. *Orosius* says on this Subject, Lib. 7. c. 32. *Burgundionum* quoque, novorum hostium, cœpit novum nomen, qui plusquam 80 millia armatorum ripæ *Rheni* fluminis infederunt. Hos quondam, subacta interiore *Germania* a *Druso* & *Tiberio*, adoptivis filiis *Cæsaris*, per castra dispositos, aiunt in magnam coaluisse gentem. Atque etiam nomen ex opere præsumsisse, quia crebra per limitem habitacula constituta, *burgos* vulgo vocant: eorumque esse prævalidam & perniciosam manum, *Galliæ* hodieque testes sunt, in quibus præsumta possessione consistunt. Quamvis providentia dei omnes *Christiani* modo facti, catholica fide nostrisque clericis, quibus obedirent receptis, blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivant, non quasi subiectis *Gallis*, sed vere cum fratribus *Christianis*. *Valesius* rer. Franc. L. 1. p. 49. shews *Orosius* to be mistaken, when he says, that the Name of *Burgundians* was 'till then unknown. But, that they were a German People, appears from *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 4. c. 28.* where he reckons them among the *Vandals*. See above L. 1. § 2. not. 4. And I observed before, that in the Times of *Probus* and *Maximian*, they, with the *Vandals*, invaded Gaul.

to some Writers, consisted of 80,000 Men (3). The *Alemanni*, being informed that the *Romans* designed to attack them, on the other Side, were so greatly terrified, that every one shifted for himself the best he could. The *Burgundians*, therefore, advanced to the *Rhine*, without any Opposition, before *Valentinian*, who was still taken up with building his Forts, had made Preparations for the Campaign; and they now caused almost as great Apprehensions among the *Romans*, as they before had done Terror among the *Alemanni*. The Emperor, who had already gained his Point, in preventing the *Alemanni* from interrupting his Works, for that Summer, now performed none of the Promises he had made, and the *Burgundians* returned home highly offended, and with a mean Opinion of the *Roman* Integrity: But *Theodosius*, who, after his successful Expeditions in *Britain*, was promoted to be General of the Cavalry, fell, out of *Rætia*, upon the *Alemanni*, who had taken Refuge in those Parts, slew a great Number of them, and took many Prisoners, whom he sent to *Italy*, where, on a Promise of the Payment of a Contribution stipulated, certain Tracts of Land, about the *Po*, were assigned them to cultivate (4).

U u

§ IX.

Gaul. The Accounts, we meet with, of their Manners, which entirely agree with those of the other ancient German Nations, sufficiently prove this; as well, as the Propriety of their Laws, and the Traces of their Language, which are transmitted to us, as well in the Names of those Princes, as here and there in their Laws: as, ex. gr. art. 9. Novigildum: art. 33. § 3. litus: art. 42. § 2. Mörgegeba: art. 52. Fredegisel: art. 66. § 1, 2. Witteman: art. 76. § 1. Wittiscalci: Sidonius Apollinaris says, therefore, of himself:

Quid me, etsi valeam parare carmen
Fescenninicolæ jubes Diones
Inter crinigeras situm catervas
Et GERMANICA verba sustinentem
Laudantem tetrico subinde vultu,
Quod Burgundio cantat esculentus,
Infundens acido comam butyro.

Valesius, rer. Franc. l. cit. thinks those Burgundians, who border'd on the Goths, were different from those of whom we here treat. But they may have been one Nation, and these latter, as it were, a Colony of the former, who were, perhaps, formerly taken into the Service of the Romans, to garrison the Forts on the Frontiers, along the Danube; and hence, probably, arose

the Story of their being of Roman Origin. Agathias reckons this Nation of the Burgundians among the Hunns, which is sufficiently exploded by Valesius, p. 51. It is very probable, that a Body of Burgundians served under Attila, and that this occasioned Agathias, to mistake them for Hunns.

(3) HIERONYMUS in chron. ad A. 374. Burgundionum 80 fere millia, quot nunquam ante, ad Rhenum descenderunt. Valesius, in not. ad Marcell. observes, there is a Mistake in the Year, and that this Expedition must be placed in 370.

(4) MARCELLINUS l. c. p. 417. Et catervas misere lectissimas: quæ, antequam milites congregarentur in unum, adusque Ripas Rheni progressæ, imperatore ad struenda munimenta districto, terrori nostris fuere vel maximo. Igitur paulisper morati, cum neque Valentinianus, ut sponderat, die prædicto venisset; nec promissorum aliquid adverterent factum, ad comitatum misere legatos, poscentes adminicula sibi dari reddituris ad sua, ne nuda hostibus exponerent terga. Quod ubi negari per ambages sentirent & moras, mæsti exinde discesserunt & indignati. Hocque comperto, reges, ut

ludibrio

*Valentinian
endeavours
to surprize
Macrianus,
a Prince of
the Alemanni.
Of the Aqua
Mattiaca.
† contra Mat-
tias Aquas.*

§ IX. THE ensuing Year, 371, *Valentinian* invaded the Countries of those *Alemanni*, who dwelt between the *Mayn* and the *Lone*. His principal View was to seize their King *Macrianus*. He caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Rhine*, below *Mentæ* †. *Severus* advanced towards the *Aqua Mattiaca*, near which *Macrianus* then resided; who, by some Circumstances, seems to have been indisposed. He met, by the Way, some People, who trafficked with Slaves; whom he caused to be put to Death; that the Approach of the *Romans* might not be discovered. *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* followed, and after they had halted some Hours in the Night, they marched again, at Day-break, to surprize *Macrianus*. *Theodosius* led the Van: But however strictly he had enjoined his Men to be still and quiet, lest they should be betrayed, yet the common Soldiers were not to be restrained from Fire and Plunder. When, therefore, those in *Macrianus*'s Head-Quarters discovered a great Smoak, they soon conceived the Meaning of it. The King was immediately carried off, in a light Carriage, thro' several unknown private Ways, where the *Romans* could not pursue him (1). *Valentinian*, seeing himself thus deprived of his

ludibrio habiti, sævientes, captivis omnibus interfectis, genitales repetunt terras. Apud hos generali nomine rex appellatur Hendinos, & ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel legetum copiam negaverit terra: ut solent Ægyptii casus ejusmodi suis adsignare rectoribus. Nam sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus vocatur Sinistus, & est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges. Per hanc occasionem, impendio tempestivam, Alamannos, gentis ante dictæ metu dispersos aggressus per Rætias Theodosius, ea tempestate magister equitum, pluribus cæsis, quoscunque cepit, ad Italiam jussu principis misit, ubi fertilibus pagis acceptis jam tributarii circumcolunt Padum.

§ IX. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 29. cap. 4. Agitabatur autem inter multiplices curas id omnium primum & potissimum, ut *Macrianus* regem, auctum inter mutationes crebras sententiarum, jamque in nostros adultis viribus exsurgentem, vi superstitem raperet, vel insidiis ut multo ante *Vadomarium Julianus*: & provisus quæ negotium poscebat & tempus, cognitoque transfugarum indicis, ubi comprehendi nihil opperiens poterat ante dictus, tacite quantum concessit fa-

cultas, ne qui conferendo officeret ponti, junxit navibus Rhenum. Et antegressus contra *Mattiacas* aquas primus *Severus*, qui pedestrem curabat exercitum, perpensa militum paucitate territus stetit, timens, ne resistere nequiens, irruentium opprimeretur hostilium agminum mole. Et quia suspicabatur, venalia ducentes mancipia scurras, casu illic repertos, id quod viderant excursu celeri nuntiare, cunctos, mercibus direptis, occidit. Adventu itaque plurium copiarum animati judices, castrisque ad tempus brevissimum fixis, quia nec sarcinale jumentum quisquam, nec tabernaculum habuit, præter principem, cui tapetes suffecerant pro tentorio: parumper ob tenebras morati nocturnas, exsiliante procinctu pergebant ulterius, itinerum gnaris ducentibus, equitatu cum *Theodosio* rectore præire disposito, equita verat . . . tempore jaceat extento strepitu suorum est impeditus: quibus assidue mandans, ut incendiis & rapinis abstinerent, impetrare non potuit. Ignium enim crepitu dissonisque clamoribus satellites excitati, idque quod acciderat suspecti, carpento veloci impositum regem, angusto aditu circumfractis collibus abdiderunt.

Prey,

Prey, and deceived in his Expectations, laid all the Country waste, far and near, returned thereupon to *Triers*, and, to weaken the Power of *Macrianus*, appointed *Fraomarius* to be Prince of the *Bucinobantes* (2), who dwelt opposite to *Mentz*, and were before subject to *Macrianus* : But he found the Country so desolate, that he could not possibly have a Sustainance in it. The Emperor, therefore, sent him to *Britain*, and gave him the Command of the Body of *Alemanni* which was there in the *Roman Service*. *Bitheridus* and *Hortarius*, two Persons of Distinction, among the *Bucinobantes*, were likewise employed in the *Roman Army* : But *Hortarius* took it in his Head to correspond with *Macrianus*, and other Chiefs of his Nation, against the *Romans* ; which was detected by *Florentius*, Lieutenant in *Germany*, and *Hortarius* was burnt alive, for the untimely Affection he had discovered for his Country-Men (3).

§ X. *VALENTINIAN* marched, the ensuing Year †, again in-^{The *Quadi* invade *Val-*} to *Alemannia*, and built a Fort opposite to the present City of *Basil*,^{ria.} which was called *Robur* (1) : But he there received Advices from *Illy-*^{† 372.} *ricum*, which retarded his Designs. He had hitherto caused Forts to be built here and there on the *Danube*, to secure that River, as well as the *Rhine*, against the Enemy. But the Governor of *Valeria* went so far, as to build a Fort in the Territories of the *Quadi* ; and, when they complained of it, as a Breach of the Treaties subsisting, he did not scruple to support his Conduct, by an Act yet more unjustifiable. He invite their King, *Gabinus*, to a solemn Banquet, and when he was rising from Table, caused him to be murdered ; imagining, that

(2) *BUCHERIUS* attempts to guess at the Derivation of the Name of the *Bucinobantes* : He says, L. 11. c. 11. § 9. p. 357. Contra Moguntiacum gens est *Alemanna*, a *BUCH-BANT*, quasi fagorum limite dicta.

(3) *MARCELLINUS*, l. c. Hac *Valentinianus* gloria defraudatus, nec sua culpa, nec ducum, sed intemperantia militis, quæ dispendiis gravibus sæpe rem Romanam afflixit, adusque quinquagesimum lapidem terris hostilibus inflammatis, rediit Treviros mœstus. Ubi tanquam leo ob cervum amissum vel capream morsus vacuos concrepans, dum hostium disjecta frangeret timor, in *Macriani* locum *Bucinobantibus*, quæ contra *Moguntiacum* gens est *Alamanna*, regem *Fraomarium* ordinavit : quem paulo postea, quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in *Britannos* translatus,

potestate tribuni *Alamannorum* præfecerat numero, multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti : *Bitheridum* vero & *Hortarium*, nationis ejusdem primates, item regere milites jussit : e quibus *Hortarius*, proditus relatione *Florentii* Germaniæ ducis, contra remp. quædam ad *Macrianum* scripsisse, barbarosque optimates, veritate tormentis expressa, conflagravit flamma pœnali.

§ X. (1) *MARCELLINUS*, L. 30. c. 3. p. 454. Secuto post hæc anno, *Gratiano* adscito in trabæ societatem, *Aequitio* consule, *Valentiniano* post vastatos aliquos *Alamanniæ* pagos munimentum ædificanti propæ *Basiliam* quod appellant accolæ *Robur*, &c. In cod. *Theodosiano* L. 33. de curs. publ. is dated at *Robur* in this same Year : (data id. *Jul. Robore. Gratiano III, & Aequitio V. C. COSS.*) (A. C. 374.)

† *adulta*
miſſe.

* *Pannoni-*
cam & Mæſi-
acum.

Valentinian
makes Peace
with the
Alemanni.
The farther
Fate of Ma-
crianus.

the Death of their King would cause ſuch a Confuſion in the Nation, that they would not be able to obſtruct his building the Fort he was about: But the Event proved otherways. The *Quadi*, who reſolved to revenge the Death of their King, drew the neighbouring *Sarmatæ*, (probably the *Jazyges*) over to their Party, and went ſo unexpectedly over the *Danube*, that their firſt Exploit had like to have been the ſurprizing of *Fl. Maxima Conſtantia*, Daughter to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, and *Gratian's* Bride, who was on her Journey to her intended Husband. They laid Siege to *Sirmium* †; but found the Place too well fortified, and turned to the Province of *Valeria*; where, by the Way, they almoſt entirely routed two Legions *. The *Sarmatæ Liberi*, whom *Conſtantius* had, ſome Years before, re-eſta bliſhed in their Country, attempted to make Advantage of theſe Troubles, and like wiſe invaded the *Roman* Dominions, on their Side: But *Theodoſius*, the Younger, who was then *Dux Mæſiæ*, and afterwards became Emperor, repell'd them with ſo much Valour, that they ſoon ſued for Peace (2).

§ XI. THEſE Advices induced *Valentinian* privately to offer *Macrianus* favourable Terms, to which the latter was not averſe. The Peace was, therefore, ſoon agreed on, and it was ratified and ſworn to by the Emperor and *Macrianus*, in Perſon, in the Neighbourhood of *Mentz*. *Marcellinus* ſays, that the Prince of the *Alemanni* kept this Treaty inviolably, and did the *Romans* as great Service now, as he had before done them Prejudice: But, as a long Peace was incompatible, as well with him, as his Subjects, he was ſoon after involved in a bloody War with the *Franks*, who border'd on his Dominions from the North: And *Macrianus*, once, being in too eager Purſuit of Plunder, was decoy'd into an Ambuſh by *Mellobaudes*, King of the *Franks*, and there loſt his Life (1).

(2) MARCELLINUS, l. c. cap. 6.

§ XI (1) MARCELLINUS L. 30. c. 3. p. 455. Hæc memorantes addentesque utilia, reducere eum in meliorem ſententiam; ſtatimque ut conducebat rei communi, prope Mogontiacum blandius rex antediſtus accitur, proclivis ipſe quoque ad excipiendum ſœdus, ut apparebat. Et venit immane quo quantoque ſtatu diſtensus, ut futurus arbitet ſuperior pacis: dieque prædicto colloquii ad ipſum marginem Rheni caput altius erigens ſtetit, hinc inde ſonitu ſcutorum in-tonante gentilium. Contra auguſtus adſcenſis amnicis lembis, ſeptus ipſe quoque multitudi-ne caſtrenſium ordinum, tutius prope

ripas acceſſit, ſignorum fulgentium nitore conſpicuus: & immodetiſtis geſtibus murmure que barbarico tandem ſedato, poſt dicta & audita ultro citroque verſus, amicitia media ſacramenti fide firmatur. Hiſque perfectis diſceſſit turbarum rex artifex delenitus, futurus deinceps nobis ſocius: & dedit poſtea ad uſque vitæ tempus extremum, conſtantis in concordiam animi facinorumque documentum pulchrorum. Periiit autem in Francia poſtea: quam dum internecive vaſtando per-rumpit avidius, oppetiit Mellobaudis, bellicoſi regis, inſidiis circumventus. Poſt ſœdus tamen ſollemni ritu impletum, Treviros *Valentinianus* ad hiberna diſceſſit.

§ XII.

§ XII. *VALENTINIAN* spent his Winter at *Triers*, and, in the Spring of the ensuing Year, 375, he broke up against the *Quadi*, and their Allies, the *Sarmatae*. He was met, in his March, by Ambassadors from the *Sarmatae*, who came to excuse their late Incurfions: But he gave them no other Answer, than that he would enquire into the Affair, when he came to the Confines (1). He encamped near *Carnuntum* (2), which, at that Time, lay desolate, and spent three Months in necessary Preparations for the Campaign. He then sent *Merobaudes*, with the Cavalry under his Command, before, and he himself advanced to *Acincum* (3), where he caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube*, and invaded the Dominions of the *Quadi*, who were fled, with their Wives and Children, and their best Effects, to the Mountains: He, therefore, returned to *Acincum*, after having destroyed whatever fell in his Way with Fire; but without coming to a Battle. The Emperor went thereupon to *Bregetio*, and there distributed his Army into Winter-Quarters. Thither Ambassadors came from the *Quadi*, who, in Vindication of their Countrymen, pretended, that it was not the whole Nation of the *Quadi*, who begun the War with the *Romans*, but, that it was the ungovernable Populace, whom the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Valeria* had given Cause for Discontent, who had been enticed to pass the *Danube*, by other Bands of vagrant Nations. They, therefore, sued for Peace, and offer'd a certain Number of their young Men. The Emperor answered them himself, with great Warmth; but, in the Midst of his Speech, he was seiz'd with an Apoplectick Fit, and would immediately have fallen, had he not been supported by some of his Retinue, who carried him into an inner Apartment, where he expired soon afterwards (4). His Death was concealed for a few Days, and *Merobaudes*, who was in the Dominions of the *Quadi*, was recalled; with Orders to break down the Bridge of Boats behind him. It was then resolved, that the Emperor's younger Son, *Valentinian*, who attended his Father in this Campaign, as did also his Mother, *Justina*, should be proclaimed Emperor, that the Army might be deprived of every Opportunity, or even Pretence, for a Rebellion. *Gratian*, who had remained at *Triers*, willingly allowed his Brother that Title (5), and, tho' *Marcellinus* does not expressly say so, yet may we conclude, from

§ XII. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS,
L. 30. c. 5.

(2) **LIBID.** Desertum quidem nunc & squalens, sed ductori exercitus perquam opportunum.

(3) V. Reines. var. lect. L. 2, c. 15. *makes an Enquiry, where Acincum was situate.*

(4) MARCELLINUS l. c. c. 6.

(5) **IBID.** c. 10.

the Circumstances, that the new Government made a Peace with the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ*.

Situation of
the Gothick
Nations.
Description
of the *Alani*.

§ XIII. A COMMOTION arose, about this Time, among those Nations, who dwelt about the *Black Sea*, and the *Mæotick Lake*, which obliged some of them to retreat into the *Roman* Provinces; and this is looked upon, by some, as the Beginning of the Grand Transmigration. It will not be improper here, to give, previously, a brief Account of the Situation of those Nations, whose Dominions extended along the *Danube*, and from the Mouth of that River along the Coasts of the *Black Sea*. The *Alemanni*, *Marcomanni*, and *Quadi*, who dwelt opposite to *Rætia* and *Noricum*, on the *Danube*, are already sufficiently noted in History. Adjoining to the *Quadi* were the *Jazygi* and those *Sarmatæ*, who had been once expell'd by their own Servants, but restored by *Constantius*; and whose Country was situate about the *Theis*. The People, who dwelt from thence as far as the *Tanais*, were *Goths*. Next to these were the *Taifali*, on whom the *Sarmatæ* border'd towards the *North-East*. The *Wisi-Goths*, among whom the *Theruingi* were the most celebrated, inhabited from thence as far as the *Niester*, and, consequently, possessed the present *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, and, probably, besides these, a Part of *Podolia*. This seems to have properly been the Province of *GOTHIA*, which is mentioned in Medals, as well as in Ancient Writers (1). The *Ostro-Goths*, who are the principal Subject of the Histories of *Cassiodorus* and *Jornandes*, among whom the *Greuthungi* are mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* and others, as the most renowned, had extended their Dominions as far as the *Don*. How far the Gothick Dominions reached towards the *North*, may be gathered from what has before been said of the Subjection of the *Roxolani*, *Heruli*, *Venedi*, and *Æstii*; for, from thence may be inferr'd, that they extended to the *East-Sea*, and Westwards to the *Vistula*: But it seems not so very easy to comprehend, how all these Nations, which differ'd so very much in their Manners, Language and Inclinations, could remain united, and so regulate their State, as to be secure against all Insults, from Abroad, and intestine Broils, at Home. The *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, and other *German* Nations, border'd on the Gothick Dominions, towards the *West*, as appears

§ XIII. (1) F. HARDUIN, in numis sæculi Constantiani, in operibus select. p. 719. according to his usual Manner, entertains a strange Opinion of this Matter. Gothia nobis quidem esse Tolosanus ager videtur, cui ut Gothiæ sic Septimania ex parte postea nomen fuit.

Ibi Gothi Indigenæ. Qui e Dacia in hos tractus, sive Hispaniam Italianve commigrasse putant, ostendant in his terris aliquod Gothicæ linguæ, seu Germanicæ veteris vestigium.

from their Wars with those Nations : It is, nevertheless, impossible to be exact in assigning them their particular Limits. On the Right Side of the *Tanais* dwelt the *Alani* (2), and adjoining to them the

(2) MARCELLINUS L. 31. c. 2. p. 476. Hoc transito, in immensum extensas Scythiæ solitudines Alani inhabitant, ex montium appellatione cognominati, paullatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem sui vocabuli traxerunt, ut Persæ. Inter nos NEURI mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos præruptos geluque torquentes aquilones adstringunt. Post quos Budini sunt, & Geloni perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus indumenta sibi, equisque tegmina conficiunt, bellatrix gens. Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimitant, interstincti colore cæruleo corpora simul & crines : & humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latis, fucatis, & densioribus notis. Post hos Melanchlænas, & Antropophagos palari accepimus per diversa, humanis corporibus visitantes : quibus ob hæc alimenta nefanda desertis, finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. Ideoque plaga omnis orienti æstivo objecta usque dum venit ad Seras, inhabitabilis mansit. Parte alia prope Amazonum sedes Alani sunt orienti adclines, diffusi per populosas gentes & amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangem accepi fluvium, interfecantem terras Indorum, mareque inundantem australe. Ibi partiti per utramque mundi plagam Alani (quorum gentes varias nunc recensere non refert) licet dirempti spatiis longis, per pagos, ut Nomades, vagantur immensos : ævi tamen progressu ad unum concessere vocabulum, & summatim omnes Alani cognominantur, * mores & media & efferatam vivendi, sed jam immaturam. * Nec enim ulla sunt illisce tuguria, aut versandi vomeris cura. Sed carne & copia visitant lactis, plaustris supersidentes, quæ operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt sine fine distantes. Cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis farracis ferino ritu vescuntur : absumtisque pabulis, velut carpentis civitates impositas vehunt, maresque supra cum feminis coeunt, & nascuntur in his, & educantur infantes : & ha-

bitacula sunt hæc illis perpetua ; & quocunque ierint, illic genuinum existimant larem. Armenta præ se agentes cum gregibus pascunt : maximeque equini pecoris est eis sollicitior cura. Ibi campi semper herbescunt, intersitis pomiferis locis : atque ideo trans-euntes quolibet, nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent : quod efficit humectum solum, & crebri fluminum prætermeantium cursus. Omnis igitur ætas & sexus imbellis circa vehicula ipsa versatur, muniisque distringitur mollibus : juvenus vero equitandi usu a prima pueritia coalescens, incedere pedibus existimat vile : & omnes multiplici disciplina prudentes sunt bellatores. Unde etiam Persæ, qui sunt originetis Scythæ, pugnandi sunt peritissimi. Proceri autem Alani pæne sunt omnes & pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles, & armorum levitate veloces, Hunnisque per omnia suppare, verum victu mitiores & cultu : latrocinando & venando ad usque Mæotica stagna & Cimmerium Bosporon, itidemque Armenios discurrentes & Mediam. Utque hominibus quietis & placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant & bella. Judicatur ibi beatus, qui in prælio profuderit animam : senescentes enim, & fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres & ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur : nec quidquam est quod elatius jactent, quam homine quolibet occiso : proque exuviis gloriosis, intersectorum avulsis capitibus detractas pellēs, pro phaleris, jumentis accommodant bellatoriis. Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum ; ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usque potest : sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circum-cirant præsulem, verecundius colunt. Futura miro præsagium modo ; nec rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamenti quibusdam secretis, præstituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt. Servitus quid sit ignorabant, omnes generoso semine procreati : iudicesque etiam nunc eligunt, diuturno bellandi usu spectatos.

Hunns :

Hunns. As therefore, these Countries, which, in the Opinion of some learned Men, are, in sacred Writ, comprehended under the Names of *Gog* and *Magog* (3), now first begun to be perfectly known; I shall here add a brief Description of the *Alani* and *Hunns*, that we may have a clearer Idea what will be mentioned of them in the Sequel. *Annius Marcellinus* says, that the *Alani*, properly so called, were the *Massagetae* of the Ancients, and conquered many other Nations dwelling towards the *North*, who were afterwards included in the same Name. He mentions, in particular, besides the *Neuri* and *Geloni*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak farther below, the *Agathyrsi*, among whom the Custom prevailed, which, at present, only remains among some Nations of *America*, of painting their Skin with blue Spots and Figures. Now, tho' the *Alani* extended their Dominions chiefly towards the *North*; yet, those among them, who dwelt most to the *Southwards*, made, more than once, Attempts in *Asia*; and *Procopius* assigns the Country, between the *Caucasus* and the *Porta Caspiæ*, as the Habitation of the *Alani* (4). *Marcellinus* describes them, in general, as a tall, well-made People, almost resembling the *Germans*; that their chief Occupation was the Breeding of Horses; that they were almost always on Horse-Back; and, that they put their Wives and Children, with their Stores and Accoutrements, on Carriages. They are said to have been all free and of equal Condition; but very cruel in War (the common Vice of all the *Scythian* Nations); but they were not wholly destitute of Policy and Government among themselves; for, they appointed Judges out of those who had most Experience in War. He relates of them, moreover, that they judged of future Events by the Twigs of Trees; and mentions some other Customs, which, together with their Contempt of Death, they had in common with the *Germans*. We have, indeed, already made some Mention of the *Alani*, and, particularly, that

(3) CAMPEGIUS VITRINGA in *anacrisi apocalypsis Joannis* p. 870. Interim recte quoque Gog pro nomine gentis sumi abunde constat ex BOCHARTO, qui reliquias illius nominis ex historia gentium sive Scytharum, qui circa Caucasum habitant montem, detexit. Utrique nihil certius videtur, quam per Gogum & Magogum, Japheti posteros, apud Ezechielem intelligi populos aquilonares, qui terras inter Pontum Euxinum, & Caspium mare medias, & quæ supra has sunt ad septentrionem, versus Tanaïm occidentem, & Imaum montem ad orientem

insederunt, quippe quod ex tota prophetia liquidum est.

(4) PROCOPIUS L. V. p. 415. Quicquid terrarum a Caucaso ad portas Caspias extenditur, Alani tenent, gens libera & Persis plerumque socia in Romanos, hostiumve alios. Some are of Opinion, that Procopius takes them to be Goths, when he says, Goth. hist. L. I. Aliquanto ante Romani Scirros, & Alanos, & alias nationes Gothicas in societatem attraxerant: But the Words only signify, that the Romans had, besides the Scirri and Alani, likewise Goths in their Service.

they

they were repulsed by *Antoninus Pius* (5), what Share they had in the *German Wars*; under *M. Aurelius* (6), and afterwards in the Irruptions of the *Goths*, and how they beat *Gordian* near *Philippopolis* (7). But they never made themselves so noted, as at this Time, when they contributed to the Devastations made in the *Roman Empire*, 'till they afterwards disappeared again, as it were, at once. Some *Lithuanian* Historians have attempted to prove the Descent of their Country-Men from them (8); but the Sequel will shew what slender Grounds they go upon.

§ XIV. THE *Hunns* are, again, a People very different (1) from An Account these, who were likewise divided into several Nations; and tho' ma- of the *Hunns*.

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(5) See above L. V. § 2.

(6) See above L. V. § 16. not. 1.

(7) See above L. V. § 32.

(8) v. *Albertus Wilielm Koialowicz histor. Lithuan. P. I. lib. 1. p. 10.*

§ XIV. (ii) MARCELLINUS gives l. c. cap. 2. the following Description of this Nation: Hunnorum gens, monumentis veteribus leviter nota, ultra paludes Mæoticas glaciale oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit. Ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro fulcantur altius genæ, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens corrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes, compactis omnes firmisque membris, & opimis cervicibus: prodigiosæ formæ, & pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in commarginandis pontibus effigiatî stipites dolantur incomptæ. In hominum autem figura licet insuavi ita visi sunt asperi, ut neque igni, neque saporatis indigeant cibis, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium, & semicruda cujusvis pecoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua, & equorum terga subsertam, sora calefaciunt brevi. Ædificiis nullis unquam tecti: sed hæc velut ab usu communi discreta sepulchra declinant. Nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum reperiri tugurium potest. Sed vagi montes peragrantes & silvas, pruinas, famem, sitimque perferre ab incunabulis assuescunt. Peregre tecta nisi adigente maxima necessitate non subeunt: nec enim apud eos securos existimant esse sub tectis. Indumentis operiuntur linteis, vel ex pellibus silvestrium murium

confarcinatis: nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis. Sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos defluxerit defrustrata. Galeris incurvis capita tegunt, hirsuta crura coriis munientes hædinis: eorumque calcei formulis nullis aptati, vetant incedere gressibus liberis. Quæ causa ad pedestres parum accommodati sunt pugnas: verum equis prope affixi duris quidem, sed deformibus, & muliebriter iisdem nonnunquam insidentes, funguntur muneribus consuetis. Ex ipsis quivis in hac natione pernox & perdius emit & vendit, cibumque furnit & potum, & inclinatus cervici angustæ jumentis, in altum soporem, adusque varietatem effunditur somniorum. Et deliberatione super rebus proposita seriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. Aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario optimatum ductu contenti, per-rumpunt quidquid inciderit. Et pugnant nonnunquam lacessiti, sed ineuntes prælia cuneatim variis vocibus sonantibus torvum. Utque ad perniciem sunt leves & repentini; ita subito de industria dispersi vigescunt, & in composita acie cum cæde vasta discurrunt; nec invadentes vallum, nec castra inimica pilantes præ nimia rapiditate cernuntur. Eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bel-latores, quod procul missilibus telis, acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine arte mira coagmentatis, sed distinctis, comminus ferro, sine sui respectu configunt, hostesque dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis illigant, ut laqueatis resistentium mem-bris

ny Things, indeed, may be attributed to them in common with the *Alani*, and other *Scythian* Nations; they were, nevertheless, of a quite different Blood and Extraction, as the very Description of their Stature, which is no less a Token of the Affinity of whole Nations, than of single Families, itself shews. The Hatred the *Goths* bore them, has given Rise to an odd and fabulous Account of their Descent, *viz.* That a King of the *Goths* caused certain Sorceresses, who, in the *Gothick* Language, were called *Alirunæ*, to be drove out of his Army; and, that these, having conversed afterwards, in the impassable *Scythian* Forests, with Fawns and Satyrs, from them proceeded this spurious Brood (2). They are generally described by Historians, as having small, deep Eyes, flat Noses, short Necks, and broad Shoulders; which are certain Signs, that the *Hunns*, and some of the present *Tartars*, had one

bris equitandi vel gravandi adimant facultatem. Nemo apud eos arat, nec stivam aliquando contingit. Omnes enim sine sedibus fixis, absque lare vel lege aut ritu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi conjuges atra illis vestimenta contextunt, & coeunt cum maritis, & pariunt, & adusque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. Nullusque apud eos interrogatus, respondere unde oriatur potest, alibi conceptus, natusque procul, & longius educatus. Per inducias infidi, inconstantes, ad omnem auram incidentis spei novæ perquam obiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes. Inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum, inhonestumve sit penitus ignorantes: flexiloqui & obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti: auri cupidine immensa flagrantes: adeo permutabiles, & irasci faciles, ut eodem aliquoties die a sociis nullo irritante sæpe desciscant, itidemque propitientur nemine leniente. Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus externa prædandi aviditate flagrans immani, per rapinas finitimorum grassatum & cædes, adusque Alanos pervenit, veteres Massagetas. *conf. Lindendrogius, & Vales. ad hunc locum: add. Matthiæ Belii Hungariæ antiquæ. & novæ prodromus l. 2. sect. 1. cap. 1.*

(2) JORNANDES c. 24. Nam hos, ut refert antiquitas, ita existisse comperimus: Filimer rex Gothorum, & Gandarici magni filius, post egressum Scanzæ insulæ jam

quinto loco tenens principatum Getarum, qui & terras Scythicas cum sua gente introisset, sicut a nobis dictum est, reperit in populo suo quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone Aliuruncas dicunt, easque habens suspectas, de medio sui proturbat, longeque ab exercitu suo fugatas, in solitudine coëgit errare. The *Goths* may be indulged in Fables of this Kind, to sooth their Hatred against the *Hunns*, especially as the *Ancients* generally were of Opinion, that such Demons abounded in their Forests; but it is unpardonable in modern Writers, to relate such Things as Matters of Fact; as, for Instance, Philippus Callimachus in Attila does. Scribunt plerique, Filmirum Gothorum regem, sed rerum antiquarum peritiores memoriæ proditum reliquere Idantirsum, exercitu lustrato nonnullas fœminas, Alirumnas Scythæ vocant, ultra communem aliarum speciem corpore atque indolæ augustas, Scytharum castris exclusisse. Easque subinde in solitudine trans Meotidem in Asia agitantes, a Faunis & Satyris compressas, Hunnos genuisse, quorum mox soboles tanta fœcunditate propagata, ut credi par foret, decorum quoque cujuspiam ad id operam accessisse. The Reason he alledges for mentioning this Circumstance, is yet less excuseable; he doing it, quo vitæ, moribusque & bellis Attilæ explicandis, siqua humanæ virtutis modum, in eo viro supergressa videbuntur, relato ad deos originis argumento, fidem accipiant.

and

and the same Origin. They had, with this, the strange Custom of gashing their Children's Cheeks, to prevent their Beards from growing, when they arrived at Manhood. Their Language, of which we may judge by the *Hungarian*, that being a Dialect of it, was equally different from the *German* and *Slavonian*. They were seldom seen on Foot, and it is observed by the Ancients, as something singular, that they often sat side-ways; perhaps, by that Change, to ease, in some Measure, the Fatigue of incessant Riding. In War, their Intrepidity in an Attack, and the Dexterity with which they could turn, and renew the Combat, is particularly recorded (3); they were, besides, excellent Archers (4); tho' the Points of their Arrows were often only Pieces of Bones made sharp, instead of Iron (5). In other Things, their Manner of living was very uncivilized. Their Diet consisted chiefly in Roots, and the Meat they did eat was no other-ways dress'd, than by laying it under their Saddles, and riding upon it, to make it tenderer. The Skins of Beasts served them for Cloaths: They not only covered their Legs with them; but made a Sort of Cloaks of them, to defend them from the Rain, turning the Furs outwards, as the *Hungarians* and *Poles* do to this Day: They likewise made a Kind of Caps of them, such as the common People in *Hungary* yet use. The Goodness and Beauty of these Skins did, perhaps, make Distinction in the Persons who wore them; as, in particular, their Skins of Marters were sought, far and near, even among other Nations (6). But, as Poverty, of itself, does not subdue the Passions,

(3) *AGATHIAS, L. 3.* Defecerat barbaros, præ timore ars illa, quam exequi pro sua consuetudine quam maxime solent, ut fugiendo acrius longe se insectantes oppugnent, dum ex equis in hostem mox versi, sagittas immittunt, quas utique tunc violentius, in quem destinaverint, insigunt, quod sane eo facilius fit, quo illi in persequentem, recta & ex adverso maximo impetu deferuntur, & insectatores ipsi, effugo cursu, in arcus prouendo, sagittis se induunt, & vulnera acriora excipiunt, dum his obviam eunt. *This Manner of fighting is observed as somewhat peculiar to the Hunns, as appears from the same Author; L. 1. sub fin.* Narces barbarum quoddam, & Hunnis magis usitatum stratum excogitavit. Suos enim vertere terga iussit.

(4) *SIDONIUS carm. 7.*

Cursu Herulus, CHUNUS FACULIS
Francusque natatu.

(5) *TACITUS observes the same of the Fenni de M. G. c. 46.* Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates. Victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus, sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri, ossibus asperant.

(6) *What ancient Writers call Pelles murinæ, is by Helmoldus named Marter. L. 1. c. 1.* Pellibus abundant perigrinis, quas odor letiferum nostro orbi superbiæ venenum propinavit. Et illi quidem ut stercore hæc habent, ad nostram quasi damnationem, qui ad maturinam vestem anhelamus quasi ad summam beatitudinem. Itaque pro lanceis indumentis, quos nos appellamus faldones, illi offerunt tam pretiosos martures.

and we cannot, from the abject Manner, in which a Nation lives, draw an Inference of their Moderation ; so the *Hunns*, in the Midst of their Penury, were but the more savage ; and they had so little Discipline among them, that some even say, they had no religious Worship. But, as to the latter, we find, in the History of *Attila*, not only that they worship'd a God of War (7) ; but, likewise, that they esteemed Oaths to be sacred, and observed certain Forms (8) in them, which argue their Belief of a Divine Providence. After they had, about these Times, invaded *Europe*, they were distinguished by the different Names, *Asiatick* and *Europæan Hunns* ; and gave the *Roman* Empire Uneasiness enough, in both those Parts of the World ; 'till the present *Hungarians*, after having experienced the advantageous Change, which a better Soil and Climat ; an Intercourse with civiliz'd Nations, and more particularly the *Christian* Religion, could produce in a Nation, became a Barrier to that Empire, which their Ancestors had so frequently laid waste.

The *Hunns* overcome the *Alani*, and reduce the *Goths* to great Streights.
† *Ermanarius ap. Jord.*

§ XV. THE first Commotions were now raised by the *Hunns*. They invaded the Dominions of those *Alani*, who dwelt nearest to the *Don*. After having harass'd one another, for some Time, they agreed, with united Force, to fall upon the *Goths*. The nearest of these were the *Greuthungi*, who were then governed by *Ermeric* †, one of the most mighty Kings, that we meet with in the *Gothick* History, of whose brave and successful Atchievements we have made some Mention above. *Ermeric*, whose great Age disabled him from bearing Arms any longer, chose rather to prevent the Danger which threatened him, by a spontaneous Death, than to run the Hazard of surviving that Glory, which he had, in his younger Years, acquired. *Vithimer* was appointed to succeed him, who, being assisted by some other *Hunnick* Nations, whom he had hired, valiantly withstood the Enemy (1) ; but was, at Length, slain in Battle. The Nation elected *Videric*, his Son, in his Room, tho' he was too young to hold the Reins of Government ; and two renowned Generals, *Aletheus* and *Saphrax*, took upon them

(7) See below, Lib. 9.

(8) PRISCUS Conditionibus pacem Romanæ & Hunni pepigerunt, quæ jurejurando, patrio ritu utrinque firmata, utrique ad suos redierunt.

§. XV. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 31. c. 3. p. 478. Igitur Hunni pervasis Alanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines, Tanaitas consuetudo nominavit, interfectisque multis, & spoliatis, reliquos sibi concordan-

di fide pacta junxerunt, eisque adjunctis, confidentius Ermerichi late patentes, & uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicosissimi regis, & per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis nationibus formidati. Qui vi subitæ procellæ percussus, quamvis manere fundatus, & stabilis diu conatus est, impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatus fama, magnorum discriminum metum voluntaria morte sedavit. Cujus post obitum,

them the Guardianship and the Administration. They could not so easily recover the Loss sustain'd in their late Overthrow; but retreated to the *Niester*, into the present *Podolia*, where they expected to meet with Assistance from the bordering *Wisi-Gothick* Nations.

§ XVI. *ATHANARIC*, Prince of the *Theruingi*, who was encouraged by the Wars with the *Romans*, took to Arms, and advanced, indeed, towards the *Niester*, to repel the Enemy, if they attempted to cross that River, and to invade his Dominions: But, contrary to *Athanasius's* Expectations, they found another Passage over the River, and drew near to his Camp, before the Spies, he had sent out, could bring him Advice of their Approach. *Athanasius* was now so streighten'd, that he could not, without Loss, retreat into the Mountains. He caused, with the utmost Expedition, a Line to be thrown up there, between the *Pruth* (1), and the *Danube*, before the *Hunns* and *Alani*, who, by Reason of their Booty, could not advance so fast, were able to come up with him (2).

§ XVII. *EBAR* had, in the mean Time, so seized *Athanasius's* Subjects, that they thought of nothing but of submitting themselves, in

tum, rex Vithimeris creatus, restitit aliquantisper Alanis, Hunnis aliis fretus, quos mercede sociaverat partibus suis. Verum post multas, quas pertulit clades, animam effudit in proelio, vi superatus armorum. Cujus parvi filii Viderichi nomine curam susceptam Alatheus tuebatur & Saphrax, duces exerciti, & firmitate pectorum noti; qui cum tempore arto præventi abjecissent fiduciam repugnandi, cautius discedentes ad amnem Danastum pervenerunt inter Histrum & Borysthenem per camporum ampla spatia diffluentem. *This Passage confirms what has been said above § XIII. of the Dominion of the Ostro-Goths, and particularly, that the present Ukraina, described by Mons. de Beauplan, appertains thereto.*

§ XVI. (1) *HIERASUS* Ptolemæi, *GERASUS* Marcellini in loco, quem vide not. 2.

(2) *MARCELLINUS*, L. 31. c. 3. p. 479. Hæc ita præter spem accidisse doctus *Athanasius*; *Theruingorum* judex (in quem ut ante relatum est, ob auxilia missa *Procopio* dudum *Valens* commoverat signa) stare gradu fixo tentabat, surrecturus in vires, si ipse quoque lacefferetur ut cæteri. Castris denique prope *Danasti* margines ac *Greuthungorum* vallem longius opportune metatis,

Munderichum, ducem postea limitis per *Arabiam*, cum *Lagarimano* & optimatibus aliis, ad usque vicesimum lapidem misit, hostium speculatu ad adventum, ipse aciem nullo turbante interim struens. Verum longe aliter, quam rebatur, evenit. Hunni enim (ut sunt in conjectura sagaces) multitudinem esse longius aliquam suspicati, prætermisiss quos viderant, in quietem tanquam nullo obstante compositis, rumpente noctis tenebras luna, vado fluminis penetrato, id quod erat potissimum elegerunt: & veriti, ne præcursorius index procul agentes absterreat, *Athanasium* ipsum ictu petivere veloci. Eumque stupentem ad impetum primum, amissis quibusdam suorum coegerunt ad effugia properare montium præruptorum. Qua rei novitate, majoreque venturi pavore constrictus, a supercilis *GERASI* fluminis, ad usque *Danubium* *Taifalorum* terras præstringens, muros altius erigebat: hac lorica diligentia celeri consummata, in tuto locandam securitatem suam existimans & salutem. Dumque efficax opera suscitatur, Hunni passibus eum citis urgebant: & jam oppræsserant adventantes, ni gravate prædæ onere destitissent.

Athanasius, Prince of the *Theruingi*, endeavours in vain to oppose them.

A Body of *Goths* advance towards the *Danube*. *Athanasius* escapes to the Mountains.

some

some Measure, to the *Romans*, and of entreating the Emperor to grant them a Habitation in *Thrace*. *Valens* was then at *Antioch*, and was preparing for the War against *Persia*; for which he had already taken *Gothick* Troops into his Service (1). The Matter was proposed, and the *Goths* sent themselves an Ambassy to him, of which, according to the Relation of *Sozomenus* (2), their Bishop *Ulphila* was the Head. They marched, in the mean Time, under the Command of *Alavius*, towards the *Danube* (3). The Emperor granted their Request, because *Thrace* was here and there desolate, and the *Romans* had long found it advantageous, to be capable of forming their Armies with Foreign Troops; for, their Provinces always chose rather to furnish Money than Men (4): But when, soon after, *Vitherius*, the young King of the *Greuthungi*, and his two Guardians, *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, together with *Farnobius*, another *Ostro-Gothick* Prince, implored the same Favour, the Court denied it them; because the *Thervingi* were already thought as great a Number as *Thrace* could bear with. *Athanasius* remember'd the Pretence he had, some Years before, made, that he was under an Oath, not to set Foot on the other Side of the *Da-*

§ XVII. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 30. c. 2. Parabantur magna Instrumenta bellorum, ut mollita hieme imperatore trinis agminibus perrupturo Persidem, ideoque Scytharum auxilia festina celeritate mercante.

(2) SOZOMENUS, Lib. 6. c. 37.

(3) MARCELLINUS, L. 31. C. 3 & 4. p. 479. Fama tamen late serpente per Gothorum reliquas gentes, quod inusitatum antehac hominum genus, modo ruens ut turbo montibus celsis, ex abdito sinu coortum, opposita quæque convellit & corrumpit: populi pars major, quæ Athanasium attenuata necessariorum penuria desererat, quærerat domicilium remotum ab omni notitia barbarorum: diuque deliberans quas eligeret sedes, cogitavit Thraciæ receptaculum gemina ratione sibi convenientius, quod & cespitis est feracissimi, & amplitudine fluminum Histri distinctus a barbaris, patentibus jam peregrini fulminibus Martis: hoc quoque idem residui velut mente cogitare communi. Itaque duce Alavivoripas occupare Danubium: missisque oratoribus ad Valentem, suscipi se humili prece poscebant, & quiete victuros se pollicentes, & duros, si res flagitasset, auxilia.

(4) IDEM L. c. c. 4. Negotium lætitiæ

fuit potius quam timori, eruditis adulatoribus in majus fortunam principis extollentibus: quod ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia trahens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum suis & alienigenis viribus invictum haberet exercitum, & pro militari supplemento quod provinciæ annuum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus. Hacque spe mittuntur diversi, qui cum vehiculis plebem transferant truculentam. Et navabatur opera diligens, ne qui Romanam rem dereliqueretur everfurus, vel quassatus morbo letali. Perinde permissu imperatoris transeundi Danubium copiam colendique adepti Thraciæ partes, transfretabantur in dies & noctes, navibus ratibusque & cavatis arborum alveis, agminatim impositi: atque per amnem longe omnium difficilimum, imbriumque crebritate tunc auctum, ob densitatem nimiam contra ictus aquarum nitentes quidam & natate conati, hausti sunt plures. Ita turbido instantium studio orbis Romani perniciës ducebatur. Illud sane neque obscurum est neque incertum, infaustos transvehendi barbaram plebem ministros, numerum ejus comprehendere calculo sæpe tentantes, conquiesse frustratos.

nube,

nube, by which he, in a Manner, obliged the Emperor *Valens*, to meet him on that River, to ratify the Peace. He, therefore, feared he might now be scornfully put in Mind of his Vow, and would not ask Permission to pass the *Danube*; but retreated to a high and almost inaccessible Mountain, and, by Force, drove out some *Sarmatae*, who were in Possession of it (5). There he stood his Ground, for some Time, 'till, in the Reign of *Theodosius*, he was, at Length, obliged to seek Refuge, in the *Roman Dominions*, among the *Theruingi*.

§ XVIII. AN innumerable Swarm of *Theruingi* was therefore transported: To which Purpose, all the *Roman Vessels*, on the *Danube*, were employed, and when those were insufficient, the River was covered with Floats and hollow'd Trees, which many made Use of instead of Boats. Some even ventured to swim over, and the Eagerness with which every one endeavoured to save himself, caused some Disorders, whereby many were drowned (1). The Emperor, *Valens*, had indeed ordered, that the Children should first be taken and conveyed to *Asia*, where they might be kept, in a Manner, as Hostages, for the Fidelity of their Parents; and that the *Goths* themselves should not be allowed to bring their Arms with them: But the Officers were so blinded by their private Advantage and Voluptuousness, that the *Goths* were at once transported, and brought their Arms, privately at least, with them, which they had, soon after, Occasion for (2).

The *Roman* take the *Goths* under their Protection.

§ XIX.

(5) IDEM, *l. c. p. 481*. Per hos dies interea etiam Vithericus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo & Saphrace quorum arbitrio regebatur, itemque Farnobio, propinquans Histri marginibus, ut simili susciperetur humanitate obsecravit imperatorem, legatis propere missis. Quibus ut communi rei conducere videbatur repudiatis, & quid capesserent anxius, Athanaricus paria pertimescens abcessit, memor, Valentem dudum cum foederaretur concordia despexisse, affirmantem se religione devinctum, ne calcaret solum aliquando Romanum, hacque causatione principem firmare pacem in medio flumine coegisse: quam simultatem veritus, ut adhuc durantem, ad Caucaldensem locum, altitudine silvarum inaccessum & montium, cum suis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extrusis.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *Lib. 4. c. 20. p. 10*. Eam rem, cum praesidiis oppidorum ad Istrum praefecti eo usque differrent, dum de voluntate principis cognitum fuisset: Valens uti reciperentur, armis prius depositis, permisit. Itaque tribuni legionum, militumque duces, transjiciebant illi quidem, ut absque armis barbaros in fines Romanos deducerent: verum nihil agebant aliud, quam quod elegantis formae mulieres deligerent, & pueros formosos ad usum obscenum venarentur, aut colonos, agricolaeve compararent; quibus solis intenti caetera publicam ad utilitatem spectantia negligebant. Unde fiebat, ut complures clam cum armis transvestos ignoraretur: qui simul atque solum Romanum ingressi fuissent, neque precum illarum supplicum, neque sacramentorum recordabantur. Eunapius mentions besides, p. 19. that the Goths presented them with fine Carpets and

§ XVIII. (1) See the foregoing Section, n. 5.

They rebel
against the
Romans.
† Comes per
Thracias.

§ XIX. FOR when there began to be a Scarcity of Provisions, before the *Goths* were dispersed, *Maximus*, Lieutenant of *Thrace* †, and the General *Lupicinus*, took so infamous an Advantage of their Necessity, that they were even obliged to part with their Children in Exchange for a miserable Sustenance; and they carried their Villany so far, that the *Theruingi*, at Length, began to shew their Resentment, and took to their Arms, in the Neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*: And to this *Lupicinus* gave them fresh Provocation. He had invited the two Princes, *Alavius* and *Fritigernus*, whom *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls Kings, to an Entertainment in the City; but order'd the Soldiers to admit none of the other *Goths*. This occasion'd a Tumult at the City-Gate; of which *Lupicinus* being privately inform'd, he order'd the Guard, which attended the two *Gothick* Princes, to be attack'd. The People without the Gate were no sooner made acquainted with this, than the Tumult encreas'd; it being, at the same Time, reported, that their two Princes were kill'd: And the Event might perhaps have been fatal to them, had not *Fritigernus*, in this dangerous Situation, preserved a Presence of Mind, which is often as certain a Demonstration of Heroism, as Heat and Fire. In this *Dilemma* he immediately thought of an Expedient, and represented to the *Roman General*, that there was no other Means to appease the Fury of the People, but for him and *Alavius* to shew themselves, and thereby convince them of the Error, which had caused this Tumult: But the two Princes no sooner saw themselves at full Liberty than they headed their Men, and let the *Romans* see they would not fall a Prey to such secret Practices. They were so fortunate, that they put *Lupicinus*, who went out against them, to the Flight (1): And the Arms of those *Romans*, who were kill'd on the Spot,

and *Linnen*. Jusserat autem imperator ab Antiochia, ut primum imbellem & nulli usui aptam susciperent ætatem, & per Romanorum ditionis terras dimitterent, & tanquam obsides tuto loco haberent, neque coercius milites ad ripas consistere, ut turbas pugnae aptis minime transgredi sinerent, neque navigia illis ad trajectionem præberent, priusquam arma deposuissent, quo nudos na smitterent. At eorum, qui ista mandata exceperunt, exarsit hic in amore unus pueri candidi & vultu grati, ex his qui trajecti fuerant, alter misertus est uxoris formosae unius ex captivis, hic captivus fuit sub virgine formosa, alios magnitudo munerum cepit, linea vestimenta strigula ab

utraque parte fimbriata. What is here said of *Linnen*, may put the Reader in Mind, that I shew'd before, L. 2. § 39. not. 1. from a Passage of *Pliny*, that the *Germans* were acquainted with this Manufacture, in the earliest Times.

§ XIX. (1) MARCELLINUS, l. c. c. 5. p. 482. At vero *Theruingi* jam dudum transire permissi, prope ripas etiam tum vagabantur, duplici impedimento adstricti, quod ducum dissimulatione perniciofa nec victui congruis sunt adjuti, & tenebantur consulto nefandis nudandi commerciis. Quo intellecto, ad perfidiam instantium malorum subsidium vertendi mussabant: & *Lupicinus* ne jam deficerent pertimescens, eos admotis militi-

Spot, prov'd a very acceptable Booty, at that Time, when they had no Chance left, but to pursue the War with Vigour. The *Greuthungi*, to whom the Passage had before been refused, found, in the mean Time, an Opportunity of crossing the *Danube*, on Floats; the *Romans* not having their Posts sufficiently beset (2); and *Fritigernus* began to form a Design of joining them, in Case of Necessity. There were, besides these, two other *Gothick* Generals, *Sueridus* and *Colias*, with a Body of Men, station'd near *Adrianople*, who were probably intended to be employed in the War with the *Persians*: These Troops had begun to prepare for their Winter-Quarters, when they received the

militibus adigebat ocius proficisci. Id tempus opportunum nacti *Greuthungi*, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultro citroque discurrere solita transgressum eorum prohibentia quiescere prospexissent, ratibus transire male contextis, castraque a *Fritigerno* locavere longissime. At ille genuina prævidendi sollertia venturos muniens casus, ut & imperiis obediret & regibus validis jungeretur, incedens segnius, *Marcianopolim* tarde pervenit itineribus lentis. Ubi aliud accessit atrocius, quod arsuras in commune exitum faces furiales accendit. Alavivo & *Fritigerno* ad convivium corrogatis, *Lupicinus* ab oppidi mœnibus barbaram plebem opposito milite procul arcebat introire ad comparanda victui necessaria, ut ditioni nostræ obnoxiam & concordem, per preces assidue postulantem: ortisque majoribus jurgiis inter habitatores & vetitos, adusque necessitatem pugnandi est ventum. Efferatique acrius barbari, cum necessitudines hostiliter rapi sentirent, spoliarunt interfectam militum manum. Quod accidens idem *Lupicinus* latentis nuntio doctus, dum in nepotali mensa ludicris concrepantibus diu discumbens vino marcebat & somno: futuri conjiciens exitum, satellites omnes, qui pro prætorio, honoris & tutelæ causa, duces præstolabantur, occidit. Hocque populus, qui muros obsidebat, dolenter accepto, ad vindictam detentorum regum, ut opinabatur, paullatim augescens, multa minabatur, & sæva. Utque erat *Fritigernus* expediti consilii, veritus, ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sinceretur

exire cum sociis: quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos, in tumultum exarsit. Hocque impetrato egressi omnes, exceptique cum plausu & gaudiis, ascensis equis evolarunt, moturi incitamenta diversa bellorum. Hæc ubi fama rumorum nutritrix maligna dispersit, urebatur dimicandi studio *Theruingorum* natio omnis: & inter metuenda multa, periculorumque prævia maximorum, vexillis de more sublati, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis, jam turmæ prædatoriæ concursabant, pilando villas & incendendo, vastisque cladibus quidquid inveniri poterat permiscentes. Adversus quos *Lupicinus*, properatione tumultuaria coactis militibus, temere magis quam consulte progressus, in nono ab urbe miliario stetit paratus ad decernendum. Barbarique hoc contemplato, globos irrupere nostrorum incautos, & parmas suppositis corporibus illidendo obvios hastis perforabant, & gladiis: furoreque urgente cruento, & tribuni & pleraque pars armatorum periere signis ereptis; præter ducem infaustum, qui ad id solum intentus, ut confligentibus aliis proriperet ipse semet in fugam, urbem cursu concito petiit. Post quæ hostes, armis induti Romanis, nullo vetante per varia grassabantur.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *Lib. cit. c. 5.* Id tempus opportunum nacti *Greuthungi*, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultra citroque discurrere solita, transgressum eorum prohibentia quiescere prospexissent, ratibus transire male contextis, castraque a *Fritigerno* locavere longissime, &c.

Y y

Empe-

Emperor's Command, to march towards the *Hellespont*: But when they insisted upon two Days delay, and made a Demand of the City, of some Provisions for their March, the Inhabitants, whose Estates had already greatly suffer'd by their being quarter'd upon them, ventur'd to sally out, in Order to drive them away by Force: But the *Goths* gave them so warm a Reception, that very few return'd unhurt; and the Booty they made on this Occasion, was a large Quantity of *Roman Arms*; they having before only had their Shields, Spears and Swords. *Fritigernus*, quickly after, approaching with his Army, these *Goths* join'd him, and put him upon besieging *Adrianople* (3): But he soon found, that the *Goths* were Strangers to Sieges; and therefore represented to his Men, that it was not advisable to make War with Walls and Stones, when the open Country gave them so fair a Prospect of furnishing themselves with Necessaries. He therefore raised the Siege, and, with his Troops, over-spread the adjacent Territories, where they were joined, by many of their Country-Men, whom they themselves had before, and some of them very lately, sold as Slaves. These, and many others, who associated themselves to them, gave them an Insight into many Things: They had particularly the Advantage of a great Number of Workers in the Mines, who, as they could no longer subsist, by their Labour, now undertook to discover to them every Foot-Path in the Mountains of *Thrace* (4).

A pitch'd
Battle be-
tween the
Goths and
Romans.

§ XX. *VALENS* received this melancholy News at *Antioch*, and thereby saw all his Designs frustrated. Instead of making War with the *Persians*, he now sent his General *Victor* to treat with them, in the best Manner he could: And, thinking it necessary to return himself to *Constantinople*, he immediately order'd two other Generals, *Profuturus*

(3) *IDEM*, L. c. cap. 6. init.

(4) *IDEM*, c. 6. p. 485. In qua difficultate diutius positi, passim & promiscue ruebant: eminentque aliquorum audacia peribat inulta, multique sagittis & rotatis profundas lapidibus interibant. Tunc *Fritigernus* frustra cum tot cladibus concludari homines ignaros obsidendi contemplans, relicta ibi manu sufficiente, abire negotio imperfecto suavit, pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans, suadensque ut populandas opimas regiones & uberes absque discrimine ullo, vacuas praesidiis etiamtum adorirentur. Laudato regis consilio, quem cogitatorum norant fore socium efficacem, per *Thraciarum* latus omne dispersi caute gradiebantur, dedititius vel captivis vicos uberes ostenden-

tibus, eos praecipue, ubi alimentorum reperiri satietas dicebatur, eo maxime adjumento praeter genuinam erecti fiduciam quod confluebat ad eos in dies ex eadem gente multitudo, dudum a mercatoribus venundati, adjectis plurimis, quos primo transitu necati inedia, vino exili, vel panis frustis mutavere vilissimis. Quibus accedere sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci, vectigalium perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves: susceptique libenti consensione cunctorum, magno usui iisdem fuere ignota peragrantibus loca conditoria frugum occulta & latebras hominum & receptacula secretiora monstrando. Nec quicquam nisi inaccesum & devium, praecuntibus iisdem mansit intactum.

and

and *Trajan*, to keep the Enemy at Bay, 'till he could follow. *Gratian*, on his Part, not only order'd *Frigerid*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, to march to the Assistance of the *East*; but likewise sent the valiant *Richomer*, who, with *Mallobaudes*, a King of the *Franks*, commanded the *Prætorian* Band, and was himself supposed to be a Prince of the *Franks*, with a Body of Troops thither (1). *Frigerid*, for his Part, excused himself with the Pretence of a Fit of the Gout; and *Richomer* had, thereupon, the Command of all the auxiliary Troops conferr'd upon him. He joined *Valens's* Generals near *Salices* (2), a City in *Scythia Minor*, not far from *Tomos*. The main Army of the *Goths*, which lay at a small Distance from thence, entrench'd amidst their Carriages, caused those Troops, which were dispersed about the Country, to join them by Degrees, 'till they thought themselves of Force enough to attack the *Romans*; whereupon a bloody Battle ensued (3),

Y y 2

which

§ XX. (1) MARCELLINUS, *Lib. 31. c. 7.* Hi numeri nondum experti, quid cum desperatione rabies valeret indomita, truso hoste ultra *Æmi* montis abscisos scopulos, faucibus insedere præruptis, uti barbaros locis inclusos, nusquam reperientes exitum diuturna consumeret fames, & opperirentur ipsi *Frigeridum* ducem, cum *Pannonicis*, & *transalpinis* auxiliis adventantem, quem petitu *Valentis* *Gratianus* ire disposuit in procinctum, laturum suppetias iis, qui ad ultimum vexabantur exitium. Post quem *Richomeres*, domesticorum tunc comes, imperatu ejusdem *Gratiani* motus e *Galliis*, properavit ad *Thracias*, adductans cohortes aliquas nominetenus: quarum pars pleraque deseruerat, (ut jactavere quidam) *Merobaudis* suasu, veriti ne destitutæ adminiculis *Galliæ* vastarentur licenter *Rheno* perrupto. Verum partikulorum dolore *Frigerido* præpedito, vel certe ut obrectatores finxere malevoli, morbum causante, ne ferventibus præliis interesset, universos regens ex communi sententia *Richomeres* *Profuturo* sociatur, & *Traiano*, tendentibus prope oppidum *Salices*, &c.

(2) A City in *Scythia*, situate between *Tomos* and *Salmuris*. v. *Valesius* ad h. l. *Marcellini*,

(3) In *Marcellinus's* Description of this Battle, L. 31. c. 7. we meet with several Circum-

stances, which may serve to illustrate the military History of the *Goths*. *Richomeres* *Profuturo* sociatur & *Traiano*, tendentibus prope oppidum *Salices*: unde haud longo spatio separatum vulgus in æstimabile barbarorum, ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustrorum, tanquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis, otio fruebatur & ubertate prædarum. Prævia igitur spe meliorum *Romani* duces, si fors copiam attulisset ausuri aliquid gloriosum, *Gothos* quidquid molirentur sagaciter observabant: id scilicet præstruentes, ut si aliorum castra movissent, quod fecere creberrime, terga ultimarum adorti plures perfoderent confisi, magnamque spoliolum averterent partem. Hoc intellecto hostes, vel transfugarum indicibus docti, per quos nihil latebat incognitum, in eodem loco diu manserunt: sed oppositi exercitus metu præstricti, aliorumque militum quos affluere jam sperabant: tessera data gentili, per diversa prope diffusas accivere vastatorias manus: quæ (jussis) optimatum acceptis, statim ut incensi malleoli, ad carraginem (quam ita ipsi appellant) aliti velocitate regressæ, incentivum audendi majora popularibus addiderunt. Nihil post hæc inter partes præter inducias laxatum est breves. Reversis enim his quos necessitas evocarat, plebs omnis intra septorum ambitum etiamtum contrusa, immaniter fremens, animis-

que:

which lasted 'till Night parted them. But the Loss seems to have been the greatest on the Side of the *Romans* (4); who retreated to *Marcianople*, while the *Goths* return'd to their Entrenchment of Carriages. The former secured all the Passes into the Province of *Hæmimont*, and caused all their Provisions to be convey'd into the fortified Cities; in Hopes, that, as the *Goths* were yet unexperient'd in Sieges, and the Country between the *Danube* and the Mountains was laid waste, a Famine would consume the Enemy's Army, and thereby effect what their Arms had miscarried in.

The *Goths* force the Passes of Mount *Hæmimus*, and over-run *Thrace*.

§ XXI. THE *Goths* made several Attempts to break thro'; but were vigorously repulsed; and, at Length, call'd to their Assistance some Troops of *Hunns* and *Alani*, whose Thirst after Booty could not be satiated in the *Gothick* Territories. The General, *Saturninus*, whom

que concita truculentis, experiri postrema discrimina, nec principibus gentis qui aderant, renuentibus, cruditate festinabat. Et quoniam hæc sole agebantur extremo, noxque adventans ad quietem invitos retinebat & mæstos, capto per otium cibo somni manserunt expertes. Contra Romani his cognitis, ipsi quoque exsomnes verebantur hostes, & male sanos eorum ductores ut rabidas feras: eventum licet ancipitem, ut numero satis inferiores, prosperum tamen ob justiorum sui causam mentibus expectantes impavidis. Candente itaque protinus die, signo ad arma capienda ex utraque parte per lituos dato, barbari postquam inter eos ex more juratum est, tumultuosos locos appetere tentaverunt: quo exinde per proclive rotarum modo obvios impetu convoluerent acriore. Hocque viso ad suos quisque manipulos properans miles, stabili gradu consistens nec vagabatur, nec relictis ordinibus præcursabat. Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautiùs incedentes gressu steterunt immobili, torvitate muta bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis. Et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes, a minore solita ad majorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant barritum, vires validas erigebant. Barbari vero majorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis: interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus leviora prælia tentabantur. Jamque verutis & similibus aliis utrimque semet eminus laceffentes, ad conterendas coiere minaciter manus: & scutis

in testudinum formam coagmentatis, pes cum pede collatus est. Barbarique ut reparabiles semper & celeres, ingentes clavas in nostros conjicientes ambustas, mucronesque acrius resistentium pectoribus illidentes, sinistrum cornu perrumpunt: quod inclinatum subsidialis robustissimus globus, e propinquo latere fortiter excitus, hærente jam morte cervicibus sustentavit. Fervente igitur densis cædibus prælio, in confertos quisque promptior ruens, ritu grandinis undique volitantibus telis oppetebat & gladiis: & sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientibus occipitia lacertis ingentibus præcidentes & terga: itidemque altrinsecus pedites lapso- rum timore impeditorum, secando suffragines. Et cum omnia cæforum corporibus opplerentur, jacebant inter eos quidam semianimes spem vitæ inaniter usurpando; alii glande fundis excussa, vel harundinibus armatis ferro confixi: quorundam capita per medium frontis & verticis mucrone distincta, in utrumque humerum magno cum horrore pendebant. Et pertinaci certatione nondum lassatæ, æquo Marte partes semet altrinsecus afflictabant: nec de rigore genuino quisquam remittebat, dum vires animorum alacritas excitaret. Diremit tamen interneciva certamina cedens vespero dies: & cunctis qua quisque potuit incomposite discedentibus, residui omnes repetunt tentoria tristiores.

(4) Conf. THEODORETI *hist. ecclæs.* L. 4. c. 29.

Valen'

Valens had, in the mean Time, sent to the Assistance of *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, and of whom we shall, in the Sequel, make farther Mention, thereupon retreated, not thinking himself in a Condition, in the long Run, to resist so infinite a Number. Whereupon, the *Goths* broke in like a resistless Torrent, which, when it has once thrown down the Dams, overflows a whole Country, and carries away whatever opposes its Force. At *Deultum*, a Roman Colony on the River *Panyfus* (1), they fell in with an Army of Roman Infantry, which they cut in Pieces (2), and over-run the Plains of *Thrace*, as far as Mount *Rhodore*, and the Streights (3).

§ XXII. THEY resolved, thereupon, to attack *Frigerid*, who was in *Thrace*, near *Beræa*. The latter, finding himself too weak to encounter them, retreated, in Time, to *Illyrium*, and, by the Way, found, unexpectedly, an Opportunity of clearing himself from the Imputation of having been, 'till then, an idle Spectator. He fell in with the *Ostro-Gothick* Prince *Farnobius* (1), who had drawn over to his Party the *Taifali*, they having taken the Opportunity of the *Romans* not being in a Condition to beset the *Danube*, to pass that River unmolested. *Farnobius*, with some others of their Chiefs, were killed on the Spot: The Rest were forced to yield themselves Prisoners, and were sent by *Frigerid* to *Italy*, into the Countries about *Parma*, *Modena* and *Reggio*, to till the Ground. Thus *Italy* admitted one Colony after another, of those Nations, who soon after became its Masters (2).

§ XXI. (1) COLONIA FLAVIA PACENSIS DEULTUM. The Place is likewise sometimes named *Develtus*. *Marcellinus* calls it *Dibaltum*, *vetus Romanorum ad Panysum amnem colonia*. The River *Panyfus* discharges itself above *Mesembria* into the Black Sea.

(2) MARCELLINUS *Lib. cit. c. 8. p. 489.* Barbari tamen, velut diffractis caveis bestiae, per spatiorum amplitudines fusius incitati, oppidum petivere nomine *Dibaltum*, ubi tribunum scutariorum *Barzimerem* inventum cum suis, cornutisque, & aliis peditum numeris, castra ponentem adfiliunt, eruditum pulvere militari rectorem. Qui confestim (ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitii) iussa canere bellicum tuba, lateribus firmatis, prærupit cum promptis adcinctis ad prælium: fortiterque resistendo pari pugnandi sorte discessisset, ni eum equitum adcurfus complurium anhelum circumvenisset & fessum. Et ita cecidit interfectis barbarorum non paucis, quorum clades copiarum magnitudo celabat.

(3) IBIDEM.

§ XXII. (1) See above, § 17.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *L. 31 c. 9. p. 489.* Repedando enim, congregatosque in cuneos sensim progrediens, Gothorum optimatem, *Farnobium*, cum vastatoriis globis vagantem licentius occupavit, ducentemque *Taifalos* nuper in societatem adhibitos: qui, si dignum est dici, nostris ignotarum gentium terrore dispersis, transire flumen, direpturi vacua defensoribus loca. Eorum ceteris subito visis, certare comminus dux cautissimus parans, adortusque nationis utriusque grassatores, minantes etiamtum acerba, trucidasset omnes ad unum, ut ne nuntius quidem cladis post appareret, ni cum aliis multis perempto *Farnobio*, metuendo antehac incensore turbarum, obtestatus prece impensa superstitibus pepercisset: vivosque omnes circa *Mutinam*, *Régiumque* & *Parmam* Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit.

§ XXIII.

Gratian's
War with
the Lenti-
censes.

§ XXIII. WHEN the Report of this Gothick War, and of Gratian's Preparation to go to the Assistance of his Kinsman, reached the Ears of the *Alemanni*, the *Lenticenses*, who border'd on *Rætia*, and are already known by the Wars between them and *Constantius*, fell into *Gaul*, in *Febr.* A. 378, when the *Rhine*, being covered with Ice, gave them a free Passage. They then, by Degrees, induc'd more of their Country-Men to join them; 'till they consisted of 40,000, or as some say, 70,000 Men. But Gratian sent Count *Nannienus*, of whom Mention is made above, with *Mallobaudes*, the valiant King of the *Franks*, who was, at the same Time, *Comes Domesticorum*, against them. They fell upon the *Alemanni*, near *Argentaria*, which, according to *Cluverius*, is the present *Colmar*, in *Alsace*; but others suppose it to be *Arburg*, of which there are now no Remains but Heaps of Ruins (1). The Roman Army carried the Day, and Gratian, thereupon, pass'd the *Rhine* himself, in Hopes of extirpating the Nation of the *Lenticenses*, and then to march, with more Security, to the East: But they retreated into their inaccessible Mountains, where Gratian, in vain, endeavour'd to pursue them, and, therefore, concluded a Peace, on Condition of their delivering up to him a certain Number of their

§ XXIII. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 31. cap. 10. p. 490. relates the Battle at large. Quibus Gratianus cum formidine magna compertis, revocatis cohortibus, quas præmiserat in Pannonias, convocatisque aliis, quas in Galliis retinuerat dispositio prudens, Nannieno negotium dedit, virtutis sobriæ duci: eique Mallobaudem junxit, pari potestate, collegam, domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum virum bellicosum & fortem. Nannieno igitur pensante fortunarum versabiles casus, ideoque cunctandum esse censente; Mallobaudes alta pugnandi cupiditate raptatus, ut consueverat, ire in hostem differendi impatiens angebatur. Proinde horrifco adversum fragore terrente, primum apud Argentariam, signo per cornicines dato, concurrere est cœptum: sagittarum verutorumque missilium pulsibus crebriores hinc inde sternebantur. Sed in ipso præliorum ardore, infinita hostium multitudine milites visa, vitantesque aperta discrimina, per colles confitas arboribus & angustas, ut quisque potuit dispersi, paullo postea stetero fidentius: & splendore consimili, proculque

nitore fulgentes armorum, imperatorii adventus injecere barbaris metum. Qui repente versi in terga, resistentesque interdum, ne quid ultimæ rationis omitterent, ita sunt cæsi, ut ex prædicto numero non plus quam quinque millia, ut æstimabatur, evaderent, densitate nemorum tecta: inter complures alios audaces & fortes rege quoque PRIARIO interfecto, exitium concitore pugnatum. Velferus and Lindenbrogius ad h. l. imagine, that instead of Priarius must be read Priamus: and suppose this to be the Prince of the Franks, of whom Prosper writes in his Chronicle ad A. IV. Gratiani. Priamus quidam regnat in Francia, quantum altius colligere potuimus. But it seems improbable, that a King of the Franks should be now in so strict Alliance with the Lenticenses, who were at such a Distance, as to be, in a Manner, one Nation. When, therefore, we read Priamus in Prosper, we might sooner suppose, that he confounds the Franks with the Alemanni, and means the same Prince, whom Marcellinus calls Priarius.

young

young Men (2). *Gratian* could now proceed without Interruption on his March to the *East* (3). *Frigerid*, in the mean Time, had enough to do, in *Illyricum*, to secure the Pass, which separated *Thrace* from *Gratian's* Dominions, against any Attempts of the *Goths*. *Gratian* wrote to the Emperor *Valens*, that he was upon the Point of his Departure; and he accordingly broke up soon after, and march'd, by the

(2) *IBID.* p. 490. Hac læti successus fiducia Gratianus erectus, jamque ad partes tendens Eoas, lævorsus flexo itinere, latenter Rheno transito, spe incitator bona, universam (si id tentanti fors affuisset) delere statuit malefidam, & turbarum avidam gentem. Hocque urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis cognito, Lenticenses ærumnis populi sui ad internecionem pæne deleti, & repentino principis adventu defixi, quid capefferent ambigentes, cum neque repugnandi, neque agendi aliquid, aut moliendi laxamentum possent invenire vel breve, impetu celeri obseffos petiverunt inviis cautibus colles: abruptisque per ambitum rupibus insistentes, rebus caritatibusque suis, quas secum duxerant, omni virium robore propugnabant. Qua difficultate perpensa, velut murorum obicibus opponendi per legiones singulas quingenteni leguntur armati, usu prudenter bellandi comperti. Qui ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod versari inter antesignanos visebatur acriter princeps, montes scandere nitebantur, tanquam venaticias prædas, si calcassent editiora, confestim sine certamine ullo rapturi; exorsumque prælium vergente in meridiem die, tenebræ quoque occupavere nocturnæ. Quippe magno utriusque partis pugnabatur exitio: cadebant cadebantque nostrorum non pauci: simul arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine, jaculatione ponderum densa confringebantur. Etenim diu reputante Gratiano cum optimatibus, perniciosum apparebat & irritum contra asperitates aggerum prominentium intempestiva contendere pertinacia: multis (ut in tali negotio) variatis sententiis, otioso milite circumvallari placuit barbaros, inedia fatigatos, quia locorum iniquitate defendebantur. Verum cum obstinatione simili renitentes Germani peritique regionum petissent alios montes, his quos ante infederant altiores:

conversus illuc cum exercitu imperator, eadem qua antea fortitudine semitas ducentes ad ardua quæritabat. Quem Lenticenses intentum jugulis suis omni perseverandi studio contemplantes, post deditionem, quam impetravere supplici prece, oblata (ut præceptum est) juventute valida nostris tirociniis permiscenda, ad genitales terras innoxii ire permissi sunt.

(3) *THEMISTIUS* in orat. 13. p. 179. B. At certe Scipio cum assertum a vinculis Terentium Carthagine adduceret, jucundius est a vetustis illis Romanis conspectus: atque hæc triumphi maxime splendida & magnifica pars fuit, vir Romanus illustris, Scipionem in libertatis pileo affectans. At Gratianum solenni pompa ingredientem, quantum agmen eorum, qui servati & soluti sunt, sine pileo, aut alia libertatis nota sequetur? Ego vero sanctiorem hunc triumphum existimo, quem de iis, quos servaverit & custodierit, ducet. Petavius, in his Annotations, p. 466, supposes Gratian to have come to Rome in that Year, and that Themistius here boasts before-hand, of the Entry he made. But Pagius, ad A. 377. n. 17. differs from him, and is of Opinion, that, after the Victory, Gratian celebrated his Triumph at Triers: *THEMISTIVS* itaque loquitur de ingressu Gratiani in urbem Trevirensensem, post victoriam Alamannicam hoc anno reportatam, de quo anno sequenti agemus. Post pugnam enim Argentuarensensem, seu victoriam, Treveros reversus est: ubi data ab eo XV. kal. Octob. lex 3. Cod. Theodos. Tributa in ipsis speciebus. But from Themistius's Oration, which was spoken after Theodosius's Accession to the Imperial Throne, it appears, that he did not describe a real Triumph, but, as an Orator, only shewed how splendid a Triumph was due to Gratian, if he should come to Rome: And he urges the Romans to invite him and Theodosius thither.

Way

Way of *Retia* and *Noricum*, to *Sirmium*, from whence he went down the *Danube* as far as *Castrum Martis*. On this last March, the *Alani* ventur'd to attack him; but were repell'd with Loss (4).

Valens is defeated by the *Goths*, near *Adrianople*.

§ XXIV. *VALENS*, in the mean Time, arrived in *Europe*, A. 378, and being dissatisfied with the Conduct of his Generals, deprived *Trajan* of the Command of the Infantry, and gave it to *Sebastian*, who, being an experienced Commander, he had desired him of *Gratian*, and he resolved, besides this, to go himself to the Field. The *Goths*, therefore, hastned back from the Countries about Mount *Rhodope*, with a great Booty, in Order to join their Country-men, who were at *Beræa* and *Nicopolis* (1). *Sebastian* fell in with a Party of them, on the River *Hebro*, not far from *Adrianople*, and re-took all their Booty. *Fritigernus*, therefore, took the more Pains to draw his Men into a Body, and encamped near *Calybe*, in a Plain, where he could be better furnished with Provisions, and was not in so much Danger of falling into Ambushes (2). When the *Goths*, thereupon, approached *Nice* (3),

(4) MARCELLINUS, L. 31. c. 10. p. 492. Dispositis igitur quæ pro temporum captu per Gallias res rationesque poscebant, & punito scutario proditore, qui festinare principem ad Illyricum barbaris indicarat: Gratianus exinde digressus, per castra, quibus Felicis-Arboris nomen est, per Lauriacum ad opitulandum oppressæ parti porrectis itineribus ire tendebat. Iisdemque diebus Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti, munireque properanti Succorum angustias, ne discursatores hostes & leves, tanquam exæstuentes vi torrentes per septentrionales provincias fusius vagarentur; successor Maurus nomine mittitur comes, venalis ferociæ specie, & ad cuncta mobilis & incertus. *And cap. 11. p. 493.* Dum hæc aguntur in Thraciis, Gratianus docto litteris patruo, qua industria superaverit Alamannos, pedestri itinere præmissis impedimentis & sarcinis, ipse cum expeditiore militum manu permeato Danubio, delatus Bononiam, Sirmium introit: & quatrimum ibi moratus, per idem flumen ad Martis Castra descendit, febribus intervallatis afflictus; in quo tractu Alanorum impetu repentino tentatus, amisit sequentium paucos.

§ XXIV (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 31. c. 11. p. 493. Unde cum itinere edicto per tesseram Nicen venisset, quæ statio ita cogno-

minatur, relatione speculatorum didicit, re-fertos opima barbaros præda, a Rhodopeis tractibus prope Hadrianopolim revertisse: qui motu imperatoris, cum abundanti milite cognito, popularibus jungere festinant, circa Beræam, & Nicopolin, ingentibus præfidiis fixis.

(2) IBID. Qua causa percitus Fritigernus, & extimescens, ne dux, ut sæpe audierat, impetrabilis dispersos licenter suorum globos raptuque intentos consumeret, improvisos adoriens: revocatis omnibus prope Cabylen oppidum cito discessit, ut agentes in regionibus patulis nec inedia, nec occultis vexarentur insidiis.

(3) IDEM L. 31. c. 12. Triduoque proximo cum barbari gradu incederent leni, & metuentes eruptionem per devia, quindecim millibus passuum a civitate discreri stationem peterent Nicen: incertum quo errore pro cursatoribus omnem illam multitudinis partem quam viderant, in numero decem millium esse firmantibus: imperator procaci quodam calore percussus iisdem occurrere festinabat. Proinde agmine quadrato incedens prope suburbanum Hadrianopoleos venit: ubi vallo sudibus fossaque firmato, Gratianum impatienter opperiens, Richomerem comitem domesticorum suscepit, ab eodem imperatore præmissum cum litteris, ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus.

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the Emperor broke up to encounter them, and encamped near *Adrianople*, intending to wait for *Gratian*. Thither *Richomer* likewise came, with Assurances, that the Emperor, his Master, would soon follow him. *Victor*, a *Sarmatian* by Birth, and General of the Cavalry, advised to wait his Coming: But *Sebastian*, encouraged by the Advantage he had lately obtained over the *Goths*, represented the Victory as so easy to the Emperor, that he resolved to have the Honour of it himself, and the rather, as he envied his Kinsman the Glory, he had acquired in the *Alemannick* War. When every Thing was ready for the March, an Ambassy came to Court from *Fritigernus*, at the Head of which was a *Christian* Priest, his peculiar Favourite: This Divine deliver'd a Letter, in which the *Gothick* Prince excused his Incursions, by the Necessity he had been reduced to thro' the Proceedings of the *Roman* Generals, and again promised, at the same Time, that he, together with his Subjects, would be faithful and obedient to the Emperor, if they might have Leave to settle in *Thrace*. But this Offer was little regarded, and the Emperor broke up, nevertheless, on the 9th of *August*, left his Treasures, and the greater Part of his Retinue behind him, at *Adrianople*, and the Ammunition and Provision, with a sufficient Garrison, under the Walls of that City. They had march'd but 8 *Roman* Miles, when they began to hear the Cry of the *Goths*, and, thereupon, placed themselves in Order of Battle. *Fritigernus*, who would gladly have avoided an Engagement, or, at least, have gained Time 'till he could join the *Greuthungi*, once more sued for an Accommodation. These last Ambassadors must have made better Proposals than the former; for *Valens* so far complied, that he desired the Chiefs of the *Goths* might come to him in Person, as he could treat more securely with them, and, if they came to any Agreement, it might be immediately ratified. *Fritigernus*, hereupon, sent an Herald, with a Message, that the *Goths* consented to this, if they would deliver certain Hostages for the Security of their Persons. *Richomer* had already offer'd himself for one; when, during these Negotiations, a Company of *Roman* Archers fell upon the *Goths*, who, seeing the Cavalry they expected, under the Command of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, together with a Body of *Alani*, coming with Precipitation down from the Hills, engag'd without farther Reflection. *Amm. Marcellinus* describes the Battle that ensued; in which the *Romans* met with such an Overthrow, as, in his Opinion, they had not undergone since their unhappy Fate *ad Cannas* (4). *Valens* lost his Life in

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(4) That Relation informs us, among other Particulars, that there were Batavian Auxiliaries in this Battle, and that *Richomer* and *Saturninus* escaped. The Words, l. c. cap. 13. are :

the Battle; but we find no certain Circumstances how he came by his Death.

The Goths,
in vain, at-
tempt to
take Adriano-
ple.

§ XXV. THE Conquerors immediately made an Attempt on *Adriano-ple*; but were obliged, as *Fritigernus* foretold them, to raise the Siege,

are: Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur & tela, lituosque Bellona luctuosos inflaret, in clades Romanas solito immanius furens; cedentes nostri multis interclamentibus restiterunt: & prælium flammæ ritu crescens terrebatur militum animos, confixis quibusdam rotatis ictibus jaculorum & sagittarum. Deinde collisæ in modum rostrorum navium acies, trudentesque se vicissim, undarum specie motibus sunt reciprocis jactitatae. Et quia sinistrum cornu adusque plaustra ipsa accessit, ultra (si qui tulissent suppetias) processurum: a reliquo equitatu desertum, multitudine hostili urgente, sicut ruina aggeris magni oppressum atque dejectum est: steterunt improtecti pedites, ita concatervatis manipulis, ut vix mucronem exerere, aut manus reducere quiscquam posset. Nec jam objectu pulveris cælum patere potuit ad prospectum, clamoribus resultans horrificis. Qua causa tela undique mortem vibrantia, destinata cadebant & noxia, quod nec prævideri poterant nec caveri. Verum ubi effusi immensis agminibus barbari jumenta conterebant & viros, & neque ad receptum confertis ordinibus laxari usquam poterat locus, & evadendi copiam constipatio densior adimebat: nostri quoque ultimo cadendi contemptu occursantes receptis gladiis obtruncabant, & mutuis securium ictibus galeæ perfringebantur atque loricae. Videreque licebat celsum ferocia barbarum, genis stridore constrictis, succiso poplite aut abscissa ferro dextera, vel confosso latere, inter ipsa quoque mortis confinia minaciter circumferentem oculos truces: ruinaque confligentium mutua, ac humo corporibus stratis, campi peremptis impleti sunt: & morientium gemitus, profundisque vulneribus transfixorum, cum timore audiebantur ingenti. In hoc tanto tamque confusæ rei tumultu exhausti labore & periculis pedites, cum deinceps neque vires illis, neque mentes suppetere ad con-

silium, diffractis hastarum plerisque collisione assidua, gladiis contenti destitutis in confertas hostium turmas mergebant se, fatalis immemores, circumspicientes, ademptum esse omne evadendi suffragium. Et quia humus, rivis operta sanguineis, gressus habiles evertibat, conabantur modis omnibus vitam impendere non inultam: adeo magno animorum robore oppositi incumbentes, ut etiam telis quidam propriis interirent. Atra denique cruoris facie omnia conturbante, & quocunque se inflexerant oculi acervis cæsum aggestis, exanimata cadavera sine parcimonia calcabantur. Solique sublimior, decurso leone, ad domicilium cælestis virginis transiens, Romanos magis attenuatos inedia, sitique confectos etiam armorum gravantibus sarcinis exurebat. At ultimum incumbente barbarorum pondere acies inclinata nostrorum, quod solum postremis malis habuere subsidium, incondite (qua quisque poterat) vertuntur in pedes. Dumque omnes dispersi per ignotos tramites cedunt, imperator diris pavoribus circumseptus, paulatimque insiliens funerum moles, ad Lancearios confugit & Mattiarios: qui, dum multitudo tolerabatur hostilis, fixis corporibus steterant inconcussi. Eoque viso Trajanus exclamat, spem omnem absumptam, nisi desertus ab armigeris princeps saltem adventicio tegeretur auxilio. Hocque audito Victor nomine comes, BATAVOS in subsidiis locatos haud procul ad imperatoris præsidium raptim cogere properans, cum invenire neminem posset, gradiens retro discessit: parique modo Richomeres periculo semet exemit, & Saturninus. Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari nostros, jam linquente venarum calore torpentes: quorum aliqui percussoribus cadebant incertis, nonnulli ponderibus solis urgentium obruti, ictuque suorum aliqui trucidati: nec enim sæpe renitentibus cedebatur, aut parcebat cedentibus quisquam.

Super

Siege, for Want of necessary Arms and Ammunition (1): And this Inexperience in the Art of War seems to have been one of the principal Reasons, why the *Goths*, and other *German* Nations, could not keep Possession of the Countries they conquer'd. They marched to *Perinthus*, but, finding that Place likewise too well fortified, ravag'd only the adjacent Country. They, nevertheless, thought it, soon after, possible to surprize *Constantinople*: But they found the City much better provided for than they expected, and the Inhumanity of the *Saracens*, who then lay in that City, is said, in particular, to have deterr'd them from their Design: For when they made a Sally on a Party of *Goths*, a *Saracen*, taking one of them Prisoner, cut his Throat alive, and suck'd the warm Blood from the Wound (2). This horrid Cru-

Z z 2

elty,

Super his obstruebant itinera jacentes multi semineces, cruciatus vulnerum non ferentes: cum quibus aggeres quoque equorum constrati cadaveribus campos implerunt. Diremit hæc nunquam pensabilia damna (quæ magno rebus steterè Romanis) nullo splendore lunari nox fulgens.

§ XXV. (1) *The Siege is described by Marcellinus, l. c. cap. 15. p. 501.* Omni itaque bellandi apparatu præstructo, adventante vigilia tertia, barbari abolito præteritorum vulnerum metu, in urbis obseratos aditus multiplicatis ordinibus inundarunt, & obstinatione magnatum majore. At cum armatis provinciales & palatini ad obruendos eos excitatius exsurgebant: & cujusquemodi tela, in multitudine tanta vel temere missa, cadere sine noxa non poterant. Animadversum est a nostris, iisdem telis barbaros uti, quibus petebantur. Ideoque mandatum est, ut nervis ferrum lignumque connectentibus ante jactum incisiss, emitterentur arcu sagittæ: quæ volitantes vires integras inservabant: infixæ vero corporibus, nihil vigoris perdebant, aut certe si cecidissent in vanum, illico frangebantur. Dedit autem rebus ita flagrantibus grave momentum casus admodum inopinus. Scorpio, genus tormenti, quem onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat, e regione contra hostium aciem densam locatus, lapidem contorsit ingentem: qui licet humo frustra illisus est, visus tamen ita eos exanimavit, ut, stupore spectaculi novi cedentes, e medio abire tentarent. Sed

bucinis optimatum monitu occinentibus, instauratum est prælium: & pari modo res Romana superior stetit, nullo ferme alio telo, vel fundatoris amento incassum excusso. Agmina enim præeuntium ductorum, quos rapiendi Valentis malis lucubrationibus quæsitæ cupiditas incendebat, secuti cæteri præ se ferebant, æquiparasse discrimina potiorum, namque semineces aliqui, aut magnis obtriti ponderibus, vel confixi jaculis pectora volvebantur: nonnulli scalas vehendo, adscensumque in muros ex latere omni parantes, sub oneribus ipsis obruebantur, contrusis per pronum saxis, & columnarum fragmentis & cylindris. Nec quemquam furentium cruoris horrenda species ad serum usque diem ab alacritate faciendi fortiter avertebat: hoc incitante, quod etiam defensorum plurimos cadere diversis ictibus videntes eminus lætabantur. Ita sine requie ulla vel modo pro mœnibus & contra mœnia ingentibus animis pugnabatur. Et quia nullo ordine jam, sed per præcursorum pugnabatur & globos, quod desperationis erat signum extremæ, flexo in vesperam die digressi omnes rediere ad tentoria tristes, inconsideratæ dementiæ alter alterum arguentes, quod non ut suaserat antea Fritigernus, obsidionales ærumnas ubique declinarunt.

(2) *Idem, l. c. cap. 16, p. 502.* Unde Constantinopolim, copiarum cumulis inhiantes amplissimis, formas quadratorum agminum insidiarum metu servantes, ire ociosæ festinabant, multa in exitium urbis inclinatæ mol-

elty, which was still practis'd among the *Saracens*, even in the Time of the *Croisades* (3), appear'd shocking to the *Goths* and *Alani*, however barbarous they themselves are said to have been in War. They made themselves Masters of the Pass into *Illyricum*, and over-run those Provinces, as far as the *Julian* or *Venetian Alps*, which separated them from *Italy* (4). The *Romans* suffer'd every where so greatly by these Incurfions, as to occasion a Proverb, that as the *Goths* could not withstand the *Hunns*, so the *Romans* were incapable of opposing the *Goths* (5). The *Sarmatæ*, *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* were not idle, on this Occasion, but likewise passed the *Danube*; and thereupon ensued that terrible Devastation of those Provinces, of which St. *Jerom* gives an Account (6); and which appear'd so frightful to St. *Ambrosius*, that he

molituri. Quos inferentes sese immodice, obicesque portarum pæne pulsantes, hoc casu cœleste repulit numen. Saracenorum cuneus, (super quorum origine moribusque diversis in locis retulimus plura) ad sortem magis expeditionalium rerum, quam ad concursatorias habilis pugnas, recens illuc accersitus, congressurus, barbarorum globo repente conspecto, a civitate fidenter erupit: diuque extento certamine pertinaci, æquis partes discessere momentis. Sed orientalis turma novo neque ante viso superavit eventum. Ex ea enim crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, subraucum & lugubre strepens, educto pugione agmini se medio Gothorum inseruit, & interfecti hostis jugulo labra admovit, effusumque cruorem exfluxit. Quo monstroso miraculo barbari territi, postea non ferocientes ex more, cum agendum appeterent aliquid, sed ambiguis gressibus incedebant.

(3) LAMB. SCHAFFNAB. ad A. 1065. Ubi de episcopis aliquot Germaniæ, in peregrinatione Hierosolymitana a Saracenis in villa quadam obsessis, scribit: Dux Arabum ait, se omnibus, quæ haberent sublati, carnes eorum comesturum, & sanguinem bibiturum. Marianus Scotus ad eundem A. de Gunthero episcopo Babenbergensi: Episcopus vero per interpretem ait: quid mihi facies? Et ille (dux Arabum) istum pulchrum sanguinem gutturis tui sugam, & suspendam te sicut canem ante castellum.

(4) MARCELLINUS, l. c. Processu dein

audacia fracta, cum murorum ambitum insularumque spatiis immensis oblongum, & inaccessible pulchritudines urbis, & incolentium plebem considerarent immensam, juxtaque fretum, quod pontum determinat & Ægeum: disjectis bellorum officinis quas parabant, post accepta majora funera quam illata, exinde digressi sunt effusorie per Arctoas provincias: quas peragrare licenter adusque radices Alpium Juliarum, quas Venetas appellabat antiquitas.

(5) EUNAPIUS, p. 21, A. Neque Hunnorum nomen Scythas, neque Romanos Scytharum ferre.

(6) HIERONYMUS, epist. 95. which is suppos'd to have been written in the Year 396, Horret animus temporum nostrorum ruinas persequi. Viginti & eo amplius anni sunt, quod inter Constantinopolim & Alpes Julias quotidie Romanus sanguis effunditur: Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Dardaniam, Daciam, Thessaliam, Achaiam, Dalmatiam, cunctasque Pannonias Gothus, Sarmata, Quadus, Alanus, Hunni, Wandali, Marcomanni vastant, trahunt, rapiunt. Quot matronæ, quot virgines dei, & ingenua nobiliaque corpora his belluis fuere ludibrio! Capti episcopi, presbyteri interfecti sunt. Subversæ ecclesiæ, ad altaria Christi stabulati equi, martyrum exossæ reliquæ, ubique gemitus, & plurima mortis imago. Romanus orbis ruit, & tamen cervix nostra erecta non flectitur.

repre-

represented them to the *Christians*, as Indications of the approaching Dissolution of the World (7).

§ XXVI. BEFORE this bloody Scene broke out in *Thrace*, many Massacre of the *Goths* had taken Refuge into *Asia*, or were sent thither, and di- the *Goths* in-
perfed in those Parts, by the Emperor. *Julius*, General of those Troops *Asia*.
which lay beyond Mount *Taurus*, fear'd lest these might now likewise become seditious, or join their Country-Men, if they should invade *Asia*, as they had done in former Times. There had been, from the Beginning, the Precaution taken, of putting them under *Roman* Officers: And to these Officers *Julius* issued private Orders, to massacre all the *Goths*, who were under their Command, on one Day (1). This was immediately executed, which did, perhaps, save *Asia* at that Time, but so incensed the *Goths*, that they revenged the Death of their Country-Men in a more sensible Manner, in other Places, and, from that Time, discover'd a more than ordinary Diffidence, in all their Negotiations with the *Romans*.

§ XXVII. BUT the Devastation would have been much greater (1), *Gratian* en-
had not *Gratian* been in the Neighbourhood. He took Compassion of deavours to
the distress'd Provinces, as far as the Overthrow, and the Terror which withstand
it had occasion'd, would permit him; and to this must be referr'd the *Goths*, *A-*
what *Ausonius* says of his Exploits against the *Goths*, *Alani* and *Hunns*. De-
Hunns declares *Theo-*
dofius Empe-
ror in the
East.

(7) AMBROSIIUS, *commentar. in evangel. Lucæ*, L. 10. p. 202. Verborum autem cœlestium nulli magis quam nos testes sumus, quos mundi finis invenit. Quanta enim prælia, & quas opiniones accipimus præliorum! Hunni in Alanos, Alani in Gothos, Gothi in Thaisalos & Sarmatas insurrexerunt. Nos quoque in Illyrico exules patria Gothorum exilia fecerunt, & nondum est finis. Quæ omnium fames, lues pariter boum atque hominum cæterique pecoris, ut etiam nos, qui bellum non pertulimus, debellatis tamen pares fecerit pestilentia. Ergo quia in occasu sæculi sumus, præcedunt quædam ægritudines mundi. He soon after proceeds: Prædicetur evangelium, ut sæculum destruat. Sicut enim præcessit in orbem terræ evangelii prædicatio, cui jam & Gothi & Armeni crediderunt, & ideo mundi finem videmus.

efficacia Julii magistri militiæ trans Taurum enituit salutaris & velox. Comperta enim factorum sorte per Thracias, Gothos antea susceptos, dispersosque per varias civitates & castra, datis teñtioribus litteris ad eorum rectores Romanos omnes, quod his temporibus raro contingit, universos, tanquam vexillo erecto, uno eodemque die mandavit occidi, expectatione promissi stipendii securos ad suburbana productos. Quo consilio prudenti sine strepitu vel mora completo, orientales provinciæ discriminibus ereptæ sunt magnis. Zosimus relates this Proceeding with Circumstances somewhat different, L. 4. c. 26. and, at the same Time, makes it appear, that this happen'd at the Beginning of Theodosius's Reign.

§ XXVII. (1) THEMISTIUS represents this Calamity in a very lively Manner, *orat. 16. ad Theodos. de pace*, p. 206. D. Nam post inexplicabilem illam apud Istrum malorum illidem,

§ XXVI. (1) MARCEL. *l.c.p. 503*. His diebus

Hunns (2): But as his own Domiaions were not spared, and the *East* required an Emperor alone, who might govern, and go to the Field in Person; and his Brother *Valentinian* being yet too young; he pitch'd upon *Theodosius*, whom he had, just before, recall'd from *Spain*, dignified him, in the Beginning of the Year 379, on the 19th of *January*, with the Title of *Augustus* (3), and put him in Possession, not only of those Provinces, which appertain'd before to the *East*, but a Part of the adjacent *Illyricum*; which gave Rise to the *Illyricum Orientale*. He endeavour'd, thereupon, to establish Peace in those Countries which he had retained for his own Share; and *Theodosius*, who had before acquired great Renown, by several successful Exploits, encreased that Fame by a victorious Battle with the *Goths* (4). Whereupon, a Peace, indeed,

dem, postque deplorandam istius incendii vastitatem, cum nondum Romanis rebus præfesset imperator, direpta Thracia, & Illyrico, ac totis funditus instar umbræ deletis exercitibus, cumque nec impervia montium juga, nec impenetrabiles propter altitudinem fluvii, nec asperrimi angustorum itinerum calles hostem aditu prohiberent: ac postremo tota propemodum adversus barbaros in unum terra & mare coiisset, atque illos circa utrinque circumfiderent Celtæ, Assyrii, Armeni, Afri, Iberi, quotquot ab extremis finibus ad extremos Romanum propugnant imperium, &c.

(2) *Ausonii edyllium* 8, which bears the Title of *Ausonii cos, designati, prid. kal. Januarii fascibus sumtis, and was, consequently, compos'd, A. 378, on the last of November, when, on the following Day, he was to enter upon the Consulship, for the Year 379, contains the following Verses relating to this History:*

Jane, veni; novus anne, veni: renovate veni sol
Hostibus edomitis, qua Francia mixta Suevis
Certat ad obsequium, Latiis ut militet armis:
Qua vaga Sauromatas sibi junxerat agmina Chuni,
Quaque Getes fociis, Histrum adsubat Alanis.
Hoc mihi præpetibus victoria nuntiat alis.

Jam venit Augustus, nostros ut comat honores.

Officio exornans, quos participare cupisset.

(3) *AUR. VICTOR, epit. c. 47.* Hic cum animadvertisset, Thraciam Daciamque tanquam genitales terras possidentibus Gothis, Taifalis, atque omni pernicie atrocioribus Hunnis, & Alanis, extremum periculum instare nomini Romano; accito ab Hispania Theodosio, cunctis faventibus, agenti annum a tricesimo tertium, imperium committit.

(4) *ZOSIMUS, L. 4. c. 24. p. 399.* Rebus ad spem minutissimam redactis, dux equitatus Romani Victor, e periculo cum nonnullis equitibus elapsus, quum in Macedoniam Thessaliamque contendisset, atque inde ad Myfos & Pannonias excurrisset; Gratiano in iis locis commoranti rem uti accidisset, nuntiat: itemque tam exercitus quam imperatoris interitum. Ille non admodum mœsto patrui eadem animo tulit, quod inter eos suspicio quædam intercederet. Sed quia videbat, se rebus administrandis non sufficere, Thracia quidem a barbaris qui eam invaserant, occupata: Myfiæ vero Pannoniæque locis, ab hærentibus ibidem barbaris, vexatis: Rhenanis denique nationibus urbes, citra cujusquam impedimentum, infestantibus: imperii consortem Theodosium deligit, oriundum ex oppido Hispanicæ Callæciæ Cauca, hominem bellicosum

deed ensued, but was of short Duration. For when *Theodosius* was, soon after, dangerously ill at *Thessalonica*, and *Gratian* had enough to do, in *Gaul*, *Fritigernus* form'd the Design of ravaging *Thessalia*, *Epirus* and *Achaia*; and the two *Ostro-Gothick* Princes, *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, invaded *Pannonia* (5). *Gratian* sent two renowned *Franco-nian* Generals, *Bauto* and *Arbogastes*, to the *East*, (6) to assist *Theodosius* in repelling the Enemy, and they afterwards became famed in History.

sum & imperii militaris haud ignarum. Hoc Thraciæ rebus & orienti præfecto, ipse ad occidentales Gallos tendit; ut eorum locorum res, si posset, componeret. *These Circumstances are likewise confirmed by other Historians.* Socrates, L. 5. c. 6. Per illud tempus, ubi Gratianus & Theodosius victoriam contra barbaros reportaverant, Gratianus extemplo propterea in Galliam profectus est, quod Germani fuerant ejus regionis agros depopulati. Theodosius autem post erecta trophæa, Constantinopolim ire maturans, Thessalonicam pervenit. Ibi in morbum incidens, cupiebat baptismo donari. Sozomenus, L. 8. c. 4. Sub hoc tempus Gratianus, Alemannis Galatas occidentales adhuc infestantibus, ad paternam imperii sortem reversus est, quam ipsi, fratrique ipsius gubernandam reliquerat, cum prius Illyricos, & orientis imperium Theodosio commisisset. Res autem illi ex voto contra Alemannos, ut & Theodosio contra Istrum accolentes barbaros confecta fuit. Illos enim bello subegit, hos in amicitiam populi Romani supplices recepit: a quibus acceptis obsidibus firmata pace, Thessalonicam venit. Ibi morbo correptus, cum per Ascholium ejus urbis episcopum fidei mysteria edoctus esset, Christo initiatus fuit & convaleuit. *That Circumstance, in particular, of Gaul's being endanger'd, is moreover confirmed in Latini Pacati Panegyricus, c. 11. where the Orator introduces the Roman Empire, as addressing Theodosius, at the same Time, when Gratian nominated him Emperor, in this Manner: Perdidisti infortunata Pannonias, lugeo lunus Illyrici: specto excidium Galliarum.*

Principum senior in tanta bella non sufficit : alter etsi futurus sit aliquando fortissimus, adhuc tamen parvus est. *The Advantages gained by Theodosius over the Goths, in the Year 379, are mention'd by Idatius, in fastis ad h. a. Ipso illo anno multa bella Romani cum Gothis commiserunt. Deinde victoriæ nuntiatae sunt adversus Gothos, Alanos atque Hunnos die XV. kal, Decembris.*

(5) JORNAND. c. 27. p. 205. Sed Theodosio principe pæne tunc usque ad desperationem ægrotante, datur iterum Gothis audacia, divisoque exercitu, Fridigernus ad Thessaliam prædandam, Epiros, & Achaïam digressus est: Alatheus vero & Safrach cum residuis copiis Pannoniam petierunt. Quod quum Gratianus imperator, qui tunc Roma in Gallias ob incursionem Wandalorum recesserat, comperisset, quia Theodosio fatali desperatione succumbente, Gothi magis sævirent, mox ad eos collecto venit exercitu, nec tamen fretus in armis, sed gratia eos muneribusque victurus, pacemque, & victualia illis concedens, cum ipsis inito fœdere fecit. Ubi vero post hæc, Theodosius convaluit imperator reperitque Gratianum cum Gothis & Romanis pepigisse fœdus, quod ipse optaverat, admodum grato animo ferens, & ipse in hac pace consistit. Zosimus relates these very Incursions of the Gothick Princes more circumstantially, L. 4. c. 25, & sequ.

(6) **ZOSIMUS, L. 4. c. 33.** Erant am-
bo genere Franci, amicissimis in Romanos
animis, ab avaritia, donisque captandis
profsus immunes, in bellicis rebus prudentia
pariter ac robore præstantes.

A Treaty
with the
Goths.

§ XXVIII. BUT it would be difficult to observe an exact Order in relating the Circumstances of this War (1). We only find, that *Theodosius*, before he came, A. 380, in the Month of *November*, to *Constantinople*, defeated a Part of the *Goths*, and drove them back over the *Danube*, and admitted others on certain Terms: For his Entrance into the Capitol is a Kind of Triumph over the *Goths*, and, as it were, the Beginning of a Tranquility in the State, and a Security to the Church, which had so long groaned under the Oppression of the *Arians*, in the *East* (2). Whilst he was thus occupied with the *Goths*, *Gratian* seems, on his Part, to have appeas'd the *Alani* and *Hunns*, who, as well as the *Goths*, had been making some Attempts; and having assign'd them a certain District, somewhere in *Pannonia* (3), to have restored Peace in *Gaul*, likewise (4).

§ XXIX.

§. XXVIII. (1) Besides what has been mentioned in the preceding Sect. of *Theodosius's* first Exploits against the *Goths*, it appears likewise, from *Sidonius Apollinaris's* carmen Panegyricum in *Majorianum*, that the same Emperor's Grand-Father commanded at that Time under *Theodosius*, and was successful against the *Goths*, carm. 5. v. 107.

Fertur, Pannoniæ qua Martia pollet
Acincus
Illyricum rexisse solum, cum tractibus
Istri
Hujus avus. Nam *Theodosius* quo tem-
pore *Sirmi*
Augustum sumsit nomen, per utramque
magistrum
Militiam, ad partes regni venturus
Eoas
Majorianum habuit.

Alaric, on the other Hand, distinguished himself even then among the Gothick Commanders, as is observed in the following Book.

(2) *GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS* says, that *Theodosius* beat the *Goths*, before he came, the first Time, to *Constantinople*, as Emperor. in carmine de vita sua, p. 10.

— dum statu nos hoc sumus
En imperator nobis advenit repens

Terra ex Macedna, Marte domitis barbaris.
Stimularat ingens quos manus & ingens furor.

MARCELLINUS, in chr. p. 20. *Gratiano* augusto V. & *Theodosio* aug. coff. Nam his coff. *Theodosius* M, postquam de *Scythicis* gentibus triumphavit, expulsis continuo ab orthodoxorum ecclesia *Arianis*, qui eam per XL ferme annos sub *Arianis* imperatoribus tentaverant, nostris catholicis orthodoxus restituit imperator eam mense Decembri.

(3) *MARQ. FREHERUS*, in originibus palantis, P. 2. c. 10. is of Opinion, that he assign'd to the *Hunns* that District on the *Rhine*, which is still call'd *Hundsrück*: He refers to the following Passage in *Ausonius's* *Mosella*:

Transferam celerem nebuloso flumine
Navam:
Unde iter ingrediens nemorosa per avia
solum
Et nulla humani spectans vestigia cultus
Prætereo arentem sitientibus undique
terris
Dummissum, riguasque perenni fonte
tabernas
Arvaque Sauromatum nuper metata
colonis.

§ XXIX. I OBSERVED before, that the *Gothick* Prince *Athanaric*, notwithstanding the Irruption of the *Hunns*, stood his Ground, on the other Side of the *Danube*. But, about the Year 380, he was drove away by some other *Goths*, proably those who, by Virtue of the Peace concluded with the *Romans*, were oblig'd to go back over that River. Necessity now made him forget the Pretence, he had formerly made, for not passing the *Danube*, to the Emperor *Valens*. He had Recourse to *Theodosius*, who concluded an advantageous Treaty with him, by Virtue of which he repaired to *Constantinople*. He arrived there in the Beginning of the Year 381 (1), and, together with his Retinue, was received very graciously by *Theodosius*. He was himself almost astonish'd, when he saw, in that City, the external Tokens of the Power of the Empire, how the *Goths* had been able to do so much against it; but he died a few Days afterwards, and the Emperor honour'd him with a pompous Funeral, at which he himself walk'd before the Corpse. How great the Renown of this Prince must have been, we may conclude not only from *Zozimus* (2), *Jornandes* (3),

But it is Matter of Doubt, whether by *Coloni Sauromatum* the *Hunns* are understood: *Ausonius*, otherwise, always distinguishes them, as in *Edyll. 8.*

Qua vaga Sauromates sibi junxerat agmina Chuni
Quaque Getes sociis Histrum affulbat Alanis:

And, Epigr. 1.

Arma inter Chunosque vagos furtoque nocentes
Sauromatas.

(4) See the Quotations from *Zosimus*, *Socrates*, and *Sozomenus*, in the preceding Sect. not. 4.

§. XXIX. (1) d. 11. Jan. *Monf. de Tillemont* mentions the Time of his Arrival, and the Circumstances of his Death; not. 9. ad vit. *Theodosii*.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. 4. c. 34. Dum hæc *Theodosius* ageret, *Gratianus* imperator ad legiones *Illyrici* ducem mittit *Vitalianum*,

hominem, qui rebus fatiscientibus nequaquam sufficere posset. Hoc ducis munus administrante, duo Germanicarum trans *Rhenum* nationum agmina, quorum alterum ducem *Fritigernum* habebat, alterum sub *Alatheo* & *Safrace* militabat, dum *Celticas* gentes premunt; *Gratianum* imperatorem eo compulerunt, ut ipsis, modo regiones *Celticas* reliquissent, *Istro* transjecto, *Pannoniæ* *Myfiæ*que superioris adeundæ potestatem faceret. Hoc enim studiose agebat, ut horum irruptione continua liberaretur. Quum igitur ob hæc illi navigatione per *Istrum* instituta, transire per *Pannoniam* in *Epirum*, & *Achelao* transmissio, *Græcas* adgredi civitates cogitarent: prius commeatus sibi copiam comparandam, & *Athanasium* totius regii *Scytharum* generis principem, longe removendum arbitrabantur; ne quem haberent a tergo, qui conatum ipsorum impediret. Hunc igitur adorti, nullo labore locis iis, in quibus erat, expulerunt. At is celeriter ad *Theodosium* se contulit, non ita pridem morbo liberatum, qui spem de vita dubiam fecerat. *Theodosius* hominem cum barbaris comitibus amanter excipit, spatium non

(3), and other Historians (4), who observe this as a memorable Occurrence, and from *Themistius* (5), who mentions it as one of the most glorious

non exiguum extra Constantinopolim obviam ei progressus. Quumque non multo post extinctus fuisset, regia sepultura mortuum terra mandavit. Et tantam sane magnificentiam adhibuit, ut tam superbo funere barbaris omnibus obstupefactis, Scythæ domum redirent, nec Romanos amplius infestarent, bonitatem principis admirati: quotquot autem cum rege vita defuncto venerant, custodiendæ ripæ fluminis intenti, diu, quo minus incursionibus Romani vexarentur, impedirent. *Some Circumstances of this Relation are, indeed, dubious; but it is nevertheless evident, that Fritigernus, Alatheus and Safrax, must be here understood. Now, since Marcellinus, L. 27. c. 5. says of Athanaricus, Valens Constantinopolim rediit, ubi postea Athanaricus proximorum factione genitalibus terris expulsus, fatali sorte decessit, &, ambiciosus obsequiis, ritu sepultus est nostro: It is possible, that the Gothick Princes, mentioned by Zosimus, or one of them, is meant by the Words proximorum factione.*

(3) JORNANDES, c. 28. Athanaricum quoque regem, qui tunc Fritigerno successerat, datis sibi muneribus sociavit moribus suis benignissimis, & ad se eum in Constantinopolim accedere invitavit. Qui omnino libenter acquiescens, regiam urbem ingressus est, miransque: En, inquit, cerno quod sæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis, & huc illuc oculos volens, nunc situm urbis, com meatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara prospectu miratur, populosque diversarum gentium, quasi fonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente unda, sic quoque militem adornatum aspiciens. Deus, inquit, sine dubio terrenus est imperator, & quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit. In tali ergo admiratione, majoreque a principe honore suffultus, paucis mensibus interjectis, ab hac luce migravit. Quum princeps affectionis gratia pæne plus mortuum, quam vivum honorans, digne tradidit sepulturæ: ipse quoque in exequiis feretro ejus præiens. Defuncto ergo Athanarico, cunctus exercitus in servitio Theodosii

imperatoris perdurans, Romano se imperio subdens, cum milite velut unum corpus efficit, militiaque illa dudum sub Constantio principe fœderatorum renovata, & ipsi dicti sunt fœderati. E quibus imperator contra Eugenium tyrannum, qui occiso Gratiano Gallias occupasset, plus quam XX millia armatorum, fideles sibi, & amicos intelligens secum duxit, victoriaque de prædicto tyranno potitus, ultionem exegit. *The Relations of Zosimus and Jornandes vary, indeed, in Regard to the Circumstance, why Athanaric quitted his Country: But we follow Zosimus, because he agrees with what has been cited from Marcellinus, Ambrosius, and Themistius.*

(4) IDATIUS, in fastis SYAGRIO & EULCHERIO COSS. His consulibus ingressus est Athanaricus rex Gothorum Constantinopolim die III. idus Januar. Eodem mense diem functus idem Athanaricus VIII. kal. Febr. *The Chronicle says: Athanaricus rex Gothorum apud Constantinopolim decimo quinto die, ex quo a Theodosio fuerat susceptus, interiit. Chronic. Marcellini: Athanaricus rex Gothorum, cum quo Theodosius imperator fœdus pepigerat, Constantinopolim mense Januario venit, eodemque mense morbo periit. The other Historians are all of the same Opinion: And Tillemont observes, not. 8. and 9. ad vit. Valentiniani, the Errors, that are crept in.*

(5) THEMISTIUS orat. 15. p. 190. C. Quo fit, ut nemo, solo tui conspectu, omnem ex animo metum non excutiat. Quamobrem cui inter hostes hætenus vel ipsa erant suspecta fœdera, ut nec mensæ particeps præ suspicione auderet esse, sine ferro & armis accedit ultro, & ad nutum se tuum offerre paratum non dubitat: certus, non pro hoste tractandum esse se, sed itidem ut Porum Indorum regem adhibuit Alexander, aut Artaxerxes Atheniensem Themistoclem, aut Romani Afrum Massanissam. Itaque quos armis vincere non potuimus, eos fide tua, ac sponte excitos, conciliatos habemus. Et quemadmodum a magnete lapide attrahuntur ultro ramenta ferrea: sic ipse sine labore

rious Incidents of *Theodosius's* Reign; but even from *St. Ambrosius* (6), who extols it as a Token, that the Wrath of God was appeas'd. The kind Reception the Emperor gave *Athanasius*, and the Offers he made the *Goths* by *Saturninus*, his General, occasion'd them, more and more, to submit: Whence the entire Pacification of the *Goths* is suppos'd to have been in the Year 382. *Themistius's* congratulatory Oration to the Emperor, on that Occasion, in which he likewise extols *Saturninus*, who obtained the Consulship for the next ensuing Year is yet extant (7). The *Goths* themselves had a Habitation assign'd them in *Moësia* and *Dacia Ripensis*. Some have, indeed, reproach'd *Theodosius*, with having admitted too many Foreigners into the *Roman* Dominions (8): But *Themistius* acknowledges, that it would not have been so easy a Matter to subdue the *Goths*; and extols it as an Artifice, by which the Emperor converted Enemies into Friends and Subjects (9): And other Historians agree in this, that the *Roman*

bore ac prælio Getarum attraxisti regulum, (δυνασ'ν) & superbus ille quondam, ac timidus, sponte ad te venit, ac supplex regiam civitatem ingreditur: cujus ad placandum parentem maximus ille *Constantinus* statuam olim erexerat, quæ post curiam adhuc collocata cernitur.

(6) *AMBROSIIUS de spiritu sancto, L. I. in pr. p. 214.* Tu nobis, domine Jesu! hodie mille mundasti. Quantos in urbe *Roma*, quantos *Alexandriæ*, quantos *Antiochiæ*, quantos etiam *Constantinopoli*? Nam etiam *Constantinopolis* jam dei verbum recepit, & evidentiâ meruit tui documenta judicii: Etenim quamdiu venena *Arianorum* suis fovebat inclusa visceribus, bellis finitimis inquieta, murus armis circumsonabat hostilibus. Postea vero quam fidei exules abdicavit, hostem ipsum, judicem regum, quem semper timere consueverat, deditum vidit, supplicem recepit, morientem obruit, sepultum possidet.

(7) *Conf. THEMISTII oratio 16. gratulatoria ad imperatorem, de pace & de consulatu Saturnini ducis.*

(8) *SYNESIUS openly blames Theodosius for his Oration, on the good Disposition of the Government, which he afterwards address'd to the Emperor Arcadius, p. 25. C.* Quibus de causis cum parenti tuo adversus eos cum armis profecto pœnas dependissent, confestim miserî ac supplices cum uxoribus confidebant.

Ille vero bene victor, misericordia longe inferior erat. Supplices itaque surgere jussos in belli societatem ac civitatis recepit; magistratumque participes fecit, ac *Romani* agri non nihil istis reipubl. pestibus assignavit; vir indolis magnificentiam & generositatem ad mansuetudinem, clementiamque convertens. Verum barbari sensum virtutis minime capiunt. Inde enim exorti in hunc usque diem nos derident, sibi ipsis eorum conscii, tam quæ de nobis meriti essent, quam quibus sunt a nobis affecti. Ejus rei fama finitimis quoque illorum aditum ad nos patefecit, & ex peregrinis equestres aliquot sagittarii, relicta patria, ad homines nimium faciles proficiscuntur, comiter ac benigne excipi sese postulantes, atque in exemplum sibi nequiores illos propositos habentes. Ita, ut ad eam, quam vulgus vocat, persuasionem cum necessitate conjunctam malum ipsum progredi videatur. Philosophiæ enim non multum de nominibus pugnandum, quæ administras sententiarum suarum voces requirit, licet eas ex ima facie populi, ad res explicandas, dilucidas, ac consentaneas corrogare necesse sit.

(9) *ZOSIMUS, L. 4. c. 30.* Quum autem *Theodosius* imperator admodum deminutos exercitus animadverteret, *Transistrianis* barbaris ad se veniendi, quicunque velent, potestatem fecit, &c.

Armies were almost exhausted, and that it was necessary to furnish the State with Soldiers, in this Manner (10). The ancient *Romans* had frequently, with great Advantage, admitted their Enemies to be their Fellow Citizens, and knew how to turn those Counsels, and that Valour, which had before opposed *Rome*, to her Benefit: But as they would not now go so far with the *Goths*, it seems, indeed, as if it would have been more adviseable, to disperse and intermix them with the Army, or at least to put them under the Command of *Roman* Officers. And here the *Roman* Empire became sensible how fatal the Consequences were of a Breach of publick Faith; and it has already been observed by others, that, as the *Goths*, knowing by Experience, how little they could confide in the *Romans*, made it an express Article of their Agreement, that they would remain together, and be commanded by their own Chiefs (11). Of these *Goths*, the Emperor form'd a Body of above 20,000 Men, in like manner, as *Constantine, the Great*, had done before him (12). And as these are the very *Goths*, who afterwards made so great a Figure under *Alaric*, it is evident that all these Things are chiefly to be understood of the *Wisi-Goths*. Now, tho' the formidable Power of the *Gothick* Empire met with such a Shock; yet not only the *Ostro-Goths*, in a great Measure, supported themselves. as a Seperate People, in the Midst of those Nations, who

(10) *THEMISTIUS orat. 16. p. 211.* At ecce odiosissimum illud Scytharum nomen quam gratum modo est, quamque modo jucundum! quam modo & familiare! solemnem ecce illius in honorem ducis, a quo magno suo commodo victi sunt, indictam celebritatem nobiscum frequentant, ac reportato de se triumpho, festivam hilariter una peragunt. Quod si non omnes occisione deleti sunt, minime est ægre ferendum. Nam quæ persuasione ac clementia obtinentur victoriæ, tales sunt, ut eos, qui molesti fuerunt, non interimant, sed meliores efficiant. Fingamus enim facile id nobis fuisse, illos e medio tollere, potuisseque nos quidquid libitum esset ita iis facere, nihil ut ab ipsis vicissim pateremur. Quamquam si ex iis, quæ sæpius evenerunt, conjicere oportet, non erant ista consentanea nec verisimilia, verum, uti dixi, demus hoc in nostra situm esse potestate, utrum nam melius

fuit mortuis replere Thraciam, an agrorum cultoribus? Sepulchris refertam an hominibus reddere? eandem situ squalidam, ac desertam, an exultam peragrarè? cæsos in ea, an aratores numerare? Phrygas aut Bithynos, si res ita ferret, eo transportare, an victos a nobis ad habitandum ibi constituere? Equidem ab iis audio, qui inde veniunt, gladiatorum illos ac loricarum ferrum in ligones falcesque conflare; & Martem e longinquo salutantes Cereri Bacchoque supplicare.

(11) *TILLEMONT, p. 489.* Mais il y a assez sujet de croire, que ces barbares, qui connoissoient l'avarice, l'injustice, les violences, & l'infidélité des officiers Romains, refuserent absolument de se mettre a leur discretion, & ne voulurent consentir a la paix, qu'à condition de demeurer toujours unis ensemble.

(12) *JORNANDES, l. c. in not. 3.*

were before subject to them, as we shall see, in *Attila's* Time; but some *Wisi-Goths* seem likewise to have kept their Ground in their former Habitations (13): Which, if other Circumstances, related of them, would concur, might serve to confirm the Conjecture of those, who imagine the *Germans* in *Transylvania* to be a Residue of the *Goths* (14).

§ XXX. BUT as all the Nations beyond the *Danube*, from the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* to the uttermost Borders of *Scythia*, were roused, by this Fate of the *Goths* (1), and one Nation was continually exciting another, we need not wonder, that the Fame, partly of the Irruption of the *Goths* into the *Roman* Provinces, and partly of their Convention with *Theodosius*, stirr'd up other Nations to the like Attempts. But the Event did not answer their Wishes: For *Zosimus* says (2), that the Emperor oblig'd a Swarm of *Northern* Nations, who were led by the *Scyrri*, of whom we shall take further Notice below, to retire, with great Loss, over the *Danube*. In the Year 486, some *Ostro-Gothick* Nations made a fresh Attempt. *Idatius* observes only briefly, that the *Greuthungi* were overcome, and that *Theodosius*, together with *Arcadius*, held a Triumph, on the 12th of *October*, at *Constantinople* (3): But *Claudian*, who calls them *Gothunni*, relates farther, that *Theodosius* fought this

The *Scyrri* and *Greuthungi* are defeated.

(13) According to the Words of *Zosimus*, which are cited not. 1. and merit, on Account of the Circumstances quoted in not. 3. more Credit, than *Jornandes's* Relation, *Fritigernus*, the *Wisi-Gothick* Prince, drove *Athanasius* before him, and established himself in his Room.

(14) Two learned *Transylvanians* differ in this Point. *Laur. Toppeltinus*, in origin. *Transylvanorum*, c. 3. p. 5. asserts, that, notwithstanding they were generally called *Saxons*, they were Descendants of the *Goths*: But *Valent. Franck*, in orig. nationum, &c. p. 5 and 6, is of a different Opinion, and makes the former Conjecture, at least, very dubious.

§ XXX. (1) *AMMIANUS MARCELL.* L. 31. c. 4. Dum aguntur hæc in externis, novos, majoresque solitis casus versare gentes *Arctōas*, rumores terribiles diffuderunt: per omne quicquid ad *Pontum* a *Marcomannis* prætenditur & *Quadis*, multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum vi subita sedibus pulsam, circa flumen *Histrum*

vagari cum caritatibus suis disseminantes.

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, L. 4. c. 34. Eodem tempore *Theodosio* quidam alii quoque prosperi casus acciderunt. Nam *Scyrros* & *Carpodacos*, permistos *Hunnis*, propulsavit; & prælio superatos *Histrum* transjicere, suasque sedes repetere compulit.

(3) *IDATIUS* in *Chron.* *Greuthingorum* gens a *Theodosio* superatur.

—
IDEM in *fastis*: *HONORIO NOB. & EVODIO COSS.*

His *coff.* victi atque expugnati, atque in *Romaniam* captivi adducti, gens *Greuthingorum* a nostris. *Theodosius* & *Arcadius* deinde cum victoria & triumpho ingressi sunt *Constantinopolim*, die IV idus *Octobris*. *Marcellini chronicon.* ad A. 386. *Honorio Cæsare, & Evodio Coss.* Invasam princeps *Theodosius* ab hostibus *Thraciam* vindicavit, victorque cum *Archadio* filio suo urbem ingressus est. *Claudian*, likewise, places it in this Year.

Battle

Battle in Person, and that *Odotheus*, their General, was slain (4). *Zosimus* likewise takes Notice of this War (5); but attributes all the Glory of it to *Promotus*, General of the Infantry, in *Thrace*, who only invited *Theodosius*, at the last, when the Enemy was in a manner vanquish'd, to assume the Honour of the Victory: And accordingly it was he who set the Prisoners at Liberty, and engag'd them, by Gifts (6), into his Service, to make Use of them against *Maximus*. A Monument of this Victory, obtained over the *Goths*, has surviv'd all the Devastations the City of *Constantinople* has un-

(4) *CLAUDIAN* de IV. conf. Honorii, extols this Victory as a happy Occurrence, whereby Honorius's first Consulate became famous (a Circumstance which confirms the Computation of the Year) and, v. 624, he proceeds thus:

Ausi Danubium quondam transnare
Gothunni
In lintres fregere nemus. tibi mille rue-
bant
Per flaminum plenæ cuneis immanibus
alni
Dux Odothæus erat. tantæ conamina
classis
Incipiens ætas & primus contudit annus
Submersæ sedere rates fluitantia nun-
quam
Largius arctæos pavere cadavera pisces
Corporibus premitur Peuce per quinque
recurrens
Ostia, barbaricos vix egerit unda cru-
ores.
Confessusque parens Odothæi regis o-
pima
Rettulit, exuviasque tibi. civile se-
cundis
Conficis auspiciis bellum. tibi debeat
orbis
Fata Gothunorum debellatumque ty-
rannum.

This Nation is, in the printed Book, indeed, call'd Gothunni, but, from *Idatius*, it appears, that they were the *Greuthungi*: Hence also, in the Words of *Zosimus*, which are quoted in the following Note, instead of *Prothingi* we must read *Grothingi*.

(5) *ZOSIMUS*, L. 4. c. 38. Sub eadem

hæc tempora natio quædam Scythica trans Istrum prodiit, omnibus istuc incolis ignota: quos eorum locorum barbari *Prothingos* appellabant. Hi, cum multitudine abundarent, & armis necessariis instructi essent, præterea robore corporis excellenter: nullo negotio peragratis interjectorum barbarorum terris, ad ipsam usque ripam Istrum pervenerunt, & fluminis transmittendi copiam sibi concedi postularunt. *Promotus* autem, militum in iis locis magister, exercitibus ad ripam fluminis, quam fieri poterat, longissime porrectis, a transitu situ barbaros arcebat. He then at large describes the Preparations made by *Promotus*. He mentions this War more briefly in another Place, c. 35. *Promotus* autem, dux copiarum in *Thracia* pedestrium, *Oedothæo*, qui maximum exercitum, non de Istrum dumtaxat adcolis, verum etiam de remotissimis & ignotis gentibus collegerat, jamque cum militibus suis aderat, & annum transmittibat, cum terrestribus copiis & navigiis fluvialibus occurrens, tantam cædem edidit, ut & ipsum flumen plenum cadaveribus esset, & in terra cæsi non facile numerari possent.

(6) Among the Presents the Emperors used to give to the *Goths*, golden Chains are particularly mentioned: Thus, for Instance, *Zosimus* says, L. 4. c. 40. Erant autem aurei torques ad ornatum eis a principe dati. *Tacitus* says, that a Part of the Pomp of the Ancient Germans, in his Time, consisted therein, de M. G. c. 18. Gaudent finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a singulis, sed publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torquesque.

dergone;

dergone; and is now the more remarkable, as the *Turks* are Enemies to Things of that Kind. *Arcadius*, in Honour of his Father, erected a Column, to the Top of which there was an Ascent, by Steps in the Inside, in the same manner as those at *Rome*, rais'd in Honour of *Trajan* (from whom *Theodosius* descended) and *M. Antoninus*. This Column has, indeed, suffer'd greatly by Earthquakes, and the terrible Conflagrations, which that City has been liable to (7): But what yet remains of it distinguishable, has been delineated by *Gentilis Bellinus*, a Painter of *Venice*, whom *Mahomet II* sent for to *Constantinople* (8), and represents, in some Measure, the Victory obtained over the *Goths*, and their Surrender. The Stature and Habits of the Prisoners, as well as the *Gothick* Princes, who are represented sitting, with their Consorts, on Chariots, drawn by Oxen, are not unlike the Figures on *M. Antoninus's* Column. The Booty is chiefly express'd by Horses and Oxen, for therein probably consisted their greatest Riches: For their excellent Pasture encourag'd them to the Breeding of Cattle, and their Horses were particularly valued for their Service (9). And, if the Idols placed on Camels, and the Priests, leading a Deer, were a Part of this *Gothick* Monument, it is a Sign, that some of that Nation, who were conquer'd by *Theodosius*, or subjected themselves to him, were at that Time still Pagans: And the Sequel will shew, that *Athanasius* persisted in the Idolatry of his Ancestors, long after a great Part of the *Goths* had embrac'd the Christian Faith.

§ XXXI. It likewise prov'd very happy for *Theodosius*, that he established Peace, as far as was in his Power, on the *Danube*: For *Maximus*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, rais'd an Insurrection in the *West*. He pass'd over into *Belgica*, and sail'd up the *Rhine* (1). *Gratian*, who had incurr'd the *Odium* of one Part of the Army, by heaping too great a Share of his Favours and Confidence on some Foreigners (2),

Maximus usurps the Empire of the West.

seeing,

(7) Conf. GILLIUS topograph. Constantinop. L. 4. c. 7.

(8) These Draughts are preserved in the Academy of Painting, at Paris: Claudius Franciscus Menestrier, S. 1. caused them to be engraven; as did after him F. Banduri, who, with the Addition of some brief Explanations, insert'd them in his Imperium orientale. T. 2. p. 8. Conf. id. in præfatione operis generalis, p. 14.

(9) RENATUS in mulo-medicina, l. 4. c. 6. Mulorum longe primo do-

cetur utilitas patientiæ, laboris, frigoris, famis. Toringos deinde, & Burgundios injuriæ tolerant. By the Name of Toringi those Goths are, very probably, meant, whom Ammianus Marcellinus frequently calls Theoringi.

§. XXXI. (1) ZOSIMUS, L. 4. c. 35. Transmisso navibus oceano, ad ostia Rheni adpulerunt.

(2) AUR. VICT. epit. c. 47. Nam dum exercitum negligeret, & paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferret

† A. 383.

being, after an unsuccessful Battle, the discontented Party deserting from him to the Enemy, was forc'd to fly; but being pursued and taken by *Andragathius*, *Maximus's* General, was put to Death †. *Merobaudes*, who was *Magister Utriusque Militiæ*, and had acquired a great Reputation, likewise lost his Life (3). *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* were indeed both obliged to acknowledge their new Partner in the Empire, and the former had Reason to be glad, that *Maximus* had left him *Italy* and *Illyricum*: And we find, in a Letter of St. *Ambrosius*, some Tokens of his having treated, on the Part of *Valentinian*, with *Maximus* (4). We likewise meet with his Account of another Ambassy, in which he was employ'd to treat about a Peace with *Maximus*, at *Triers* (5): But *Maximus* soon after took up Arms, and obliged *Valentinian* to fly to *Thessalonica*. *Theodosius*, who not only owed his Promotion to *Valentinian's* House, but could likewise not expect so many Advantages from *Maximus*, as from him, took his Part, to the utmost of his Power, and met with all the Assistance, he could hope for, from the *Goths* (6). *Maximus's* Army was thereupon beaten near *Seisseg*, on the *Sau*, and near

ferret veteri ac Romano militi, adeoque barbarorum comitatu & prope anicitia capitur, ut nonnunquam eodem habitu iter faceret, odia contra se militum excitavit. Zosimus, l. c. Alanos quosdam transfugos susceptos, & in militum numeris adscriptos muneribus largis cohonestabat, tantique faciebat, ut eis res maximi momenti crederet, nulla ratione suorum militum habita, &c. The Circumstance, mentioned of the Alani, by Victor and Zosimus, is not met with in any other Historian. The two Princes of the Franks, *Bauto* and *Arbogastes*, are, on the contrary, well known to have been in great Esteem, in his Reign, as well as *Merobaudes*.

(3) Conf. *Latini Pacati Panegyricus*, c. 28. *Merobaudes* was Consul, A. 377 and 383: Which it is proper to observe here, because the Learned imagine him to have been a Frank. In the common Editions of Victor's Epitome, we read, at the Conclusion of the 45th Chapter, which contains the Life of *Valentinian the Elder*, the following Passage; Itaque eo mortuo, *Valentinianus* adhuc quadriennis, auctore *Equitio*, ac *Merobaude* propinquo, ubi cum matre fuerat allatus, creatus est imperator. Hence some of the Learned have taken

Occasion to mention *Merobaudes*, as related to *Valentinian*: V. *Ægidii Lacarry historia Christiana imperatorum*, ad A. 377. *Tillemont* supposes him, indeed, p. 235, to be a Frank; but conjectures, that he, probably, married a Relation of the Empress *Justina*, because he is called Propinquus *Valentiniani*. But *Dacier* proves, from ancient Manuscripts, that it must be read, auctore *Equitio* & *Merobaude*, e propinquo ubi cum matre fuerat allatus, creatus est imperator.

(4) *AMBROSIUS*, Epist. 27.

(5) *IBID.*

(6) *LATINI PACATI panegyricus*, c. 32. Postremo populis barbarorum, ultroneam tibi operam fere voventibus, commilitonum munus indulges, ut & limiti manus suspecta decederet, & militi auxiliator accederet. Qua tua benignitate pellectæ omnes Scythicæ nationes tantis examinibus confluebant, ut, quem remiseras tuis, barbaris videreris imperasse dilectum. O res digna memoratu. Ibat sub ducibus vexillisque Romanis hostis aliquando Romanus, &igna, contra quæ steterat, sequebatur, urbisque Pannoniæ, quas inimica dudum populatione vacuaverat, miles impleverat. Gothus ille,

near *Petau* (7). *Theodosius* then continu'd his March thro' *Hemone* †, and pass'd the *Alps*, without Resistance, as far as *Aquileia*, where *Maximus* gave him Battle; but was overcome, himself taken Prisoner, and lost his Head (8). *Theodosius* sent th' renowned *Frank*, *Arbogastes*, whom I have already mention'd, and who had succeeded *Bauto*, as *Magister Militiæ*, in the *West*, to *Gaul*, where he caused *Victor*, the Son of *Maximus*, together with *Nannienus* and *Quintinus*, his Governors, to be put to Death. *Theodosius* himself went, by the Way of *Milan*, to *Rome*, which, for many Years, had not been often honour'd with the Emperor's Presence; where he enter'd, on the 13th. of *June*, in Triumph; the Memory of which is still preserved, in a Panegyrick, spoken at that Time, in Honour of him, by *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*. *Valentinian* indeed recover'd the *Western* Part of the Empire; but as he still was very young, the chief Power, in these Parts, likewise remained in the Hands of *Theodosius*, who resided in the *West*, till the Month of *July* of the Year 391.

§ XXXII. REASONS are not wanting to ground a Supposition, that some German Nations had likewise a Share in this War: Thus we find in *St. Ambrose* (1), that the *Juthungi*, soon after *Gratian's* Death, ^{What Share the Germans, particularly the Franks, had in this}

ille, & Hunnus, & Alanus respondebat ad nomen, & alternabat excubias, & notari infrequens verebatur. Nullus tumultus, nulla confusio, nulla direptio, ut a barbaro erat, quin, si quando difficilior frumentaria res fuisset, inopiam patienter ferebat, & quam numero artarat annonam, comparcendo laxabat, pro omni præmio omnique mercede id unum reposcens, ut tuus diceretur. Quanta est virtutis ambitio! accipiebas beneficium, quod imputares.

(7) See in the following §. not. 6.

† At present Laybach. See the Baron of Valvasor's *Treaiise*, intitled *Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain*, V. Book, p. 235.

(8) *LATINUS PACATUS* in paneg. c. 42-45.

§ XXXII. (1) *St. Ambrose*, *Epist.* 27. in which he gives *Valentinian* an Account of his second Embassy to *Maximus*, relates what was objected to him by *Maximus*, and his Reply, in the following Manner: Me iustit, & ille *Bauto*, qui sibi regnum sub specie pueri vindicare voluit; qui etiam barbaros mihi immisit: quasi ego non habeam, quos possim ad-

ducere, cum tot millia barbarorum mihi militent? in quo te fefellit *Bauto*, qui devotionem imperatori exhibuit suo? an quia principem suum non prodidit? Quos immisit barbaros *Bauto* comes? Et quid mirum, si hoc *Bauto* fecisset transrhenanus genere; cum tu miniteris, imperio Romano barbarorum auxilia? vide autem, quid intersit inter tuas minas, & *Valentiniani* augusti pueri mansuetudinem. Tu id agitabas, quo barbarorum stipatus agminibus *Italiæ* te infunderes. *Valentinianus* Hunnos, ac Alanos appropinquantes *Galliæ*, per *Aleman-niæ* terras reflexit. Quid habet invidiæ, si *Bauto* barbaros cum barbaris fecit decernere? In medio Romani imperii sinu *Juthungi* populabantur *Rætias*: & ideo adversus *Juthungum* Hunnus accitus est. Idem tamen, quia de finitimo proterebat *Aleman-niam*, & jam vicinia mali urgebat *Gallias*; coactus est suos triumphos deferere, ne tu timeres. Confer utriusque factum, tu fecisti incurfari *Rætias*: *Valentinianus* suo tibi auxilio pacem redemit.

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invaded

invaded *Rætia*, and that *Bauto* (2), who was then General of the Army, and bore the greatest Sway in the Reign of *Valentinian*, the Younger, raised some Bodies of the *Hunns* and *Alani*, who thereupon invaded *Alemannia*; but who, not to give Umbrage to *Maximus*, that they were designed for *Gaul*, were sent back again. *Maximus* had indeed likewise *Germans* in his Service (3); but when he marched against *Theodosius*, the *Franks* invaded *Gaul*, under the Command of their three Princes, *Genobaudes*, *Marcomer* and *Sunno* (4); either from a meer Motive of making Booty, or perhaps by the
Instigation

(2) *Bauto* was created Consul, A. 395, when *Austin*, who then still taught Oratory, spoke a *Panegyrick* in Honour of him, as he says himself, contra litteras *Petilian*, L. 3. c. 30. operum T. 9. p. 212. Cum ego *Mediolanum* ante *Bautonem* consulem venerim, eique consuli kal. Januariis, laudem in tanto conventu, conspectuque hominum, pro mea tunc rhetorica professione recitaverim. He kept up a good Understanding with *Symmachus*, as appears from his *Epistles*, L. 4. Epist. 15, 16. which last, at the same Time, shews, that he remained a Pagan. But nothing adds greater Honour to his Memory, than the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor *Arcadius*.

(3) *OROSIUS*, indeed, says, L. 7. c. 33. of *Theodosius*: Maximum trucem, & ab immanissimis quoque Germanorum gentibus tributa ac stipendia solo terrore nominis exigentem, sine dolo & controversia, clausit, cepit, & occidit. But *St. Ambrose's* aforesaid Words shew, indeed, that he may have had *Germans* in his Service; but that he received a Tribute from the German Nations, is improbable.

(4) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS*, L. 2. c. 9. has preserved a Fragment, giving an Account of this, from *Sulpicius Alexander*, who wrote the History of his own Time, towards the Conclusion of the fourth Century: Eo tempore *Genobaldo*, *Marcomere* & *Sunnone* ducibus, *Franci* in Germaniam prorupere, ac pluribus mortalium, limite irrupto, cæsis, fertiles maxime pagos depopulati, *Agrippinensi* etiam *Coloniæ* metum incussere. Quod ubi *Treveros* perlatum est, *Nannius* & *Quintinus*, militiæ magistri, quibus infantiam filii & defensionem *Galliarum*, *Maximus* commi-

serat, collecto exercitu apud *Agrippinam* convenere. Sed onusti præda hostes, provinciarum opima depopulati, *Rhenum* transire, pluribus suorum in Romano relictis solo, ad repetendam depopulationem paratis: cum quibus congressus Romanis accommodus fuit, multis Francorum apud *Carbonariam* ferro peremptis. Cumque consultaretur de successu, an in *Franciam* transire deberent, *Nannius* abnuitt, quia non imparatos, & in locis suis indubie fortiores futuros sciebat. Quod cum *Quentino* & reliquis viris militaribus displicuisset, *Nannio* *Mogontiacum* reverso, *Quintinus* cum exercitu, circa *Nivisium* castellum, *Rhenum* transgressus, secundis a fluvio castris, casas habitatoribus vacuas, atque ingentes vicos destitutos offendit. *Franci* enim simulato metu se in remotiores saltus receperant, concidibus per extrema silvarum procuratis. Itaque universis domibus exustis, in quas sævire stoliditas ignava victoriæ consummationem reponebat, noctem sollicitam milites sub armorum onere duxerant. Ac primo diluculo, *Quentino* prælii duce, ingressi saltus, in medium fere diem implicantes se erroribus viarum, toto pervagati sunt. Tandem, cum ingentibus septis omnia a solido clausa offendissent in palustres campos, qui silvis jungebantur, prorumpere molientibus hostium rari apparuere. Qui conjunctis arborum truncis, vel concidibus superstantes, velut e fastigiis turrium, sagittas, tormentorum ritu, effudere, inlitas herbarum venenis, ut summæ cuti, neque lethali-
bus inflicta locis vulnera, haud dubiæ mortes sequerentur. Dehinc majori multitudine hostium circumfusus exercitus, in aperta
camporum,

Instigation of *Theodosius*, who might make Use of this Assistance against *Maximus*, as *Constantius* had before of the *Alemanni*, against *Magnentius*. The News of this no sooner reached *Triers*, than the two before-mentioned Generals, *Nannienus* and *Quintinus*, to whom *Maximus* had, together with the Education of his Son, entrusted the Command in *Gaul*, broke up for *Cologne*; which City was itself at that Time in Danger. The *Franks* were, in the mean Time, all returned, excepting one Body, which the *Romans* met with in the present *Hennegau* (5), and gave them a very bad Reception. *Quintinus* thereupon led his Army over the *Rhine* near *Neus*; hoping to revenge the Depredations of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, by a like Treatment, in their Dominions, but he was so unfortunate that few of his Men returned. We find besides, in *St. Ambrose*, that the *Saxons* were likewise successful against *Maximus* (6): But it does not appear from that Passage, whether the Expedition was by Sea or by Land, in *Britain* or elsewhere.

§ XXXIII. *THEODOSIUS* had left *Arbogastes* with *Valentinian*, Treaties of having the greatest Confidence in their Valour and Fidelity. *Valentinian* II. with the *Valentinian*, when he arriv'd in *Gaul*, went first into *Lower-Germany*, to Franks. secure the Countries about the *Rhine*, which lay opposite to the *Franks*. The two *Franconian* Princes, *Marcomer* and *Sunno*, made such Offers, that he renew'd the ancient Leagues (1), in Consideration

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camporum, quæ libera Franci reliquerant, avidè effusus est. Ac primi equites voraginibus immerfi, permixtis hominum jumentorumque corporibus, ruina invicem suorum oppressi sunt. Pedites etiam, quos nulla onera equorum calcaverant, implicati limo, ægre explicantes gressum, rursus se, qui paullo ante vix emerferant, silvis trepidantes occulebant. Perturbatis ergo ordinibus cæsæ legiones, Heraclio, Jovianorum tribuno, ac pene omnibus, qui militibus præerant, extinctis, paucis effugium tutum nox & latibula silvarum præstitere.

(5) *Prope silvam Carbonariam, conf. Bucherius, L. 12. c. 2. § 1.*

(6) *AMBROSIIUS, ep. 17. p. 215.* Nonne propterea *Maximus* destitutus est? qui ante ipsos expeditionis dies, cum audisset Romæ synagogam incensam, edictum Romam miserat, quasi vindex disciplinæ publicæ? Unde populus Christianus ait: Nihil boni huic

imminet: rex iste Judæus factus est: defensorem istum disciplinæ audivimus, quem mox Christus probavit, qui pro peccatoribus mortuus est. Si de sermone hoc dictum est, quid de ultione dicetur? Ille igitur statim a Francis, A SAXONUM GENTE, in Sicilia, Sicilia, Petavione, ubique denique terrarum victus est.

§ XXXIII. (1) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 9. relates the Purport of them from what has been said by Sulpitius Alexander on this Head: In quarto vero libro, cum de interfectione Victoris, filii Maximi tyranni narraret, ait: Eo tempore Carietto, & Syrus, in locum Nanneni subrogati, in Germaniam cum exercitu opposito Francis diversabantur. Et post pauca: cum Franci de Germania prædas tulissent, adjecit, nihil Arbogastes differre volens, commonet cæsarem pœnas debitas a Francis exigendas, nisi universa, quæ superiori anno cæsis legionibus diripuerant, confestim restituerent, auctoresque belli*

of a certain Number of Hostages, and returned to *Triers*, to pass the Winter-Season there (2).

Arbogastes invades the Dominions of the *Franks*.

§ XXXIV. BUT this Peace was of no long Duration: for we find, by *Sulpicius Alexander* (1), that *Arbogastes*, who, on Account of some former Differences, was at Enmity with the *Franconian* Princes of those Times (2), undertook in the Winter, and, as it seems, towards the End of the Year 391 (3), or the Beginning of the next Year, an Expedition against the *Franks*, from *Cologne*; in Hopes, that, the Trees in the Forests, are bare at that Season of the Year, the Enemy could not take their usual Advantage of them either for their Ambushes or a Retreat. By *Alexander's* Relation it again appears, that the *Bruēteri*, *Chamavi* and *Catti*, were comprehended under the Name of *Franks*. The *Bruēteri* were the first Sufferers, and after them the *Chamavi*. *Marcomer* stood, with some *Amsivarii* and *Catti*, on the Top of the Mountains, without daring to make any Motion. *Arbogastes* proceeded likewise no farther, and had soon after Reason to seek the Friendship of the *Franks* as earnestly, as he had till then oppos'd them.

Valentinian II. is assassinated, and *Eugenius* proclaimed Emperor.

§ XXXV. SOME Historians compare this *Franconian* General to *Curius* or *Fabricius* of ancient Rome, and the Share he had, in *Theo-*

belli traderent, in quos violatæ pacis perfidia puniretur. Hæc acta, cum duces essent, retulit, & deinceps ait, post dies pauculos, Marcomere & Sunnone Francorum regalibus, transfacto cursim conloquio, impetratisque ex more obsequiis, ad biemandum Treveros concessit. Cum autem eos regales vocet, nescimus utrum reges fuerint, an vices tenuerint regum. Idem tamen scriptor, cum necessitates Valentiniani Augusti commemorat, hæc adjungit: Dum diversa in oriente per Thracias geruntur, in Gallia status publicus perturbatur. Clauso apud Vienne palatii ædibus principe Valentiniano, & pæne infra privati modum redacto, militaris rei cura Francis satellitibus tradita, civilia quoque officia transgressa in conjurationem Arbogastis: nullusque ex omnibus, sacramentis militiæ obstrictis reperiebatur, qui familiari principis sermoni, aut jussis obsequi auderet. Dehinc refert, quod eodem anno Arbogastes Sunnonem & Marcomerem subregulos Francorum gentilibus odiis infectans, Agrippinam, rigente maxime hieme, petiit: ratus, tuto omnes Franciæ recessus penetrandos, urendosque; cum decussis foliis nudæ atque arentes silvæ insidi-

antes occulere non possent, Collecto ergo exercitu, transgressus Rhenum, Bruēteros ripæ proximos, pagum etiam, quem Chamavi incolunt, depopulatus est, nullo unquam occursante, nisi quod pauci ex Ampsivariis & Cattis, Marcomere duce, in ulterioribus collium jugis apparuere.

(2) There are two Statutes extant of *Valentinian II.*, dated at *Triers*, A. 389, viz. l. 5. C. Th. de proximis, data 6. Id. Nov. v. l. 3. C. Th. unde vi, data 18, kal. Jul. But *Valesius* observes, L. 2. p. 72. that *Valentinian* was at Rome in June, and that, therefore, instead of kal. Juliis, must be read kal. Januariis.

§ XXXIV. (1) See the preceding § not. 1.

(2) *CLAUDIAN* calls him *Germanus* exful: de 4 conf. Honor. v. 74. *Gregory* calls his Enmity against the *Franks*, gentilia odia. See not. 1.

(3) *TILLEMONT*, indeed, places this, p. 742. in the Winter between 392 and 393, after *Valentine's* Death; but *Arbogastes* was, at that Time, probably, too much employ'd in the Disposition of the new Government.

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dofius's Confidence, speaks indeed very much in his Favour: But *Valentinian* II, who could not well put up with his Austerity and blunt Way, was for taking the Command from him. *Arbogastes* bore, on the contrary, so great a Sway in the Army, that he was very easy under this Disgrace (1); and the Measures taken, on the one Hand, by *Valentinian*, to maintain his Authority, and, on the other, by *Arbogastes*, to secure his Person, came to such a Height, that when *Valentinian* suddenly lost his Life at *Viëne* (2), A. 392, his Murder was almost every where imputed to *Arbogastes*. *Arbogastes* however, tho' he had gain'd the Hearts and Acclamations of the Army, did not assume the Imperial Title; but *Eugenius* †, † Magister Scrinii. whom *Ricimer* had before extoll'd to him, as a Person of great Capacity, was proclaimed Emperor. As all great Revolutions are attended with some equivocal Circumstances; so it is the more difficult to judge of this, from the few Accounts we have, whether *Arbogastes* was so entirely innocent, as he is represented to be by his Friends, or whether, under the specious Pretence of Justice and Fidelity, an Ambition was not concealed, which caused him now to give Way to *Eugenius*, of whom he was well assured, that he would be wholly under his Influence, 'till he found it practicable, to assume himself a Dignity, which it was, at that Time, too difficult for him to obtain, on Account of his Descent (3), as well as his Religion.

§ XXXVI. *EUGENIUS* went first to the *Rhine*, and made The new Leagues with the Princes of the *Alemanni* and *Franks* (1); by which Emperor he not only secured those Parts, but likewise obtained of them a confirms the Leagues with the *Franks* and *Alamanni*.

§ XXXV. (1) *V. ZOSIMUS*, Lib. 4. c. 53.

(2) *Id. MAII ARCADIO AUGUSTO II. & RUFINO COSS. A. 392. conf. PAGI ad h. A. n. 3.* The Circumstances are so differently related, that it does not even appear, whether he died a natural or violent Death. *Tillemont*, p. 715, sequ. has collected these contradictory Narratives. *St. Ambrose*, who was well acquainted with the Court, and might have known all the Circumstances: who, likewise, appeared very zealous for *Valentinian's* Memory, says, in the Letter which he wrote to *Theodosius*, concerning his Interment only: *Hunc ergo non doleam, ævi integrum, antequam sacramentorum, quæ desideravit, adipisceretur gratiam, repentina morte obiisse? In his Funeral Oration on*

that Prince, he mentions, indeed, p. 105, and 109, the Misunderstanding between *Valentinian* and *Arbogastes*, and that the Emperor would have employed him, in the Accommodation of them; but does not say, that *Arbogastes* caused him to be put to Death.

(3) *PHILOSTORGIUS* says: *Arbogastem propter genus sibi diffilum.*

§ XXXVI. (1) *SEVERUS ALEXANDER ap. Gregorium Turon. Lib. 2. c. 9.* Dehinc *Eugenius*, tyrannus, suscepto expeditionali procinctu, *Rheni* limitem petiit, ut, cum *Alamannorum & Francorum* regibus, vetustis fœderibus ex more initis, immensum ea tempestate exercitum gentibus feris ostenderet.

confide-

considerable Number of Soldiers (2). He then broke up for *Italy*, augmented his Forces every where, and treated the Heathens, in some Respects, with more Lenity, than his Predecessors, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, had done; with a View, perhaps, to gain the more Adherents, as the Number of *Pagans*, especially at *Rome*, was still very considerable.

But is de-
feated by-
Theodosius,
with the
Assistance
of the *Goths*.

† A. 394.

§ XXXVII. HE had, in vain, endeavour'd, by an Ambassy, to gain the Friendship of *Theodosius*. The latter, having this Opportunity of making himself, and his Successors, sole Masters of the Empire, dignified, A. 393, his younger Son, *Flavius Honorius*, who was then in the ninth Year of his Age, with the Title of *Augustus*, and design'd to entrust the Command of the Army to the brave *Ricomar*, who had remained in the *East*; and, in Regard to his eminent Services, was created *Consul* † and *Magister utriusque militiae*; but his Death, at the very Instant, prevented it (1). He set out himself from *Constantinople*, A. 394, and had a large Body of *Goths*, in his Army, commanded by *Gaina* and *Saul* (2); with whom *Alaric*, who afterwards acquired so great Renown, had,

(2) OROSIUS, L. 7. c. 35. Et nunc, cum adversus eundem Theodosium, collectis Gallorum FRANCORUMQUE viribus exundavit, nixus etiam præcipuo cultu idolorum, magna tamen facilitate succubuit. This gave Occasion to Stilico afterwards, to renew the League with the Franks.

§ XXXVII. (1) ZOSIMUS, L. 4. c. 55. Turmas quidem equestres Richomeri committere cogitabat, pluribus jam bellis viri fortitudinem expertus; itidem cæteris legionibus alios duces præficere. Quum autem Richomeres, hujus ipsius consultationis tempore morbo extinctus esset, non ab re semet ad alios duces deligendos convertit. His Consulatus is extoll'd not only in Symmachus's Letters, but, likewise, in Libanius's Writings; and we find this great Grecian Orator boasting of the Approbation his Oratory had met with from Richomer: Verum illo adhuc ægrotante, RYCHOMERES advenit exercitus dux, vir sacris & diis addictus, qui amans me fuerat, vel antequam vidisset, prout tunc didicimus: intuitus vero, omnibus aliis dimissis, adhærebat, & osculari erubescerebat: quod si hoc impetraret, se maximum quiddam obtinuisse arbitrari dicebat. Cum hæc inter nos amicitia intercessisset, permolesta qui-

dem iis, qui nos non diligebant, pergit ad regem; mox cum futurum esset, ut ad dignitatem consularem eveheretur, binis me invitabat literis, suis quidem, quod aliorum erat, faciens: aliis autem regis negotia agens, quod nondum antea contigerat. Extitit etiam a nobis in ipsum sermo ad laudationem institutus: nescio certe, an amplius quam alii habuerim dicendum, verumtamen iis, quæ mihi succurrebant, ego quoque imperatorem honorabam. Quin etiam dicitur rogatus a clementi rege, a quonam potissimum eorum, qui aderant oblectatus fuisset, respondisse, a me, atque effecisse, ut, qui ante diligebat me; magis amaret: ac asseverasse etiam, percupidum viæ huc tendentis esse, mei gratia. Libanius de vita sua, p. 67.

(2) ZOSIMUS, L. 4. c. 57. Fœderatos autem barbaros, Gaini, & Saulo parere jussit. Idem, c. 58. Cæterum præstare ratus, ut legiones barbaras in adversos immitteret, iisque primum periclitaretur: Gainem, cum nationibus sibi subditis, hostem adgredi jussit, sequentibus hunc aliis etiam ducibus, quicunque barbaricis ordinibus, equitibus inquam, & sagittariis equestribus, & pedatui præerant.

likewise

likewise, a Post of Honour (3). In his March, he was join'd by great Numbers of *Hunns* and *Alani*, who now begun to know the Way to *Italy*, to the manifest Prejudice of his Successors. *Eugenius* waited for him on the *Julian Alps*, which had before been so often drench'd in *Roman* Blood, and an Engagement ensued, not far from *Aquileia*, near the River *Frigidus* (4); in which *Theodosius*, after great Blood-shed, (many Thousands of the *Goths* alone being kill'd on the (5) Spot,) obtain'd the Victory (6). *Eugenius*, being taken Prisoner, paid for his Temerity with his Head; but *Arbogastes*, by laying violent Hands on himself, anticipated the Wrath of the Conqueror (7).

§ XXXVIII. As Christianity had, in Regard to the Number of those who profess'd it, visibly gained Ground in the *Roman* Empire, so the Churches, in *Germany*, *Rætia* and *Noricum*, had likewise a Share in this general Increase. *Valentinian* I, had indeed, in some Measure, allowed a Liberty of Conscience: but *Gratian* discover'd

State of the
Church in
Germany.

(3) ZOSIMUS, L. 5. c. 5. His a Rufino per summam nequitiam designatis, posteaquam seditiosum esse, legibusque semet eximere vidit Alarichum (qui permolestè ferret militum se copiis haud præfici, sed eos duntaxat habere barbaros, quos ei tradiderat Theodosius, quo tempore cum illo tyrannidem Eugenianam everterat) secreto ei significat, ut, quos secum haberet barbaros, aliosve collectitios diversarum gentium milites, ulterius duceret, omnibus absque labore positurus.

(4) Baron Valvasor, in his *Ehre des Herzogthums Crayn*, L. 13. p. 9, and L. 14. p. 208, shews that this *Frigidus* is the present *Wybach*, which falls into the *Lifonzo*.

(5) SOCRATES, L. 5. c. 34. Atque, ut in ea parte, qua Romani cum Romanis manus conserverunt, ancipiti pugna certatum erat: sic in illa, qua barbari, imperatori Theodosio auxilia ferentes dimicabant, Eugenius tulit superiores. But the Romans were so ungrateful, that they esteemed this Massacre of the *Goths*, a Piece of good Fortune. Thus *Orosius* says, L. 7. c. 35. Quos utique perdidisse lucrum, & vincere fuit.

(6) VALESIIUS, p. 78, seq. describes the Battle at large, according to the ancient Writers. Some modern Authors add many other Circum-

stances, of which St. Ambrose makes no Mention in his Letter to Theodosius, in which he congratulates him on Occasion of this signal Victory.

(7) SOCRATES, L. 5. c. 24. Arbogastus tantæ cladis autor, biduo post prælium fugiens, ubi nullam vitæ spem sibi reliquam intellexerat, proprio ense, se ipse obtruncavit. Zosimus, L. 4. c. 58. Arbogastes autem, qui Theodosii humanitatem experiri non cuperet, in montes asperrimos confugit, &, animadvertens, omnia loca perlustrari ab iis, qui eum quærerent, ipse sibi manus intulit. Some even assert, that he kill'd himself with two Swords, as if one was not sufficient. Claudianus de Ill. cons. Honorii v. 92.

Alpinæ rubuere nives, at Frigidus am-
nis

Mutatis fumavit aquis, turbaque ca-
dentum

Staret, ni rapidus juvisset flumina san-
guis.

At ferus inventor scelerum trajecerat al-
tum

Non uno mucrone latus, duplexque te-
pebat

Ensis, & ultrices in se converterat iras
Tandem iusta manus.

a greater

a greater Zeal for the Orthodox Christians: And, tho' *Valentinian II* was, at first, by the Persuasion of his Mother, inclined to *Arianism*; yet *Theodosius*, particularly, during those three Years which he spent in the West, not only strenuously persecuted *Paganism*; but likewise treated those with Severity, who dissented from the national Church; which Method of gaining Converts, its Pastors zealously defended, by representing, in a lively Manner, that the unhappy Fate of *Valens* was owing to his Adhesion to *Arianism* (1). A new Profession of Faith was, indeed, broach'd in the *East*; but the Church of *Gaul* still adher'd to that of the Apostles (2): And when some Bishops in *Gaul* could not otherwise cool their Zeal for the Purity of their Doctrine, but by the Blood of the Dissenters, St. *Ambrose* was so dissatisfied with their Procedure, that, when he came to *Maximus*, to *Triers*, he would have no Community with them (3). The Monastick Life, which had first crept into the Cities, in the Reign of *Constantine, the Great*, and was introduc'd into *Gaul* by *Martin Turonensis*, had, likewise, gained Ground; and we see, by a Passage of St. *Austin* (4), that, at this Time, Men, as well as Women, about *Triers*,

§ XXXVIII. (1) *An Instance of this we meet with in the Words of Ambrose, L. 2. de fide, circa fin. p. 144. Nec ambiguum, sancte imperator, quod, qui perfidiæ alienæ pugnam excepimus, fidei catholicæ, in te vigentis, habituri sumus auxilium. Evidens enim antehac divinæ indignationis causa præcessit: ut ibi primum fides Romano imperio frangeretur, ubi fracta est deo. Non libet confessorum necesse; tormenta, exilia recordari piorum sacerdotum, proditorum munera. Nonne de Thraciæ partibus per Ripensem Daciam, & Mysiam, omnemque Valeriam Pannoniorum, totum illum limitem sacrilegis pariter vocibus, & barbaricis motibus audivimus inhorrentem? Quid poterat nobis vicinia tam feralis invehere! aut quemadmodum res Romana tali tuta poterat esse custodia? Sed jam satis superque, omnipotens deus, nostro exitio, nostroque sanguine confessorum necesse, exilia sacerdotum, & nefas tantæ impietatis eluimus. Satis claruit eos, qui violaverunt fidem, tutos esse non posse.*

(2) *Conf. Pagius in critica annalium Baronii ad A. 325, n. 24. et 25.*

(3) *AMBROSIUS in epist. 56. T. 5. p. 321. Postea, cum videret, me abstinere ab episcopis, qui communicabant ei, vel qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebant, commotus eis, jussit me sine mora regredi. The following Words of Prosper may, perhaps, give Light to this Passage. Arcadio & Bautone Coss. Priscillianus, in synodo Burdigalensi damnandum se intelligens, ad imp. Maximum provocavit: auditusque Triveris ab Evodio præfecto prætorio, a Maximo gladio adductus est, cum Euchrosia Delphidii conjuge, & Latroniano aliisque erroris consortibus.*

(4) *AUGUSTINUS confess. L. 8. c. 6. Quondam die domum venit ad me, & Alipium, Potitianus quidam civis noster, in quantum Afer, præclare in palatio militans, Christianus & fidelis, qui sæpe tibi, deo nostro, prosternebatur in ecclesia crebris & diuturnis orationibus. Unde incidit ut diceret: Nescio quando, se & tres alios contubernales suos, nimirum apud Treviros, cum imperator pomeridiano circensium spectaculo teneretur, exisse deambulatum in hortos muris contiguos. Atque illic, ut forte combinati spatiantur, unum secum seorsum, &*

alios

about *Triers*, begun already to devote themselves to Solitude, imagining themselves better able to serve God in that State; however, they did not dwell in Monasteries, but in single Cottages.

§ XXXIX. THE *Rhine* was, probably, the Boundary of the Conversion of the *Goths* of the *Roman* Empire: And we do not find, whether, or how far, the *Christian* Religion was propagated, beyond the *Danube*, by the Churches in *Rætia* and in *Noricum*. *Paulinus* mentions, indeed, in his Life of St. *Ambrose* (1), that *Fritigild*, a Queen of the *Marcomanni*, embraced the *Christian* Faith.

alios duos itidem seorsum pariterque digressos. Sed illos vagabundos irruisse in quamdam casam, ubi habitabant quidam servi tui spiritu pauperes, qualium est regnum cœlorum: & invenisse ibi codicem, in quo scripta erat vita Antonii. Quam legere cepit unus eorum, & mirari, & accendi; & inter legendum meditari, arripere talem vitam: & relicta militia sæculari, servire tibi. Erat autem ex eis, quos dicunt agentes in rebus. Tunc subito repletus amore sancto, & sobrio pudore, iratus ita sibi, coniecit oculos in amicum, & ait illi: dic, quæso te, omnibus istis laboribus nostris, quo ambimus pervenire? quid quærimus? cujus rei causa militamus? majorne esse poterit spes nostra in palatio, quam ut amici imperatoris simus? & ibi quid non fragile plenumque periculis? & per quot pericula pervenitur ad grandius periculum? & quamdiu istud erit? Amicus autem dei, si volucro, ecce nunc fio. Dixit hoc: & turgidus parturitione novæ vitæ reddidit oculos paginis, & legebat, & mutabatur intus, ubi tu videbas: & exuebatur mundo mens ejus, ut mox apparuit. Namque dum legit, & volvit fluctus cordis sui, infremuit aliquando & discevit, decrevitque meliora. Jamque tuus, ait amico suo: ego jam abrumpi me ab illa spe nostra, & deo servire statui: & hoc ex hac hora, in hoc loco aggredior: & te, si piget imitari, noli adversari. Respondit ille, adhærere se socio tantæ mercedis tantæque militiæ. Et ambo jam tui, ædificabant tuum sumptu idoneo relinquendi omnia, & sequendi te. Tum Potitianus, & qui cum eo per alias horti partes deambulabant,

quærentes eos, devenerunt in eundem locum; & invientes admonuerunt, ut redirent, quoniam declinasset dies. At illi, narrato placito & proposito suo, quoque modo in eis talis voluntas orta esset, atque firmata; petiverunt, ne sibi molesti essent, si adjungi recusarent. Isti autem nihilo mutati a pristinis, fleverunt se tamen, ut dicebat, atque illis pie congratulati sunt, & commendaverunt se orationibus eorum: & trahentes cor in terra abierunt in palatium. Illi autem affigentes cor cœlo, manserunt in casa, & ambo habebant sponfas: quæ posteaquam hoc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipsæ virginitatem tibi.

§ XXXIX. (1) *PAULINUS, in vit. Ambrosii, p. 65. C.* Per idem tempus *Fritigild* quædam, regina *Marcomannorum*, cum a quodam *Christiano* viro, qui ad illam forte de *Italiæ* partibus venerat, referente sibi audiret famam, *Christo* credidit, cujus illum servulum recognoverat, missisque *Mediolanum* muneribus ad ecclesiam, per legatos postulavit, ut scriptis ipsius, qualiter credere deberet, informaretur. Ad quam ille epistolam fecit præclaram, in modum catechismi, in qua etiam admonuit, ut suaderet viro, *Romanis* pacem servare. Qua accepta epistola, mulier suavit viro, & cum populo suo se *Romanis* tradidit. Quæ cum venisset *Mediolanum*, plurimum doluit, quod sanctum sacerdotem, ad quem festinabat, minime reperisset; jam enim de hac luce migraverat. This Account of *Paulinus*, that the *Marcomanni* subjected themselves to the *Romans*, will be illustrated in the Sequel.

C c c

and

and desired to be instructed by that great Bishop: But this Writer is so zealous, in magnifying the Acts of his Saint, that we can hardly depend upon the Circumstances of his Relation. The *Christian* Religion had already made its Way among the *Goths*. The first Foundation was, probably, laid by some *Christian* Captives, whom the *Goths*, in the Incursions I mention'd before, in the Reign of *Gallienus*, had carried with them, into *Asia*, where the Church was already established. *Philostorgius*, whose Relation, however, has not the best Credit, even says (2), that *Ulphila*, whom he calls by that Name, was, himself, descended from some of those Prisoners, Natives of *Cappadocia*. In the Time of *Constantine*, the Great, the *Christian* Faith had gained so many Profelytes among them (3), that a *Gothick* Bishop, named *Theophilus*, subscribed to the Council of *Nice* (4): But however willing some of their Princes, and particularly *Fritigernus*, were to propagate the Preaching of the Gospel, *Athanasius* as strenuously persecuted the new Converts to *Christi-*

(2) PHILOSTORG. Lib. 2. n. 5. Ait Urphilam his temporibus, ex Trans-Istrianis Scythis (quos veteres Getas, qui vero hodie sunt, Gothos vocant) multum populum in solum Romanum traduxisse, ob pietatem propriis sedibus pulsum, gentemque illam Christianam hac ratione factam. Imperante Valeriano & Gallieno, pars quædam magna Trans-Istrianorum in solum Romanum transcendit, multamque Europæ partem incuravit: Transcenderunt vero etiam Asiam & Galatiam, sed & Cappadociam ingressi sunt, multosque captivos ceperunt, nonnullos etiam ex iis, qui clero adscripti erant, cumque magna præda domum reversi sunt. Plebs porro captiva piaque, cum barbaris conversans, haud paucos eorum ad pietatem traduxit, effecitque adeo, ut Christianorum fidem loco gentilitiæ opinionis amplecterentur. De hoc captivorum numero fuerunt & Urphilæ majores, gente quidem Cappadoces, prope civitatem Parnassum, e vico, qui vocatur Sadagolthina. Hic igitur Urphilas dux fuit exitus piorum, primus eorum episcopus constitutus: constitutus vero hac ratione. Ab eo scilicet, qui genti imperabat Constantini tempore, in legationem una cum aliis missus (nam & barbaræ gentes illæ imperatori parebant) ab Eusebio & ab iis,

qui cum illo erant, episcopis, ordinatus fuit episcopus eorum, qui in Gothia Christiani erant. Et, ut in cæteris curam eorum habuit, ita propriarum quoque litterarum inventor extitit, & in linguam eorum scripturas vertit, exceptis libris regum, eo quod hi bellorum historiam contineant, gens vero illa belli amans esset, frænoque magis ad pugnas impetus eorum egeret, quam incentivo ad id: id quod faciendi vim habent ea, quæ religiosa maxime habentur, & ad Dei cultum persuasos efformant. Imperator igitur hunc populum, sponte transgressum, in regionibus Mysiæ. prout cuique videretur, locavit, & Urphilam magno honore affecit, sic, ut sæpe ab eo nostri temporis Moses vocaretur. Valde autem hunc virum deprædicat [*Philostorgius*] scribitque, hæreticæ opinionis suæ & ipsum, & eos, qui sub ipso erant, sectatores fuisse.

(3) SOCRATES, L. I. c. 14.

(4) Vid. Subscriptiones concilii Nicæni in coll. concilior. Labbei.

PROVINCIAE GOTHIAE
Theophilus Gothiæ metropolis.

In other Copies we read:

DE GOTHIS
Theophilus Bosphoritanus.

anity;

anity; as appears from the Relations of *Socrates* (5) and *Sozomenus* (6). Hence the primitive *Gothick Christians* are extoll'd, not only for

C c c 2

the

(5) *SOCRATES*, L. 4. c. 27. Gothi, bello intestino inter ipsos concitato, in duas factiones divisi fuerunt: quarum alteri Phritigernes, alteri Athanaricus præfuit. Cum autem Athanaricus videretur superiores partes obtinere, Phritigernes ad Romanos, auxilii contra adversarium petendi gratia, profugit. De quibus rebus Valens certior factus, dat mandatum militibus, qui versabantur in Thracia, ut barbaris contra barbaros dimicantibus, subsidio essent. Illi itaque, hostibus in fugam conversis, trans Istrum contra Athanaricum sunt victoriam consecuti. Quæ causa fuit permultis barbaris, fidem Christianam recipiendi. Nam Phritigernes, quo, pro beneficio accepto, imperatori gratiam referre posset, ejus religionem amplexari cœpit, suosque, ad idem faciendum, hortari. Atque, eam ob causam, complures Gothi, qui tum, quo imperatoris voluntati obsecundarent, se sectæ Arianae addixerant, ad hoc usque tempus eidem adhærescunt. Eodem tempore Ulphilas, Gothorum episcopus, litteras Gothicas invenit: atque, ut primum sacram scripturam in eorum linguam converteret, instituit animo, uti barbari illi sancta dei eloquia perdiscerent. Simulatque vero Ulphilas eos, non solum Phritigerni, verum etiam qui Athanaricho parebant, religionem Christianam docuerat: Athanaricus permultos, qui fidem Christi profitebantur, perinde ac si patria sua religionis instituta per eos fuissent adulterata, gravibus affecit suppliciis: ita ut barbari nonnulli, ex secta Ariana, tum martyres fierent. Verum Arius, cum Sabellii errori non posset resistere, ex recta fide lapsus excidit, & filium dei nuper genitum esse, tradidit: at barbari animo simplici religionem Christianam amplexi, pro fide Christi vitam, qua hic fruebantur, profundere non dubitarunt.

(6) *SOZOMENUS*, L. 6. c. 36. At vero non istud solum causam fuisse puto, cur universa Gothorum gens ad hoc tempus usque Arianis adjuncta sit: sed, quod Ulphilas, eorum episcopus, licet initio ab ecclesia ca-

tholica nihil dissentiret: tamen post, regnante Constantio per inscitiam, una cum Eudoxio & Acacio, utpote ex episcoporum numero, qui in Concilio Nicæno conveniant, concilio Constantinopoli habito interfuit. Qui simul ut eo venit, dicitur, cum principes sectæ Arianae cum eo de religione differuissent, essentque polliciti, legationem ei apud imperatorem ex sententia confectam fore, si modo se ipsorum opinioni vellet addicere, vel necessitate compulsus, vel, quod eam de deo opinionem meliorem judicaret, communioni Arianorum se adjunxisse, & totam suam gentem ab ecclesia catholica separasse. Nam Gotthi ab eo doctore ad pietatem & verum dei cultum amplectendum instituti, & per eum ad mansuetiores mores traducti, in omnibus rebus facile ejus consilio paruerunt: pro certo persuasi, nihil ab eo vel dici improbe, vel fieri, sed omnia ad utilitatem eorum, qui ardenti pietatis studio flagrabant, transigi. Quin etiam maximum dedit suæ virtutis specimen, infinita pericula pro religione Christiana tum subeundo, cum iidem ipsi barbari Gotthi, quos diximus, adhuc religionem gentilium coluerunt. Primus præterea fuit, qui litteras apud eos inveniret, litterasque sacras in patrium sermonem converteret. Quare, quod barbari prope Istrum omnino sectam Arianam sequebantur, hæc quidem causa fuit. Per idem tempus magnus numerus eorum, qui Phritigerni parebant, propter Christum martyrio e medio sublati sunt. Nam Athalaricus, cum Ulphilas multos ejus ditioni subjectos ad religionem Christi deduxisset, iniquo animo ferens, perinde quasi vita & patria religio novata fuisset, eorum complures multis ac variis multavit suppliciis: quorum pars in judicium adducta, cum viriliter & magno animo fidem Christi defendisset, interfecta est: pars, nulla pro se habita oratione, trucidata. Siquidem fertur, eos, quibus hujus rei conficiendæ negotium Athalaricus imposuerat, statuam quandam, in curru collocatam, per singula Christianorum tabernacula circumduxisse,

the Purity of their Doctrine (7), but, likewise, on Account of the Constancy of those, who seal'd it with their Blood, by *Cyrill*, Bishop of *Jerusalem* (8), *St. Ambrose* (9) and *St. Austin* (10): And, unless *Prudentius* speaks too poetically, this Conversion extended to the utmost Bounds of the *North* (11).

Their Apo-
stacy into A-
rianism. Of
Ulphila, and
the *Gothick*
Translation
of the Go-
spels.

† A. 359.

§ XL. IN succeeding Times, we find as well the *Wisi-Goths* as the *Ostro-Goths* fell into the Errors of *Arius*: Historians, however, vary concerning the Circumstances, that induced them to it. According to *Socrates*, it was occasioned by a Civil War, between *Atthanaric* and *Fritigernus*, in which *Valens*, a zealous *Arian*, assisted the latter: Whence those, who adhered to *Fritigernus*, embraced that Doctrine (1): *Sozomenus* relates, that *Ulphilas*, a Bishop of the *Goths*, having before been at *Constantinople*, assisted at the Synod held there by *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, and other *Arian* Bishops, † and subscribed to the Confession of Faith then exhibited (2). *Theodoretus* differs from both, and says, that when the *Goths*, at the Time of the Irruption of the *Hunns*, sued for a Habitation in the *Roman*

duxisse, jussisseque, ut eam adorarent, eique hostias immolarent. Quod cum facere recusassent Christiani, tabernacula cum ipsis hominibus incendio absumisse. Porro aliam cladem hac multo miserabiliorem eodem tempore quoque accidisse, accepi. Nam multi: tum viri, tum mulieres (quarum alie pueros secum adduxerant, alie infantes recens natos, & adhuc sugentes ubera) violentie eorum, qui ipsos ad sacrificandum compellebant, succumbentes, ad tabernaculum ecclesie, quae ibi fuit, profugerunt. Qui omnes, tabernaculo illo a gentilibus incenso, pariter extincti sunt.

(7) *BASIL*, in his 338th Epistle, which was written about the Year 372, bears Testimony of the Purity of their Faith: Testis nobis adest ab illis usque barbaris, qui ultra Danubium regiones colunt, fidei ibi in professione positae ἀνεύρεται prædicans.

(8) *CYRILLUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS* cath. 10. Persæ & Gotthi, & omnes gentes testantur, morientes pro illo, quem corporeis oculis non viderunt.

(9) See not. 5. of the following Sect.

(10) *AUGUSTINUS* de civitate dei, L. 18. c. 52. Nisi forte non est persecutio compu-

tanda, quando rex Gothorum, ipsa Gothia persecutus est Christianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non essent, nisi CATHOLICI, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati sunt, sicut a quibusdam fratribus, qui tunc illic pueri fuerant, & se ista vidisse incunctanter recordabantur, audivimus.

(11) *PRUDENTIUS*, in apotheosi, v. 494.

Laxavit Scythicas verbo penetrante
pruinās

Vox evangelica; Hircanas quoque fer-
vida brumas

Solvit, ut exutus glacie jam mollior
amnis

Caucausea de cote fluat, Rhodopeius
Hebrus.

Mansuevere Getæ; feritasque cruenta
Geloni

Lacte mero, sitiens exsanguia pocula
miscet,

Libatura sacros Christi de sanguine
potus.

§ XL. (1) See not. 5. of the preceding §.

(2) See the foregoing §. not. 6.

Provinces,

Provinces, and the Emperor *Valens* granted their Request, he made it a Condition, that they should join in his Communion; with which *Ulphila* complied, and persuaded the Nation, that there was no essential Difference between them, but that it was only a Contention about Words (3). *Jornandes* is of the same Opinion, that *Valens* seduc'd the *Goths* to *Arianism* (4): But, in all these Relations, there remains some Doubts. St. *Ambrose*, speaking of the Times, when, after the Death of *Valens*, the *Goths* made Devastations in the *Roman* Provinces, extolls the Purity of their Faith, and their Constancy (5). St. *Jerom*, in a Letter, supposed to be written in the Year 398, praises the *Goths* as Orthodox Christians (6). St. *Chrysostom*, who so zealously oppos'd the *Gothick Arians*, at *Constantinople*, expresses much Satisfaction, in the great Services done among the *Goths*, by *Unila*, whom he had consecrated a Bishop (7). *Nicetas*, a Bishop of the *Goths*, is celebrated among the Orthodox Christians,

(3) THEODORETUS *hist. eccles. L. 4. c. 37.* Quo tempore Gothi, Istrum trajicientes, scedus cum Valente percusserunt, abominandus ille Eudoxius, qui dum aderat, suggestit imperatori, persuadendum esse Gothis, ut cum ipsis communicarent. Nam cum diu antea divinæ cognitionis radiis illustrati essent, in apostolica doctrina semper fuerant innutriti. Quippe aiebat Eudoxius, unius dogmatis communio pacem firmiorem efficeret. Quod consilium cum adprobasset Valens, optimatibus Gothorum imposuit, ut in doctrina fidei cum ipso consentirent. At illi responderunt, nunquam se adduci posse, ut a majorum suorum doctrina discederent. Hæc ætate Ulphila totius gentis erat episcopus, magnæ apud illos autoritatis, & cujus verba pro firmissimis legibus habebant. Hunc Eudoxius cum & verbis demulsisset, & muneribus illexisset, eo impulit, ut Gothos ad communionem imperatoris amplectendam adduceret. Id autem persuasit Ulphilas popularibus suis, cum diceret: contentionem ex ambitione ortam esse discrepantium. Quamobrem Gothi hætenus patrem quidem filio majorem esse dicunt, filium tamen creaturam dicere non sustinent, licet cum iis communicent, qui ita dicunt.

(4) JORNANDES likewise pre-supposes, that Valens led the *Goths* into *Arianism*; for when he relates, c. 26. that, after the unfortunate Battle of *Adrianople*, he was burnt by the *Goths* in a Cottage, he adds; Dei prorsus judicio, ut ab ipsis igne combureretur, quos ipse, veram fidem petentes, in perfidiam declinasset, & ignem charitatis ad gehennæ ignem detorsisset.

(5) AMBROSIIUS *comm. in evang. Luc. L. 1. p. 26.* Gothis non imperabat Augustus, non imperabat Armenis, imperabat Christus. Acceperunt utique Christi censores, qui Christi martyres ediderunt. Et ideo fortasse nos vincunt, ut præsentia docent, quoniam, quem illi oblivione sanguinis fatebantur, huic Arianis questionem generis inferebant.

(6) HIERONYMUS, *epistola 57. ad Latam: quæ circa A. 398. scripta.* Deposuit pharetras Armenius: Hunni discunt psalterium: Scythiæ frigora tervent calore fidei: Getarum rutilus & flavus exercitus, ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria; & ideo forsitan contra nos æqua pugnant acie, quia pari religione confidunt.

(7) CHRYSOSTOMUS, *epist. 14.* Narraverunt mihi Marci, & Gothi monachi, apud quos Serapion, episcopus, perpetuo delitescbat,

Christians, towards the Conclusion of the fourth, and the Beginning of the fifth Century (8). If therefore the former Relations have any Foundation, and we would reconcile them to the latter, some of the *Goths* must be said to have been seduced, in *Valens's* Reign, by the Adherents of *Arius*; but that many remain'd stedfast to their first Profession; and that some Orthodox Bishops continued to convert more of the *Goths* from *Paganism*: And farther, that the *Arians*, on the other Hand, being every where expell'd the *Roman* Provinces, took Refuge among the *Goths*, and gained many Profelytes (9). *Ulpilas* was one of those fertile *Genius's*, who sometimes know, by means of one lucky Invention, how to gain the Affection of a whole Nation. The *Goths* were indebted to him for two singular Advantage: For he is said to have attempted a Translation of the Sacred Writ, into the *Gothick* Tongue; and, on that Occasion, to have formed Letters in their Language (10), which the *Goths* were, probably, till then, destitute of. *Philostorgius* says (11), he translated the whole Bible, excepting the *Book of Kings*, the Reading of which he thought not proper for his Warlike *Goths*: But the Zeal of the *Goths* soon went farther, when they not only compar'd their Version with the *Latin*, but, likewise, examined it with the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Originals. We have yet *St. Jerom's* Answer to two *Gothick* Divines, *Sunnia* and *Fretela*, who consulted him about several Passages in the *Psalms*, where the *Latin* differ'd from the *Greek* Translation; and entreated him to explain to them the true Sense of the *Hebrew* Original. He there commends the *Germans* for examining the Scriptures, whilst the *Greeks* were in Idleness or Contention; and that the *Goths* begun to turn their Hands, which 'till then had only been accustomed to Swords and Bows, to the use of the Pen, and were desirous of learning the Words of Truth in the *Hebrew* Language (12). After the *Goths* had once begun to read the Scripture, they were no less wanting than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in performing Divine Service in their Mother-Tongue: And *Walafridus Strabo*, a *German* Author, who wrote

ſcebat, Moduarium, diaconum, veniſſe illud afferentem, eximium illum virum, Unilam, quem non ita pridem episcopum creavi, atque in Gothiam miſi, multis ac magnis rebus geſtis, diem ſuum extremum clauſiſſe, ac regis Gothorum litteras attuliſſe, quibus, ut ad eos episcopuſ mittatur, petit.

(8) SOZOMENUS likewise ſpeaks in Praise of Theotimus, Biſhop of Tomos, who was famous in the Reign of Theodoſius, L. 7. c. 25.

(9) V. PROSPERI Chr. ad A. Honor. 10.

(10) In the foregoing §. we produced the Testimonies of Socrates, Sozomenus and Philostorgius.

(11) See not. 2. of the preceding §.

(12) HIERONYMUS ad Sunniam & Fretellam, operum, L. 2. p. 626. Dilectissimis fratribus, SUNNIÆ & FRETELÆ, & cæteris, qui vobiscum domino serviunt. Vere in vobis

wrote on Ecclesiastical Subjects, in the Times of *Ludovicus Pius*, says (13), he was told, that the same Language was then retained, at Divine Service, in several Parts of ancient *Scythia*, especially at *Tomos* (14). The same Writer says, of the *Gothick* Version, that the other *Germans* made use of it, and that from thence many Words, originally
Greek,

vobis apostolicus & propheticus sermo completus est: *In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum.* Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreret veritatem; & dormitantibus, imo contendentibus Græcis, ipsa Germania spiritus sancti eloquia scrutaretur? *In veritate cognovi, quod non est personarum acceptor deus; sed in omni gente, qui timet deum, & operatur justitiam, acceptus est illi.* Dudum callosa tenendo capulum manus, & digiti tractandis sagittis aptiores, ad stilum calamumque mollescunt; & bellicosa pectora vertuntur in mansuetudinem Christianam. Nunc & Isaïæ vaticinium cernimus opere completum: *Concident gladios suos in aratra, & lanceas suas in falces; & non sumet gens contra gentem gladium, & non discent ultra pugnare.* Rursum in eodem. *Pascetur lupus cum agno; & pardus requiescet cum hædo; & vitulus & leo & taurus pascentur simul; & puer parvulus ducet eos: & bos & ursus in commune pascentur: parvulique eorum erunt pariter; & leo & bos comedent paleas; non ut simplicitas in feritatem transeat, sed ut feritas discat simplicitatem.* Quæritis a me rem magni operis, & majoris invidiæ; in qua scribentis non ingenium, sed eruditio comprobetur; ut, dum ipse cupio de cæteris judicare, judicandum me omnibus præbeam; & in opere psalterii juxta digestionem schedulæ vestræ, ubique inter Latinos Græcosque contentio est, quid magis Hebræis conveniat, significem. *Mons. Richard Simon even asserts, in his Histoire critique du vieux Testament, that Sunnia and Fretela were a Couple of Matrons; but this Opinion has been sufficiently exploded by F. Martinay.*

(13) *WALAFRIDUS de reb. eccl. p. 181.* Si autem quæritur, qua occasione ad nos vestigia hæc Græcitatæ advenerint, dicendum est, barbaros in Romana republica militasse, & multos prædicatorum Græcæ & Latinæ

locutionis peritos inter has bestias, cum erroribus pugnatos, venisse: & eis pro causis multa nostros, quæ prius non noverant, utilia didicisse, præcipueque a Gothis (qui & Guttoni) cum eo tempore, quo ad fidem Christi, licet non recto itinere perducti sunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorantes, nostrum, id est, Theotiscum sermonem habuerint, & ut historiæ testantur, postmodum studiosi illius gentis, divinos libros in suæ locutionis proprietatem transfulerint, quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos habentur. Et fidelium patrum relatione didicimus, apud quasdam Scytharum gentes; maxime Tomitanos, eadem locutione divina hætenus celebrari officia.

(14) *We find some Traces, that the Vandals likewise made Use of their Mother Tongue in their Divine Service, in a Treatise generally ascribed to S. Austin; but written, in his Name, by some other Person; and probably by Vigilius, Bishop of Taplus, in which S. Austin is introduced as disputing with Pascencius the Arian, in app. ep. Augustini, n. 80. The Author there expresses himself, in Austin's Name, in the following Manner: Si minime licet patris & filii & spiritus sancti unam substantiam lingua exferi Græca, ergo nec deum laudari decet & barbara. Sicut enim Græca linguæ, quod est ὁμολογία, una dicitur, vel creditur, a fidelibus, trinitatis omnino substantia, sic una rogatur, ut misereatur, a cunctis latinis, & barbaris unius Dei natura, ut a laudibus Dei unius nec ipsa lingua barbara sit ullatenus aliena. Latine enim dicitur, Domine miserere. Sola ergo misericordia hæc ab ipso uno Deo, patre & filio & spiritu sancto, lingua debet Hebræa, vel Græca aut ipsa ad postremum postulari Latina, non autem & barbara. Sin licet dicere non solum barbaris lingua sua, sed etiam Romanis, ΣΙΝΟΡΑ ΑΡΜΕΝ, quod interpretatur, Domine miserere, cur non liceret in conciliis patrum, in ipsa terra Græcorum, unde*

Greek, were introduc'd into the *German Tongue*. But we have preserved, or at least hitherto discover'd, no other Remains of that Translation, but the Gospels, and those in some Measure mutilated (15). And *Jos. Scaliger's* Information (16), which he mentions, that the Residue of the *Goths*, who were among the *Præcopensian Tartars*, still retain their Bible entire, is uncertain. In the said *Gothick* Translation of the Gospels, we may perceive a particular Dialect of the *German Tongue*, which has borrow'd many Words of the *Greek*, and of those *Sarmatian Nations*, who border'd on the *Goths*, and which differs somewhat from the ancient *Alemannick* and *Franconian Tongues*, but still more from the *Swedish* (17), and the Letters are widely different from those of a People, known in the North by the Name of *Runs* (18).

unde ubique destinata est fides, lingua propria *ὁμολογία* confiteri, quod est patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti una substantia? The Learned vary in their Opinions about the Words, *Sihora Armen*: *Stephanus Stephanus*, in not. ad *Saxonem grammaticum*, p. 219, imagines, that it must be read, *Her thig forbarme*. *Junius* in his *Glossarium Gothicum* 9. 65, reads *Sigora armai*, and pretends to have discover'd, that the Word *Sigora*, which is derived from *Sig* (a Victory) is, in the most ancient German Writings, sometimes used in the Sense of *Triumphator*, or likewise of *Dominus*. *Armai* is, according to him, the Imperative Mood of the Verb *Arman*, to have Mercy, which was used in the *Gothick*, ancient *Franconian*, and *Anglo-Saxon Dialects*: But another learned Person, conversant in these Languages, supposes, that it must be read, *Fan Sigora Armai*. *Domine victoriarum miserere*. As this Ejaculation seems to have been used in Africa, it appears, that by the Barbari, the Vandals reigning in Africa are rather to be understood than the *Goths*, according to the Opinion of *Erasmus*.

(15) The Manuscript which was formerly in the Library of the Monastery of *Werden*, is now preserved in the Library at *Upsal*, and is known among the Learned, by the Title of the *Codex argenteus*, (because it is bound in massy Silver), we are oblig'd to the laudable Attention of the Swedes, to the Preservation of all Northern Antiquities, for the Publication of this Treasure, in a *Gothick Character*, with the *Anglo-Saxon*

Translation, and the *Glossarium Gothicum*, by *Thomas Mareschal*, printed in 4to. A. 1665, at *Dort*, which Edition was reprinted at *Amsterdam*, A. 1684. *George Stirnhelm*, Counsellor of War to his Swedish Majesty, President in the College of Antiquities, afterwards publish'd it in a Roman Character, with the *Swedish*, *Islandick*, and common Latin Version, together with a learned Preface and Glossary, at *Stockholm*, A. 167, in 4to. Conf. *Ge. Frederici Heupelii* dissert. de *Ulphila*, seu *Versione 4, evangelistarum Gothicæ*.

(16) *JOSEPHUS SCALIGER*, *canonum isagogicorum*, L. 3. p. 347. Etiamnum in iisdem regionibus degunt sub *Præcopensi Tartarorum* dynasta, & utrumque testamentum iisdem litteris, quas excogitavit *Wulfila*, conscriptum, & eadem lingua, qua tempore *Ovidii* utebantur, interpretatum legunt. Sermo enim eorum hodiernus majori ex parte *Teutonicus* est, ut *Josaphat Barbarus*, civis *Venerus*, scripserit, puerum *Teutonein*, quem secum habebat, ab ipsis, & ipsos ab eo vicissim intellectos fuisse, ac verba inter se, haud aliter ac si eadem lingua fuisset, ultro citroque habuisse.

(17) This has been illustrated by *Mr. John George Wachten*, in a particular Dissertation de lingua *Codicis argentei*, an Extract of which may be met with in the *Miscellanea Berolinensia* continuat. 1. p. 40.

(18) See the Comparison of the Letters, used by *Ulphila*, with the *Runnick Alphabet*, in *Heupelius's* afore-cited Dissertation, § 6.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K V I I I.

The Foundation of the several Kingdoms of the GOTHs, VANDALS, SUEVI, and BURGUNDIANS, in the ROMAN Provinces:

S E C T. I. **T** H E *Partition of the Roman Empire between the Sons of Theodosius. The Power and Reputation of the Goths in the East.* II. *Stilico establishes a good Understanding with the Alemanni and Franks.* III. *Alaric raises new Commotions. Gaina, General of the Ostro-Goths, causes Rufinus to be put to Death.* IV. *Alaric invades Greece.* V. *Stilico equips a Fleet against him.* VI. *Transactions of the two Franconian Princes, Marcomer and Sunno.* VII. *The Saxons infest the Coasts of Britain. Of the Limes Saxonicus.* VIII. *Tribigildus excites the Ostro-Goths to a Rebellion in Phrygia.* IX. *Gaina forms a Design on Constantinople: Is defeated by Frájuta: And slain in a Battle with the Huns.* X. *Alaric marches into Italy.* XI. *The Battle of Pollentia.* XII. *A second Engagement near Verona. Alaric leaves Italy. Honorius's Triumph.* XIII. *He makes a League with Alaric against Arcadius.* XIV. *Radagaisus invades Italy and is defeated. Whether Radeghast, the Idol of the Abotrites, was so call'd from him?* XV. *Several German Nations invade Gaul: The Vandals are obliged to fight their Way thro' the Franks.* XVI. *Ir-*
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ructions

ruptions of the Suevi and Burgundians. What Revolutions are caused by these Migrations in Germany? XVII. Constantine revolts in Britain. XVIII. Alaric goes a second Time to Italy; but is appeas'd. XIX. Stilico's Fall. The Emperour breaks again with the Goths. XX. Alaric attacks Rome. Comes to an Agreement with the Romans. XXI. Honorius is reconciled to Constantine, to be the better able to resist the Goths. XXII. Refuses to ratify the Treaty the Romans had made with Alaric. Ataulph comes into Italy. XXIII. Fruitless Negotiation at Rimini. XXIV. Alaric besieges Rome a second Time: Raises Attalus to the Imperial Dignity. XXV. Endeavours to depose Honorius. Imprudent Behaviour of Attalus. XXVI. Alaric deposes Attalus. Enters into fresh Negotiations with Honorius; but without Success. XXVII. Alaric attacks Rome a third Time, and takes the City by Storm. XXVIII. Whether the Goths were guilty of so many Barbarities at Rome, as are generally laid to their Charge? XXIX. Alaric leaves Rome. His Death. Atualph succeeds him, as King of the Wisi-Goths. XXX. The Vandals, Suevi and Alani break into Spain. XXXI. Honorius endeavours to recover Gaul, and sends Constantius thither. XXXII. Constantine draws the Alemanni and Franks over to his Party; but is overcome. XXXIII. The Vandals, Suevi, and Alani separate in Spain. XXXIV. Jovinus assumes the Imperial Dignity at Mentz, with the Assistance of the Germans. XXXV. Atualph marches into Gaul, and defeats Jovinus: Notwithstanding which the Treaty with Honorius is not ratified. XXXVI. Atualph marries the Roman Princess, Placidia. XXXVII. The Goths march into Spain. XXXVIII. Beginning of the Burgundian Monarchy in Gaul. Conversion of the Burgundians. XXXIX. Atualph's Death. XL. Wallia makes Peace with the Romans. Honorius's Triumph. XLI. Wars of the Wisi-Goths with the Alani in Spain. XLII. Wallia makes Toulouse the Royal Residence of the Kingdom of the Wisi-Goths. XLIII. The State of Gaul. Constitution of the seven Gallick Provinces. The City of Triers destroy'd. XLIV. Transactions of the Franks. Of King Pharamond. Whether he may be accounted the Founder of the Monarchy of the Franks? XLV. When the Salique Laws were made? XLVI. Honorius makes Constantius his Partner in the Empire. XLVII. The Wars of the Vandals and Suevi in Spain. XLVIII. The Vandals defeat the Roman General Castinus. XLIX. The Death of Honorius. A Comparison between the German and Roman Power. L. Conversion of the German Nations.

§. I. **T**HEODOSIUS did not long enjoy the Fruits of his last Victory. He died in the Year 395, on the 17th of *January*, at *Milan*, in the 48th Year of his Age. *Arcadius*, one of his Sons, kept the *East*, and the *West* fell to the Share of *Honorius*, his other Son, whom he had sent for to *Italy*: But the *Roman* Provinces remained, as in former Partitions, one Empire and one State, notwithstanding the Administration of it was divided: For all Advices were directed to both Emperors, and all Laws were decreed in the Names of both (1). *Arcadius* was about 18, and *Honorius* 11 Years of Age: But neither of them had inherited any of their Father's Qualities, excepting his Veneration for the Church: And as it is, at all Times, difficult to give a proper Education to a Prince, after he has the supream Power in his Hands; so those who were now in the Administration had perhaps their particular Reasons, for not training up these Princes in the Art of Government. Their Inexperience proved so fatal to the *Roman* Empire; that the Declension thereof may properly be computed from this Time. The *West* in particular underwent, in *Honorius's* Reign, those Devastations, the doleful Memory of which is known in History by the Name of the *Grand Transmigration of a Swarm of Nations*. It was likewise a bad Omen, that, at Court, an Effeminacy rul'd more becoming the *Persians*, than the *Romans* (2). The Courtiers were more sollicitous about their Luxury, their Table, sumptuous Furniture, and other Trifles, in which they placed their Welfare, than about the State. Many of the most excellent Genius's aspired to Dignities in the Church, which was then herself perplexed with civil Disorders. The Military State, and the Reputation those who were experienc'd in War might have gain'd even in other Offices, fell therefore chiefly into the Hands of Strangers; and as, since the Times of *Constantine*, the *Great*, and especially in the last Reign, many *Franks*, *Alemanni* and other *Germans* were in high Esteem, so now the *Goths* in particular, bore such Authority, that *Synefius*, in an Oration address'd to the Emperor *Arcadius*, complains, that the *Goths* might now be look'd upon as the Men, and the *Romans* the Women (3). The

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§. I. (1) *Some modern Writers represent this Partition very differently, and among the Rest, the Abbé Toini, whose Words, in the French Translation of the Treatise of the Liberty of Italy, p. 162. are these: Outre cela jamais, aucun Empereur d' Orient ne songea a contester la prééminence a celui d' Occident, duquel il dependoit au contraire absolument: De telle sorte que celui-ci fut toujours reconnu pour le véritable Empereur, celui là n'en*

aiant en quelque maniere que l' apparence, & pouvant plutôt s' appeller le Colleague, le Coadjuteur de l' autre, &c.

(2) V. SYNESIUS in orat. de regno, ad Arcadium habita, p. 14. C. & sequ.

(3) SYNESIUS l. c. p. 22. A. sq. Ac mihi, vel nimis audacis viri, vel certe vatis esse videtur, numerosam juventutem, alienis institutis educatam, suis moribus utentem, quæ ad bellum spectat:

very Fashions of the *Goths* likewise now began to be imitated (4), as if the Vanity of the *Romans* was to prepare them for the *Gothick* Yoke.
The

tant in regione exercentem, cum videat nequam metuere. Aut enim illos necesse est sapientes esse credamus; aut, si id omnino desperandum est, Tantali lapidem putemus tenuissimis funibus supra rempubl. esse suspensum. Tunc enim primum invadent, cum suos ipsos conatus ex animi sententia successuros putabunt. Hujus sane rei aliquot jam præludia ac velitationes existunt; nonnullæque cum tumore inflammantur imperii, ceu corporis, partes, cum quo, quæ sunt aliena, in ejusdem sani temperamenti concordiam coalescere nequeunt. Alienum autem omne, ut a corporibus, ita a civitatibus excerni oportere, tam medici, quam imperatores, dixerint. At neque contrarias illis viris opponere, & perinde ac si illæ nostræ essent, vocationem a militia postulantibus indulgere, cæterosque, qui in regione sunt, aliis rebus occupari permittere, quid aliud quam hominum ad interitum festinantium est? Cum potius quam arma gerere hic Scythas permittamus, petendi sint amica ab agricultura, qui ipsam tueantur homines, ac tantisper ii centuriandi sint, dum & philosopho e schola, & operario e quæstuario artificio, & e venalium foro, eo, qui ibidem versatur, excitato, nec non ignavæ, fucorum instar, plebi, quæ præ otii abundantia in theatris perpetuo degit, tandem serio agendum esse persuaferimus, priusquam a risu ad gemitum transeant; adeo ut neque melior, neque deterior ullus pudor impediatur, quo minus propriæ a Romanis vires, compareantur. Etenim in familia juxta ac in rebus publicis protectio, defensorque penes mares est; penes sæminas autem eorum, quæ intra ædes sunt, cura atque sollicitudo. Quomodo ergo apud nos alienos esse mares tolerabile est? aut quomodo non turpius est, florentissimum imperium aliis bellica gloria, ac contentione cedere? *conf. Idem p. 23. B.*

(4) Hence Honorius prohibited foreign Habits l. 2. cod. *Theodosiani de habitu, quo uti oportet intra urbem.* Usum Tzangarum atque braccarum intra urbem venerabilem nemini liceat usurpare. Si quis autem contra hanc sanctionem venire tentaverit, sententia viri illustis, P. F.

spoliatum cum omnibus facultatibus tradi in perpetuum exilium præcipimus. *Datum Romæ in foro D. Trajani, CÆSARIO, & ATTICO COSS. and l. 4. e.* Majorès crines, indumenta pellium, etiam in servis intra urbem sacratissimam præcipimus inhiberi. *CLAUDIANUS in Rufinum L. II. v. 77. says that Rufinus himself wore a Gothick Habit.*

Ipse inter medios, ne qua de parte relinquat Barbariem, revocat fulvas in pectore pelles, Frenaque, & immanes pharetras, arcusque sonoros.

Assimilat, mentemque palam testatur amictus. Nec pudet Aufonios currus, & jura regentem Sumere deformes ritus, vestemque Getarum Insignemque habitum Latii mutare, togæque: Mœrent captivæ, pellito judice, leges.

The Goths, on the contrary, retained their Dress, and tho' their Chiefs, who enjoyed Posts of Honour, attended at Court, on Council Days, in a Roman Habit, when they return'd, they immediately put on their Furs again. SYNESIUS l. c. p. 23. B. Ut enim se modo res habent, & consiliariam ipsam Themidem, & belli præsidem deum arbitror præ pudore occultare sese, quoties barbarico renone indutus homo chlamydatos ad bellum ducit, vel cum aliquis scortea, qua amiciebatur, penula deposita, togam induit, & cum Romanis magistratibus primum a consule subsellium habens, legitimisque viris post eum sedentibus, de rerum statu deliberat. Ille autem paululum curia egressi, rursus pelliceas vestes sumunt, togamque, ubi inter comites fuerint, derident, quacum stringendi ensis expeditam esse facultatem negant. Ego vero, cum in multis aliis, tum in eo maxime stoliditatem nostram demiror. Etenim quælibet familia, quæ paulo commodius degit, Scythicæ originis possidet servum: & est unicuique structor, furnarius, & amphorarius, genere Scythæ. Tum inter pedissequos, qui depressiores grabatulos, plicatiles succollant, ut his etiam in via domini insidere possint, Scythæ omnes sunt, quasi jam olim a majoribus generi huic sit a natura tributum, ut Romanorum servitio

The *Goths* themselves sometimes ridicul'd them; and St. *Chrysostom* (5) relates, that one of their Princes did not scruple to say, he wonder'd at the impotent Pride of the *Romans*, to venture to defend their Provinces against the *Goths*.

§. II. THE first Care in the *West* was to extinguish all Remains, and, if possible, the very Memory of *Eugenius's* Rebellion; and, in particular, the Name of *Arbogastes*, whom he had nominated Consul, was every where effac'd: Which, however, was preserv'd in his Posterity, among whom we meet with one *Arbogastes*, Count of *Triers*, whom *Sidonius Apollinarius* (1), and *Auspicius*, Bishop of *Tull* (2), very much extol. *Stilico*, after this, made it his Business to settle a good Understanding with the *Alemanni* and *Franks*, who, on their Part, were not averse to it; because they had sustained great Losses in the late Engagements, and found now, that the Beginning of the new Reign had a peaceable Aspect. It appears from *Claudian*, that *Stilico* went to *Ratia*, and afterwards down the *Rhine*, to the Place, where that River divides itself. In this Progress, he made Alliances with the Kings of the *Alemanni* and *Franks*; for the better Security of which, the Kings of the *Franks* gave their Princes for Hostages (3). The other Circumstances mentioned by *Claudian* favour too

Stilico establishes a good Understanding with the *Alemanni* and *Franks*.

servitio accommodatissimum ac dignissimum esset. Jam vero flavos illos, & Eboico more comatos, apud eosdem homines, privatim quidem servos esse, publice vero magistratus, cum insolens est, tum in hoc spectaculo præ cæteris admirandum censeo.

(5) *CHRYSOSTOMUS ad Viduam Juniorem operum tom. IV. p. 463.* Barbari nostros omnes irident, & quendam ex illorum regibus dixisse ferunt: mirari se impudentiam nostrorum militum, qui, cum facilius quam oves soleant jugulari, adhuc victoriam sperent, neque ex ipsorum regione velint excedere. Namque (ipse quidem dixit) se illis cædendis satietate sæpe captum esse.

§. II. (1) *SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS L. IV. p. 17.*

(2) *V. AUSPICII ad Arbogastem, comitem Treverorum, epistola, apud Du Chesne, tom. I. p. 864. It begins thus:*

Congratulandum tibi est, o Treverorum civitas, Quæ tali viro regeris, antiquis comparabili.
De magno origo semine descendit tui nominis:
Certe virtutis ejus est, ut Arbogastis legitur.
Scribantur in annalibus hujus triumpho pariter
Sicut & ejus scripti sunt, quem supra memoravimus.

Sed hoc addamus meritum huic, qui vere major est,

*Quod Christi nomen invocat religioni deditus.
Fuit in armis alacer ille antiquus, verum est:
Sed infidelis moritur, & morte cuncta perdidit.
Hic autem noster strenuus, belligerosus, inclytus,
Et quod his cunctis majus est, cultor divini nominis,*

(3) *CLAUDIUS de IV. consul. Honorii v. 440. sqq.*

Hunc tamen imprimis populos lenire feroces,
Et Rhenum pacare jubes: volat ille citatis
Vectus equis, nullaque latus stipante caterva,
Aspera nubiferas qua Retia porrigit Alpes:
Pergit, & hostiles, tanta est fiducia, ripas
Incomitatus adit. totum properare per amnem
Attonitos reges humili cervice videres.
Ante ducem nostrum flavam sparsere Sicambri
Cæsariem, pavidoque orantes murmure Franci
Procubere solo: juratur Honorius absens,
Imploratque tuum supplex Alemannia nomen.
Basternæ venere truces, venit accola sylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ; latisque paludibus exit
Cimbrus, & ingentes Albim liquere Cherusci.
Accipit ille preces varias, tardeque rogatus
Annuit

too much of a Poetical Licence, to deserve a Place in History. We may besides look upon it as a Consequence of this good Understanding, that the Poet introduces the Emperor *Honorius*, when he was entering upon his War with *Gildo*, in *Africa*, A. 397, as valuing himself upon those *Franks* and *Suevi*, whom he had sent against him (4); and that, in another Place, he relates, that whilst the Exportation from *Africa* was stopp'd, the Emperor caused Corn to be brought from *Germany* (5).

Annuit, & magno pacem pro munere donat.
Nobilitant veteres Germanica foedera Drusus,
Marte sed ancipiti, sed multis cladibus emta.
Quis victum meminit sola formidine Rhenum?
Quod longis alii bellis potuere mereri
Hoc tibi dat Stiliconis iter.

He speaks in Praise of the same Thing, de laudibus Stiliconis L. I. v. 189-236.

———— Non classica Francis
Intulimus: jacuere tamen non Marte Suevos
Contudimus, queis jura damus: quis credere
possit?

Ante tubam nobis audax Germania servit.
Cedant, Druse, tui, cedant, Trajane, labores.
Vestra manus dubio quidquid discrimine gessit,
Transcurrens egit Stilico, totidemque diebus
Edomuit Rhenum, quot vos potuistis in annis.
Quem ferro, alloquiis; quem vos cum milite,
solus

Impiger a primo descendens fluminis ortu
Ad bifidos tractus, & juncta paludibus ora
Fulmineum perstrinxit iter, ducis impetus undas
Vincebat celeres, & pax a fonte profecta
Cum Rheni crescebat aquis, ingentia quondam
Nomina, crinigero flaventes vertice reges,
Qui nec principibus, donis, precibusque vocati
Parverant, jussi properant, segnique verentur
Offendisse mora, transvecti lintribus amnem
Occursant ubique velis, nec fama sefellit
Justitiæ. videre pium, videre fidelem.
Quem veniens timuit, rediens Germanus ama-
vit.

Illi terribiles, quibus otia vendere semper
Mos erat; & fœda requiem mercede pacisci
Natis obsidibus pacem tam supplice vultu,
Captivoque rogant, quam si post terga revincti
Tarpeias pressis subeant cervicibus arces.
Omne quod oceanum, fontesque interjacet Istri,
Unius incursum tremuit, sine cæde subactus
Servitio boreas, exarmatique triones.

Tempore tam parvo tot prælia, sanguine nullo,
Perficis, & luna nuper nascentæ profectus,
Ante redis quam plena fuit, Rhenumque mi-
nacem

Cornibus infractis adeo mitescere cogis,
Ut Salius jam rura colat, flexosque Sicambri
In falcem curvent gladios, geminasque viator
Cum videat ripas, quæ sit Romana requirat.
Ut jam trans fluvium non indignante Cayco
Pascat Belga pecus, mediumque ingressa per
Albim

Gallica Francorum montes armenta pererrent:
Ut procul Hercyniæ per vasta silentia silvæ,
Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta
Religione truces, & robora, numinis instar
Barbarici, nostræ seriant impune bipennes.
Ultro quin etiam devota mente tuentur,
Victorique favent. quoties sociare catervas
Oravit, jungique tuis Alemannia signis!
Nec doluit contempta tamen, spretoque recessit
Auxilio laudata fides.

(4) *HONORIUS ap. CLAUDIANUM de bello Gildonico v. 391.*

———— Quæcunque meo gens barbara nutu
Stringitur, adveniat. Germania tota feratur
Navibus, & socia comitentur classe Sicambri.
Pallida translatus jam sentiat Africa Rhenum.
This Passage occasioned NICOLAUS VIGNERIUS, in lib. de statu & origin Francorum, p. 53. to believe, that some German People were actually transported to Africa: but this is exploded by VALESIIUS L. II. p. 95

(5) *IDEM in Eutropium L. I. v. 401.*

Quæ suscepta fames, quantum discriminis urbi,
Ni tua, vel foci, nunquam non provida virtus
Australem Arctois pensasset frugibus annum!
Invectæ Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes,
Cinyphique ferax Araris successit aristis,
Teutonicus vomer, Pyrenæique juvenci,
Sudavere mihi.

§. III. THE

§. III. THE *East* had not so peaceable an Aspect, and the Envy and Diffidence of the Ministers, who had the Management, at both Courts, increas'd the seemingly impending Danger: For *Stilico* aimed at a universal Rule, which, on the other Hand, *Rufinus* a *Gaul*, by Birth, who bore the Sway in *Arcadius's* Court, would not allow him. The *Goths* and other *Northern Nations* caus'd great Disorders in *Asia*, as well as in *Moesia* and *Thrace*, in *Europe* (1). The *Goths* even proceeded so far, that *Constantinople* was in Danger, and *Rufinus* came out of the City to treat with them: But we meet with no certain Account of the Conditions, on which the Peace was concluded. *Stilico* had resolv'd to go to the Assistance of the last †, and was already advanc'd to *Dal-*† 395.
matia, with his Army, when he received Orders from *Arcadius*, to return himself, and to send him the Troops which belonged to the *East*. *Stilico* obeyed, and gave the Command of those Troops to the *Gothick* General, *Gaina*, who had headed that People in the Battle with *Eugenius*. The Event confirms the Relation of *Zosimus*, that *Stilico* had secur'd *Gaina*, on his Side, against *Rufinus*: For, when the Army arriv'd, the 17th of *November*, at *Constantinople*, and the Emperor, with *Rufinus*, went out to meet it, the Conspiracy broke out so unexpectedly, that *Rufinus* was kill'd on the Spot (2). *Eutropius*, an Eunuch, got the Administration, and obtain'd a greater Power at Court, than *Rufinus* had; because the Empress *Eudoxia*, who had an absolute Influence over her Consort, was oblig'd to him, in a great Measure, for her Marriage.

§. III. (1) *Claudian describes this Irruption, L. II. in Rufinum v. 23-48. and accuses Rufinus of having excited them himself.*

— Abrupto gentes sic obice fudit,
Laxavitque viam bellis, & ne qua maneret
Immunis regio, cladem divisit in orbem
Disposuitque nefas. alii per terga ferocis
Danubii solidata ruunt, expertaque remos
Frangunt stagna rotis. alii per Caspia claustra,
Armeniasque nives inopino tramite ducti
Invadunt orientis opes. jam pascua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argeus
equorum:

Jam rubet altus Halys: nec se defendit iniquo
Monte Cilix. Syriae tractus vastantur amœni,
Assuetumque choris, & læta plebe canorum
Proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem.
Hinc planctus Asiae: Geticis Europa catervis

Ludibrio, prædæque datur, frondentis adusque
Dalmatiæ fines: omnis quæ mobile Ponti
Æquor, & Hadriacas tellus interjacet undas,
Squalet inops pecudum, nullis habitata colonis,
Instar anhelantis Libyæ, quæ torrida semper
Solibus, humano nescit mansuescere cultu.
Thessalus ardet ager. reticet pastore fugato
Pelion. Emathias ignis populatur aristas.
Jam plaga Pannoniæ, miserandaque mœnia
Thracum,

Arvaque Mytorum: jam nulli flebile damnum,
Sed cursus solennis erat, campusque furori
Expositus, sensumque malis detraxerat usus

(2) *ZOSIMUS* Lib. V. c. 4. 5. & 7. But he has not observed the best Order in his Chronology, *Claudian relates the same Occurrences at large L. II. in Rufinum, v. 101-405.*

§. IV. THE

*Alaric invades
Greece.*

§. IV. THE *Goths*, who had created these Troubles in the *East*, chose *Alaric* for their Commander. This Hero, who was destin'd to spread Terror within the Walls of *Rome*, was born in the Island *Peuce*, which is formed by two Arms of the *Danube* (1), of the Family of the *Balthæ* (2), one of the first Distinction among the *Goths*. He had given eminent Proofs of his Valour against *Theodosius* himself (3), and in his Service afterwards, in the Engagement with *Eugenius* (4); but was disgusted because he had not been advanced according to his Merit (5): And *Zosimus*, as well as *Claudian*, accuse *Rufinus* of having fomented his Distaste (6). He over-run *Macedonia* and *Theffalia*; forced the Pass of *Thermopyle* and ravag'd all the Country, as far as the two Cities of *Thebes* and *Athens*. We find, by this Relation, in *Zosimus*, what those *Pagans*, who thought themselves the most prudent, out of a Zeal for their own Superstition, could prevail upon others, and perhaps themselves, to believe: For, as the Christians valued themselves upon so many Miracles, whereby God had declared himself on their Side, and particularly at the last Battle of *Aquileia*; and the *Heathens* would likewise put in their Claim, to the Protection of Heaven; *Zosimus* writes, that *Alaric* would not venture to attack *Athens*; because he had seen before the Walls of it, the Goddess *Minerva*, in Armour, and *Achilles*, in the same Posture as he is described by *Homer*, when he arm'd himself to revenge the Death of *Patroclus* (7). The *Goths* afterwards

§. IV. (1) CLAUDIANUS de VI. consul. Honorii v. 103-110

— — Duo namque fuere

Europæ, Lybyæque hostes. Maurusius atlas
Gildonis furias, Alaricum barbara PEUCE
Nutrierat: qui sæpe tuum sprevere profana
Mente patrem. Thracum veniens e finibus alter
Hebri clausit aquis; alter præcepta vocantis
Respuit, auxiliisque ad proxima bella negatis,
Abjurata palam Libyæ possederat arva.

(2) JORNANDES, See below §. X. not. 2.

(3) CLAUDIAN introduces ALARIC as praising himself de bello Getico v. 539.

Anne tot augustos Hebro qui teste fugavi
'Te patiar suadere fugam?

From not. 1. it appears, that he fought against Theodosius himself.

(4) See not. 6.

(5) IBID.

(6) ZOSIMUS Lib. V c. 5. His a Rufino per summam nequitiam designatis, posteaquam sedi-

tiosum esse, legibusque semet eximere vidit Alaricum (qui permoleste ferret militum se copiis haud præfici, sed eos duntaxat habere barbaros, quos ei tradiderat Theodosius, quo tempore cum illo tyrannidem Eugonianam everterat) secreto ei significat, ut, quos secum haberet barbaros, aliosve collectitios diversarum gentium milites, ulterius duceret, omnibus absque labore potiturus. His fretus Alaricus, e Thracia discedit, & in Macedoniam Theffaliamque progreditur, interjectis omnibus excidio datis.

(7) ZOSIMUS l. c. cap. 6. Quum ad urbem Alaricus universis cum copiis accederet, murum quidem circum lustrantem vidit propugnatricem Minervam, ea specie, qua inter simulacra conspicitur; armatam scilicet, quasque jam adeuntes invasuram; ante mœnia vero stantem Achillem heroa, talem omnino, qualem Trojanis Homerus exhibuit, quum, ira stimulante, Patrocli necem ulturus in eos pugnaret. Hoc spectrum non serens Alaricus, omni adversus urbem conatu intermisso, pacem

wards pass'd the *Isthmus* near *Corinth*, and this City, together with *Argos*, *Sparta*, and all the adjacent Country, became a Prey to their Arms.

§. V. In the Year 396, *Stilico* went with a Fleet, to *Peloponnesus*, to ^{*Stilico equips*} stop the Progress of the *Goths* (1): But to little Purpose; and ^{*a Fleet against*} ~~Ac-~~ ^{him.} counts we have are so contradictory, that it is difficult where to place the Blame. *Zosimus* imputes it to *Stilico's* evil Conduct (2): *Claudian*, on the contrary, speaks even here in Praise of his Hero (and we cannot expect otherwise from him) and attributes the Cause of so little being done, to the Court of *Constantinople*, which, on Account of certain Suspicions concerning this Expedition, made an untimely Accommodation with *Alaric* (3). A Peace was however concluded, and, as the Poet mentions, in one Passage, that *Alaric* was created *Præses* of *Illyricum* (4) (*scil. orientale*) that was perhaps the principal Condition of it.

§. VI. ABOUT the Year 399 (1), two Princes of the *Franks*, *Marcomer* ^{Transactions} and *Sunno*, had attempted several Innovations, which, however, the *Ro-* ^{of the two} *mans* soon revenged: But we find no other Account of this Matter, but ^{*Franconian*} ~~Princes,~~ what is in *Claudian*. He boasts, not without many Poetical Embellish- ^{*Marcomer*} ~~ments,~~ ^{and *Sunno*.} that *Marcomer* was sent into Exile to *Toscana*, that *Sunno* attempting to succour him, was put to Death, and that their Successors adhered firmly to the *Roman* Court (2). *Pagius* supposes, that the City

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of

pacem per præcones civibus offert, quorum illi quum orationem probassent, sacramentis ultro citroque præstitis, cum paucis Athenas Alaricus ingressus est. Exceptus omni genere comitatis, posteaquam & lavisset, & cum selectissimis in urbe viris fuisset epulatus, & præterea muneribus cultus; urbe paritur & Attica tota, sine ullo maleficio cessit.

§. V. (1) See Tillemont not. 6. ad vit. Theodosii, p. 1034. where he confirms this Chronology.

(2) ZOSIMUS L. V. c. 7.

(3) CLAUDIAN de Bello Getico, v. 527. introduces an ancient Gothick General thus addressing Alaric:

A magno Stilicone cave, qui semper iniquos
Fortuna famulante premit. scis ipse perosis
Arcadiæ quam densa rogis cumulaverit ossa:
Sanguine quam largo Grajos calefecerit amnes.
Extinctusque fores, ni te sub nomine legum
Proditio, regnique favor tegisset eoi.

(4) IDEM in Eutropium L. II. v. 213.

— At nunc, qui sædera rumpit,
Ditatur; qui servat, egit, vastator Achivæ

Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præsidet Illyrico. Jam quos obsedit, amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.
Sic hostes punire solent, hæc præmia solvunt
Excidiis — — —

Alaric, in the same Poet, boasts himself of this
Præfectura de bello Getico, v. 550. See ad §. X.
not. 1.

§. VI. (1) See the following Note.

(2) CLAUDIANUS L. I. de laud. Stiliconis
v. 236.

— — — Provincia missos

Expeliet citius, fallax quam Francia reges,
Quos dederis: acie non jam pulsare rebelles,
Sed vinclis punire licet. Sub judice nostro
Regia Romanus disquirat crimina carcer.
Marcomeres, Sunnoque docet. quorum alter
Etruscum

Pertulit exsilium, cum se promitteret alter
Exfulis ultorem, jacuit mucrone suorum.
Res avidi conscire novas: odioque furentes
Pacis, & ingenio, scelerumque cupidine fratres.

He

The Saxons
infest the
Coasts of
Britain.
Of the Limes
Saxonicus.

of *Triers* was, the first Time, destroyed by the *Franks*, on Occasion of these Irruptions: And that Destruction gave Occasion to the Removal of the *Præfectura Prætorii Galliarum*, from that Place to *Arles* (3).

§. III. ABOUT these Times, we must likewise place *Claudian's* Account of the Security to which *Stilico* restored *Britain*, against the *Scots*, who had invaded it, at the Instigation of the *Picts*, from *Ireland*, and against the *Saxons* (1). The latter had been, for some Time, so powerful in these Seas, that the Emperor thought it expedient to send Troops to the *British* (2), and the opposite *Gallick* Coasts (3), to obstruct their landing. These Coasts received from thence the

He then, Lib. II. v. 248. de laudibus Stiliconis, introduces Gaul, as saying:

Qui mihi Germanos solus Francoſque ſu begit
Cur nondum legitur factis?

IDEM L. I. in Eutropium v. 377.

———— Tum forte decorus

Cum Stilicone gener pacem implorantibus ultro
Germanis reſponſa dabat, legesque Caycis
Arduus, & flavis ſignabat jura Sævis.

His tribuit reges, his obſide ſœdera fancit
Indiſto: bellorum alios tranſcribit in uſus.

Militet ut noſtris detonſa Sicambria ſignis.

Immediately after he repreſents the City of Rome as addreſſing Honorius: v. 391.

———— Quantum te principe poſſim,

Non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone
Tethys

Mitior, aut fracto ſecura Britannia Picto.

Ante pedes humili Franco, triſtique Sævo

Perfruor, & noſtrum video, Germanice, Rhe-
num.

PAGIUS indeed refers this Paſſage to the Year 402. But we find in *Claudian*, that Honorius was buſied with theſe Preparations againſt the *Franks*, when Advice came to the Weſt, that *Eutropius* had been nominated, at *Conſtantinople*, Conſul for the enſuing Year, which Dignity he aſſually enter'd upon A. 400.

(3) PAGIUS in critica annal. Baronii ad A. cit. n. 30. But the Sequel of the Hiſtory gives us Room to conjecture, that this Deſtruction was ſome-what later.

§. VII. (1) Among the Provinces, which petition'd the Emperor to admit of *Stilico* to the Conſulſhip, *Claudian* de laudibus Stiliconis L. II. v. 252-260. introduces *Britain* ſpeaking thus.

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monſtro,
Ferro picta genas, cujus veſtigia verrit
Cæculus, oceanique æſtum mentitur amiſtus,
Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys,
Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, ne litore toto
Aſpicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

In another Paſſage, quoted in the foregoing Note, he ſays:

———— Domito quod Saxone Thetys

Mitior.

(2) V. NOTITIA IMP. p. 1939. Sub diſpoſitione viri ſpectabilis, comitis LIMITIS SAXONICI PER BRITANNIAM.

Præpoſitus numeri Fortenſium OTHONÆ

Præpoſitus militum Tungricanorum DUBRIS.

Præpoſitus numeri Turnacenſium, LEMANIS,

Præpoſitus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunenſis,
BRANODUNO.

Præpoſitus equitum Stableſianorum Garianno-
nenſis, GARIANNONO.

Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetaſiorum, RE-
GULBII.

Præpoſitus legionis II. Aug. RUTUPIS.

Præpoſitus numeri Abulcorum, ANDERIDÆ.

Præpoſitus numeri exploratorum, portu ADURNI.

(3) IBIDEM p. 1985.

Sub duce tractus Armorici & Nervicani:

Tribunus cohortis primæ novæ Armoricæ,

Grannonæ in LITTORE SAXONICO.

and p. 1989. In Belgica ſecunda equites Dal-
matæ, Marcis in LITTORE SAXONICO.

Appellation

Appellation of *Limes Saxonicus*, or *Littus Saxonicum* (4); and the Commander of these Troops, in *Britain*, was called *Comes Limitis Saxonici*.

§. VIII. *EUTROPIUS*, who during their former Confidence, was sufficiently acquainted with *Stilico's* enterprizing Genius, as well as his Capacity, made Use of all Manner of Stratagems to circumvent him. But *Stilico* knew how to obviate them; and *Gaina* brought about the Fall of this haughty Eunuch, in the Year 400, in which he enter'd upon the Consulship, and thereby render'd himself still more odious to all Persons of Distinction, who saw the highest Dignity of the Empire, in this, 'till then unheard of, Manner, as it were, effeminated (1). *Tribigild* a General of the *Goths*, who, according to *Socrates* (2), was related to *Gaina*, lay, with an Army of *Ostro-Goths*, in *Phrygia*, which was assign'd them for their Habitation (3), and thereby renewed the

E e e 2

Memory

(4) *The famous Huetius, in his Origines de la Ville de Caen, acknowledges this Appellation of the Coasts of the present Province of Normandy. He supposes, p. 8, 9. that particularly the Tract of Land, between the Rivers Orne and Dive, was surnamed Saxonia, and that it is the same Otlingua Saxonica, which is mentioned in two capitulares Caroli calvi. His Words are these: Comme la côte septentrionale des Gaules s'appelloit littus Saxonicum, & qu'en particulier les habitans du Bessin septentrional sont appelez par Gregoire de Tours Saxones Bojocassini, & par nos vieux historiens les Sefnes de Bayeux, il est probable, que la partie septentrionale de l'Otlingua, c'est à dire la partie d'entre Orne & Dive, qui est proche de la mer, aura été surnommée Saxonia, &c. But he seems to place the Occasion, on which those Coasts obtain'd the Name of Littus Saxonicum, too late, when he says, p. 15: Vers le sixieme siècle les Saxons occuperent presque toute la côte septentrionale des Gaules, d'ou elle prit le nom de LITTUS SAXONICUM: & ils ont laissé plusieurs marques de leur invasion, & de leur demeure dans divers lieux de cette côte, qui portent des noms Saxons.*

§. VIII. (1) *ZOSIMUS, L. V. c. 13-17.*

(2) *SOCRATES L. VI. c. 6.* Gainas quidam, genere barbarus, Romanorumque ditioni subiectus, & militiæ inter illos assuefactus, ita crevit pedetentim, ut tandem apud Romanos & equitum & peditum dux declararetur. Qui, cum tantum

principatus esset consecutus, nec se ipsum noscere, nec insolentiam animi sui moderari potuit: sed omnem ut dicitur lapidem movit, ut Romanos suæ potestati subjiceret. Idcirco omnem Gothorum gentem ex ipsorum regione accersit, eosque qui ad numerum militum augendum erant idonei, retinere apud se constituit. Et quoniam Tribigildus, communione sanguinis cum eo conjunctus, militum, qui versabantur in Phrygia, tribunus erat, & de sententia Gainæ novis rebus studebat, universam præterea Phrygum gentem subjugarat; Gainas operam dedit, ut rerum Phrygiarum administrandarum potestas ab imperatore ei permitteretur, quam rem Arcadius imperator nihil animo prospiciens, prompto & alacri animo illi concessit. Ille igitur extemplo ad bellum, ut ferebatur, contra Tribigildum gerendum, sed, ut res erat, ad occupandum tyrannidem iter capessens, duxit secum Gothorum barbarorum millia non pauca. Qui in Phrygiam ingressus, eam universam subegit. Itaque Romani magna tempestate jactati fuerunt, non modo, quod tanta barbarorum multitudo se Gainæ adjunxerat: sed etiam, quod partes imperii ad orientem spectantes, erant tanto periculo expositæ. Tum imperator prudens consilium pro temporis ratione secutus, astutia barbarum aggressus est. Nam missis ad illum legatis, modis omnibus eum placare studuit.

(3) *CLAUDIAN calls him Tarbigilus, and his Subjects Gothunni. Lib. II. v. 150. in Eutropium*

Memory of the most ancient Times, when a Swarm of *Celtæ* penetrated, on the other Side, into *Asia*, and establish'd themselves in the Country, from thence call'd *Galatia* (4). This *Tribigild* went, about the same Time, disgusted from Court, and on his Return raised a Rebellion; in the Course of which, not only *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and the adjacent Countries, were infested by the *Goths*; but even *Constantinople* was thought no Place of Safety, if he should pass into *Europe*. Now, when the Court offer'd the Management of the War with *Tribigild* to *Gaina*, he took the Advantage of the Emperor's Consternation, to represent to him, that the safest Method would be to gain him by fair Means; and sacrifice *Eutropius*, who had been the Cause of his Rebellion, and of the general Discontent, to the Peace of the State: Whereupon he was instantly sent into Exile to *Cyprus*, and soon after put to Death.

Gaina forms a Design on *Constantinople*; is defeated by *Frajuta*, and slain in a Battle with the *Huns*.

§. IX. *G A I N A*, who, upon Occasion of this Rebellion, became sensible of his own Power, shewed thereupon his personal Disgust (1). *Arcadius* was not in a Condition to subdue him by Force. An Interview was, therefore, appointed at *Chalcedon*, whither the Em-

pium he introduces Rome, exciting the Goddess Bellona to take Revenge of *Eutropius*:

Non tibi Rhipæis hostis quærendus ab oris.
Non per Caucasias accito turbine valles
Est opus. Ostrogothis colitur, mistisque Gothunnis

Phryx ager: hos parvæ poterunt impellere causæ

In scelus, ad mores facilis natura reverti.
Sic erat, in nostro quando jam milite robur
Torpuit, & molli didicit parere magistro,
Vindicet Arctous violatas advena leges,
Barbara Romano succurrant arma pudori.

He then makes Bellona say to *Tribigild* v. 175-180.
Tandem Tarbigilum (Geticæ dux improbus aulæ

Hic erat) aggreditur, viso tum forte redibat
Eutropio vacuus donis, feritasque dolore
Creverat, & teneris etiam quæ crimina suadet
Ingeniis, Scythicum pectus flammabat egestas.
Huic sese vultu simulatæ conjugis offert, &c.

After this, he relates *Tribigild's* Exploits in Asia at large; and when he, at last, represents the Oriental Empire, as imploring the Aid of Italy, he again makes Use of the Name of Gothunni, v. 576-579.

—— Legio pridem Romana, Gothunni,

Jura quibus victis dedimus, quibus arva, domosque

Præbuimus, Lydos, Asiæque uberrima vastant
Ignibus, & si quid tempestas prima reliquit.

(4) *CLAUDIANUS* in *Eutropium*, L. II. v. 236.

——— Conjurat barbara pubes

Nacta ducem, Latique palam descivit ab armis.
Pars Phrygiam, Scythicis quæcunque trionibus
algit:

Proxima Bithynos solem quæ condit Ionas:
Quæ læva attingit Galatas: utrimque propinqui
Finibus obliquis Lydi, Pisidæque feroces
Continuant australe latus: gens una fuere
Tot quondam populi, priscum cognomen, & unum,

Appellata Phryges. Sed quid non longa valebit
Permutare dies, dicti post Mæona regem
Mæones. Ægeos infedit Græcia portus.
Thyni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur,
Nuper ab oceano Gallorum exercitus ingens
Illis ante vagus tandem regionibus hæsit,
Gesaque deposuit jam Grajo mitis amictu,
Pro Rheno poturus Halym. dat cuncta vetustas
Principium Phrygibus.

§. IX. (1) *A.* 400. exeunte, v. *PACI* ad *A.* 400. n. 7, 8.

peror

peror himself repaired, and came to an amicable Agreement with *Gaina*, in the Church of St. *Euphemia*; by Virtue of which, among other Articles, he was constituted Commander of the *Roman* Army, as well as of the *Gothick* Troops (2). *Gaina* came thereupon to *Constantinople*, where he fell at Variance with the then Bishop, *John Chrysostom*, He was a zealous Adherer to *Arianism*, and frequently laid before *Nilus*, a Disciple of *Chrysostom*, the Doubts and Arguments of the *Arians*, as appears from *Nilus's* Answers (3); which were conceiv'd in such Terms, that it seems more surprizing, how *Gaina* could bear with the Wretchedness of them, than, that he was not convinced by them (4). He likewise insisted upon having a Church for the *Arians* at *Constantinople*; which *Chrysostom* vigorously oppos'd (5). *Gaina*, in the mean Time, became a-new disaffected to the Emperor, either, because his unbounded Desires hurried him too far, or because the Court, which, according to *Socrates* (6), did not, from the Beginning, intend to perform all the Promises made at *Chalcedon*, gave the Occasion. *Gaina* even formed the Project of seizing *Constantinople*; but it was discover'd, and a great Number of *Goths* (7), who were in the City, were seiz'd and put to Death. Several Thousands fled into the Church they had in that City (8); but found no Sanctuary there: For the Emperor caused it to be set on Fire, and burnt to the Ground. *Gaina* proceeded thereupon to open Hostilities; and we may judge in what a Condition the

(2) THEODORETUS L. V. c. 32. p. 744. A. conf. TILLEMONT. in *Arcad.* art. XVIII.

(3) NILUS L. I. *epist.* 70, 79, 114, 116, 205, 206, 286.

(4) Nilus writes him in the first Letter, ep. 70. Erat itaque mihi in animo, proposito ex proverbii dubio respondere; verumtamen cum tu inepta, ac sine ratione præceptione, Arianorum jectibus, veluti veterno confixus sis, motum calami repressi, ad illud solum cohortans, si id patienter sustinueris, ut saltem nunc evangelistarum, & apostolorum prædicationem admittas, quam venenatorum serpentium pestilentiorum Arianorum. Attamen certo scio, nulli futurum utilitati, qui in aures demortuas verba profundit. Another Letter (ep. 114) he begins thus: Rursus magnus copiarum ductor per litteras ad nos venit, arma circa objiciens, non quæ ex se ipso possideat, sed aliunde opprobriose suscipiens.

(5) V. THEODORETI *hist. ecclesiast.* Lib. V. c. 32. & SOZOMENI, Lib. VIII. c. 4.

(6) V. Not. 2. of the foregoing §.

(7) SOCRATES, Lib. VI. cap. 6. p. 711. E. Itaque Constantinopolis, propter infinitas barbarorum copias, quæ illam occupabant, barbara fere facta est; ejusque cives & incolæ captivorum loco habiti.

(8) ZOSIMUS, Lib. V. c. 19. mentions only in general one Christian Church. In hunc modum urbe periculo liberata, intercepti ab urbanis barbari, Christianorum ecclesiam, palatio proximam, occuparunt: asylum hoc saluti suæ tuendæ quærentes. Eos imperator hoc ipso in loco jubet interfici; quem eis ad evitandum facinorum admisorum justissimam pœnam non satis idoneum esse vellet. Hæc præcipiente principe, nemo tamen eis inferre manum audebat, & ex asyis ipsos extrahere, quod vererentur, ne barbari defensionem pararent. Quapropter visum est demoliri ædum, quod mensæ sacrarii impositum est: ut, quibus hoc datum esset negotii, ligna in eos accensa deicerent, idque continuo facitantes, ad interne-

the military State was in the *East*, when we find the Emperor conferring on *Frajuta* (9), who was likewise a *Goth*, and withal a *Pagan*, the Command of the Army. *Frajuta* defeated *Gaina*, and the latter attempted, after this Overthrow, to retreat, with the Residue of his Men, into his own Country, beyond the *Danube*: But *Uldes*, Prince of the *Hunns*, who, with his People, dwelt in that Neighbourhood, thought it not adviseable, to let so warlike a Hero get a firm Footing so near him, and, therefore, way-laid him. *Gaina* resolving to fight his Way thro', a Battle ensued, in which he lost his Life. *Uldes* sent his Head to *Constantinople*, and thereby so ingratiated himself with the Emperor, that he sent him rich Presents, and made a League with the *Hunns* (10). *Gaina's* Head was carried thro' the Streets of *Constantinople* (11), and caus'd no less Joy, than had formerly appear'd, at seeing that of *Rufinus*. *Frajuta*, in Regard of his eminent Services, was so highly esteemed, that he was created *Consul*, A. 401, and acquired the Renown of having restored Military Discipline among the Soldiery.

*Alaric
marches into
Italy.*

§. X. *ALARIC*, who, in the mean Time, had an Opportunity of furnishing his Men plentifully with Arms and all other Accoutrements, in *Illyricum* (1), ventured, in the Year 400 (2), in the Winter-Season

internecionem omnes exurerent. But Socrates mentions a Church of the Goths, Lib. VI. c. 6. p. 712. Milites cum barbaris intra portas, prope ecclesiam Gothorum (ibi enim barbari, qui in urbe remanserant, erant in unum collecti) manu conflagunt, ecclesiam incendunt, permultos eroum trucidant.

(9) ZOSIMUS, Lib. V. c. 20. Frajutum ducem eligunt, natione quidem illum barbarum, sed cætera Græcum, non indole duntaxat & moribus, verum etiam instituto animi & numinum cultu.

(10) ZOSIMUS, L. V. c. 18-22. SOCRATES, SOZOMENUS, and THEODORETUS mention all these Actions, but intermix so many fabulous Circumstances, that Tillemont, after a narrow Enquiry, finds most Probability in Zosimus's Relation, p. 903. and 1058. SOCRATES, Lib. VI. c. 6. fin. refers his Reader to two Poets, Eusebius and Ammonius, who commemorated Gaina's War, in sundry Heroick Poems, the first of which was intitled the Gainiad.

(11) CHRONIC. ALEXANDRINUM, p. 307. VINCENTIO & FLAVIO COSS.

His consulibus traductum est caput Gainæ, Gothi, mense Andynæo.

§. X. (1) CLAUDIANUS de bello Getico v. 548.

— — Gens robore nostra

Tunc quoque pollebat, nullis cum fideret armis
At nunc Illyrici postquam mihi tradita jura,
Meque suum fecere ducem; tot tela, tot enses
Tot galeas multo Thracum sudore paravi,
Inque meos usus vestigal vertere ferri
Oppida legitimo jussu Romana coëgi.

(2) PAGIUS ad A. 403. n. 6-9. asserts, that the Irruption into Italy happen'd A. 400, and that the Battle of Pollentia was fought A. 402. PROSPER in Chr. [consular. places Alaric's Irruption in the Year 400. STILICONE & AURELIANO COSS. Gothi Italiam Alarico & Radagaiso ducibus ingressi. With which CASSIODORUS's Chronicle exactly agrees: STILICO & AURELIANUS COSS. His COSS. Gothi, Alarico & Radagaiso regibus, ingrediuntur Italiam. JORNANDES likewise places the Beginning of the Gothick War in that Year. Postquam vero Theodosius, amator pacis generisque Gothorum, rebus excessit humanis, cœperunt ejus filii utramque rempubl. luxuriose viventes adnihilare,

Season (3), to go to *Italy*. Historians neither shew us his Motives, nor his Pretences, for this March; nor indeed many other Circumstances: We must, therefore, chiefly have Recourse to those we find in *Claudian's* Panegyricks on *Honorius* and *Stilico*, on Occasion of the Advantages, at that Time, gained over the *Goths*. From those it appears, that *Alaric* took his Way over the *Julian Alps* (4), and at first form'd the Resolution of attacking *Rome*: But *Aquileia* probably, for some Time, restrain'd the Power of the *Goths* (5), who otherwise so terrified *Italy*, that the Walls of *Rome* were repaired with all possible Speed, as they had been in *Aurelian's* Reign, when they were in Fear of the *Marcomanni* (6); and the Court itself had almost resolved to leave *Italy* (7). The *Romans* had besides their Hands full on the Borders of *Rætia* (8), where, it seems, the bordering *German* Nations were in Motion, at the

adnihilare, auxiliariisque suis, id est, Gothis, consueta dona subtrahere; mox Gothis fastidium eorum increvit, verentesque, ne longa pace eorum resolveretur fortitudo, ordinant super se regem Alaricum, cui erat post Amalos secunda nobilitas, BALTHAKUMQUE ex genere origo mirifica, qui dudum ob audaciam virtutis, BALTHA, id est audax, nomen inter suos acceperat. Mox ut ergo antefatus Alaricus creatus est rex, cum suis deliberans suavit suo labore quærere regna, quam alienis per ocium subiacere: & sumpto exercitu, per Pannonias, STILICONE & AURELIANO COSS. & per Firmium, dextro latere, quasi viris vacuum intravit Italiam. Nullo penitus obstituto, ad pontem applicuit Condiniani, qui tertio milliaro ab urbe erat regia, Ravennate. TILLEMONT, in not. XIV. ad vit. Honorii, produces farther Proofs; but is of Opinion that Alaric returned, A. 401, and made a fresh Irruption, A. 402. and that then the Battles of Pollentia and Verona happen'd: But it agrees better with Claudian's Relation to admit, that Alaric, after having the first Time forc'd his Way over the Alps, remained so long in Italy, 'till he return'd after the Battle of Verona.

(3) See not. 3. of the following §.

(4) CLAUDIANUS de bello Getico, v. 302.

— Geminis clades repetita tyrannis

Famosum vulgavit iter, nec nota fefellit

Semita præstructum bellis civilibus hostem.

Per solitas venere vias, aditusque sequendos

Barbarico Romana dedit discordia bello.

(5) Conf. loca ap. TILLEMONT. p. 1141.

(6) CLAUDIANUS de VI. consul. Honorii v. 531.

-- Addebant pulchrum nova mœnia vultum

Audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum

Profecitque opifex decori timor.

In GRUTERUS, p. 165, we find the following Inscription applicable to this Purpose:

S. P. Q. R.

IMPP. CAESS. NN. INVICTISSIMIS. PRINCIPIBVS. ARCADIO. ET. HONORIO. VICTORIBVS. AC. TRIVMFATORIBVS. SEMPER. AVGG. OB. INSTAVRATOS. VRBI. AETERNAE. MVROS. PORTAS. AC. TVRRES. EGESTIS. IMMENSIS. RVDERIBVS. EX. SVGGESTIONE. V. C. ET. INLVSTRIS. MILITIS. ET. MAGISTRI. VTRIVSQUE. MILITIAE. STILICONIS. AD. PERPETVITATEM. NOMINIS. EORVM. SIMVLACRA. CONSTITVIT. CVRANTE. FL. MACROBIO. LONGINIANO. A. C. PRAEF. VRBIS.

This Inscription must have been erected about A. 401. because Theodosius, who obtained the Title of Augustus A. 402, is not mentioned in it.

(7) CLAUDIANUS de bello Getico, v. 314-336.

(8) IDEM de bello Getico, v. 296.

Non si perfidia nacti penetrabile tempus

Inrupere Getæ, nostras dum Rætia vires

Occupat, atque alio defudant Marte cohortes,

Idcirca spes omnis abit.

fame

same Time, with the *Goths* (9). *Stilico* therefore first hasten'd thither, and succeeded so well, that he instantly damp'd the rising Flame (10), and was in a Condition to send those Troops, which lay in *Rætia*, into *Italy*. He likewise recall'd those from *Gaul* thither, whereby the *Rhine* was left wholly destitute of Troops (11), and took besides some of those Nations, with whom he now made Peace, in *Rætia*, into the *Roman Service*.

The Battle of
Pollentia.
A. 403.

§. XI. *ALARIC*, after several Skirmishes (1), had already pass'd the *Po* (2), and threatened to besiege *Honorius*, at *Ravenna*, when *Stilico* arrived from *Rætia*. The Poet says in Praise of him, that when he found the Bridge over the *Adda* in the Power of the *Goths*, he cross'd the River within Sight of the Enemy (3): And whilst the *Roman Troops*

(9) *IDEM de bello Getico v. 381.*

— Jam fœdera gentes
Exuerant, Latiiq̃ audita clade feroces.
Vindelicos Saltus, & Norica rura tenebant.

(10) *IDEM de bello Getico, v. 337. seq.*

(11) *IDEM de bello Getico, v. 432.*

Accurrit vicina manus, quam Rætia nuper
Vindelicis auctam spoliis defensa probavit.
Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues, Picto moriente, figuras.
Agmina quin etiam flavis objecta Sicambris,
Quæque domant Cattos, immanesque Cher-
riscos.

Huc omnes vertere minas, tutumque remotis
Excubiis Rhenum solo terrore relinquunt.
Ullane posteritas credet? Germania quondam
Illa ferox populis, quæ vix instantibus olim
Principibus tota poterat cum mole teneri,
Jam sese placidam præbet Stiliconis habenis,
Ut nec præfidiis nudato limite tentet
Expositum calcare solum, nec transeat amnem,
Incustoditam metuens attingere ripam.

(12) *IDEM de bello Getico, v. 418.*

— Legitque precantes
Auxilio, mensus numerum, qui congruus esset,
Nec gravis Italiæ, formidandusve regi.

§. XI. (1) *CLAUDIAN de bello Getico, v. 575.*
introduces Stilico animating his Soldiers at the Battle
of Pollentia, in these Words:

Nunc, nunc, o Socii, temerata sumite tandem
Italiæ pœnas, obsessi principis armis
Excusate nefas. deploratumque Timore
Vulnus, & Alpium gladiis abolete pudorem.

(2) *CLAUDIANUS de bello Getico, v. 557-558.*

represents him as saying:

Fregi Alpes, galeisque Padum victricibus hausi,
Quid restat nisi Roma mihi?

(3) *These Circumstances are related by CLAUDIAN*
de VI. cons. Honorii, v. 436, where he introduces
the Emperor saying:

Cuncta quidem centum nequeam perstringere
linguis,

Quæ pro me, mundoque gerit: sed ab omni-
bus unum.

Si fama nondum patuit, te, Roma, docebo,
Subiectum nostris oculis, & cujus agendi
Spectator, vel causa fuit, populator Achivæ,
Bistonæque plagæ, crebris successibus amens.
Et ruptas animis spirans immanibus Alpes.
Jam Ligurum trepidis admovent agmina muris,
Tutior auxilio brumæ, quod gentibus illis
Frigore consuetis favet inclementia cœli.
Meque minabatur calcato obsidere vallo,
Spem vano terrore fovens, si forte remotis
Præfidiis urgente metu, qua vellet obirem
Conditione fidem: nec me timor impulit ullus,
Hoc duce venturo fretum, memoremque tuorum:
Roma ducum, quibus haud unquam vel morte
parata,

Fœdus, lucis amor, pepigit dispendia famæ.
Mox & per Latium stellarum more videbam
Barbaricos ardere focos, jam classica primos
Excierant vigiles, gelida cum pulcer ab Arcto
Adventat Stilico, medius sed clauserat hostis
Inter me locerumque viam, pontemque tenebat,
Addua quo scissas spumofior incitat undas.
Quid faceret? differret iter? discrimina nullas
N. Stra

Troops hasten'd from all Parts to join him, an Action happen'd near *Pollentia* (4). As noted as this Place became, by that Battle, the Learned are nevertheless uncertain as to the Situation of it (5). A Body of *Alani*, which was in the *Roman* Service, made, according to *Claudian*, the first Attack. Their Leader fought bravely; but was slain in the Heat of the Engagement (6), and the Cavalry began to be in Disorder, when *Stilico* hastening to their Assistance, with the Infantry, obliged *Alaric*, at Length, to quit the Field, and to leave most of his Baggage, and many Prisoners, a Prey to the *Romans* (7). However pompously *Claudian*, who composed his whole Poem *de bello Getico* in Honour of this Battle, and *Prudentius* (8) speak of this Victory, yet we

F f f might

Nostra dabant adeunda moras, perrumperet
agmen?

Sed paucis comitatus erat, nam plurima retro,
Dum nobis properat succurrere, liquerat arma
Extera, vel nostras acies, hoc ille locutus
Ancipiti, longum socios, tardumque putavit
Expectasse manus, & nostra pericula tendit.
Posthabitis pulsare suis, mediumque per hostem
Flamatus virtute pia, propriæque salutis
Immemor, & stricte præsternens obvia ferro
Barbara fulmineo secuit tentoria cursu.

*In the Sequel, he compares him to Horatius Cocles,
who cross'd the Tyber, and then concludes:*

—— Celer Addua nostro

Sulcatur focero. Sed cum transnaret Etruscis
Ille dabat tergum, Geticis hic pectora telis.

(4) IDEM, *de bello Getico*, v. 570. seq.

(5) PAGIUS, *ad A.* 403 .n. 6. Quod oppidum
erat Liguriæ, apud Tanarum fluvium, nunc ex-
cisum. TILLEMONT imagines the Name to be still
retained for a Village on the Tanarus, not far from
Chierascus. From CLAUDIAN, *de bello Getico*,
v. 569. it appears to have been situated on a River
called Urbs, in regione suprema Ligurum. In
another Passage he says, that the Overthrow happen'd
in the Country, where Marius beat the Cimbri,
v. 651.

O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia sacris!
O meritum nomen felicibus apta triumphis!
Virtutis fatale solum: memorabile bustum
Barbariæ! nam sæpe locis, ac finibus illis
Plena laceffito rediit vindicta Quirino.
Illic oceani stagnis excita supremis
Cimbrica tempestas, aliasque immissa, per Alpe.

Hisdem procubuit campis. jam protinus ætas
Adveniens geminæ gentis permisceat ossa,
Et amplius signet titulos commune tropæum.
Hic Cimbros, fortesque Getas Stilicone peremtæ
Et Mario, claris ducibus, legit Itala tellus.

(6) IDEM *de bello Getico*, v. 596.

—— Ibat patiens ditionis Alanus,
Qua nostræ jussere tubæ: mortemque petendam
Pro Latio docuit genti prælatus Alânæ;
Cui natura breves animis ingentibus artus
Finxerat, immanique oculos infecerat ira.
Vulneribus pars nulla vacat, rescissaque cunctis
Gloria sædati splendet jactantior oris,
Ille tamen mandante procul Stilicone citatis,
Acceleravit equis, Italamque momordit arenam
Felix, Elysiisque plagis, & carmine dignus,
Qui male suspectam nobis impensius arsit
Vel leto purgare fidem: qui judice ferro
Diluit immeritum laudato sanguine crimen.

(7) IDEM *de bello Getico*, v. 609-650.

(8) PRUDENTIUS, in Symmachum Lib. II.
v. 692. seqq. gives the following pompous Descrip-
tion of this Battle.

Tentavit Geticus nuper delere tyrannus
Italiam, patrio veniens juratus ab Istro
Has arces æquare solo, testæ aurea flammis
Solvere, mastrugis proceres vestire togatos.
Jamque ruens Venetos turmis prostraverat agros,
Et Ligurum vastarat opes, & amœna profundi
Rura Padi, Tuscumque solum, victo amne,
premebat.

Depulit hos nimbos equitum, non pervigil An-
fer,

Proditor occulti tenebrosa nocte pericli;

Sed

might almost conclude, from the Chronicles of *Orosius* (9), *Cassiodorus* (10), and *Prosperus* (11), that it was not so complete as they represent it.

A second Engagement
near Verona.

§. XII. *ALARIC* retired, after the Battle of *Pollentia*, towards the *Apennine Alps* (1). Tho' *Stilico* had obtained all the Advantages, which Poets attribute to him, he had nevertheless Reason to fear, that, if the *Goths* pass'd the *Apennines*, *Toscana* would be laid waste, and *Rome* itself perhaps endanger'd. And this the Poet mentions as an Inducement for his entering into Negotiations with them. By Virtue of the Accommodation or Truce then made, *Alaric* returned unmolested over the *Po* (2): But the War broke out in a full Flame again, soon after

Sed vis cruda virum, perfractaque congredientum

Pectore, nec trepidans animus succumbere leto
Pro patria, & pulchram per vulnera quærere
laudem.

Numquid & illa dies Jove contulit auspice tantum

Virtutis pretium? dux agminis imperiique
Christipotens nobis juvenis fuit, & comes ejus,
Atque parens Stilico. Deus unus Christus utri-
que

Hujus adoratis altaribus, & cruce fronti
Inscripta, cecinere tubæ; prima hasta Draconis
Præcurrit, quæ Christi apicem sublimior effert.
Illic, terdenis gens exitiabilis annis

Pannoniæ, pœnas tandem delata pependit.

Corpora, famosis olim ditata rapinis,

In cumulos congesta jacent. Mirabere feris

Posteritas sæclis inhumata cadavera late,

Quæ Pollentinos texerunt ossibus agros.

Si potui, manibus Gallorum excisa, levare

De cinerum squalore caput; redeunte Camillo,

Signa renidenti fumans si fronte recepi:

Si potui miseras fertis redimire ruinas,

Et male pendentes lauro præcingere tutres,

Quo te suscipiam gremio, fortissime princeps?

Quos spargam flores? quibus insertabo coronis

Atria? quæ festis suspendam pallia portis?

Immunis tanti belli, ac te stante sub armis

Libera, & auretenus Geticos experta tumultus?

Scande triumphalem currum, spoliisque reper-
tis,

Huc, Christo comitante, veni.

This Passage is in some Commentaries, without Foundation, interpreted of Radagaisus's Overthrow.

What the Poet says besides of Toscana seems fabulous. Alaric had not then penetrated so far.

(9) *OROSIUS* Lib. VII. c. 37. relates some other Circumstances: Taceo de infelicibus illis apud Pollentiam gestis, cum barbaro & pagano duci, hoc est, Sauli, summa belli commissa est: cujus improbitate reverentissimi dies, & sanctum pascha violatum est: cedentique hosti propter religionem, ut pugnaret, extortum est: cum quidem, ostendente in brevi judicio dei, & quid favor ejus posset, & quid ultio exigeret, pugnares vicimus, victores victi sumus. Taceo de ipsorum inter se barbarorum crebris dilacerationibus, cum se invicem Gothorum cunei duo, deinde Alani atque Hunni variis cædibus populabantur. Saulis has been mentioned in the preceding Book, §. XXXVII.

(10) *CASSIODORUS* even says that Stilico was beat by the Goths: *ARCADIUS* V. & *HONORIUS* V. A. 402.

His *COSS.* Pollentiæ Stiliconem, cum exercitu Romano, Gothi victum acie fugaverunt.

(11) *PROSPER* in chron. consular. *ARCADIO* V. & *HONORIO* V.

Adversum Gothos vehementer utriusque partis clade Pollentiæ pugnatum.

§ XII. (1) *CLAUDIAN*, de VI. Conf. *Honorii*, v. 281. introduces Alaric, saying:

—— Nec me Pollentia tantum,

Nec raptæ cruciatis opes. hæc aspera fati

Sors tulerit, Martisque vices, non funditus armis

Concideram. stipatus adhuc, equitumque catervis

Integer, ad montes reliquo cum robore celli,

Quos Apenninum perhibent.

(2) This Circumstance is likewise in *CLAUDIAN*, when he continues Alaric's Speech, l. c. v. 300. thus:

Hæc,

after. If we may believe the Poet, the *Goths* sustained a great Loss, near *Asti*, and a fresh Engagement ensued immediately thereupon near *Verona* (3), which Place *Alaric*, perhaps, intended to make himself Master of, in Order to gain a sure Footing. In this Action, the *Alani*, and a Body of the *Goths*, who acted against *Alaric*, performed eminent Services: and according to the same Poet, *Alaric* narrowly escaped being taken Prisoner (4). *Stilico* thereupon made another Treaty with him, by which he was permitted to depart unmolested out of *Italy*. For this, *Stilico* seems, even at that Time, to have been blamed; since *Claudian* takes so much Pains to turn it to the Honour of his Hero. *Alaric* indeed, as the same Author says, to his Dispraise, continued his Design of penetrating into *Rætia*, or finding a Way into *Gaul* (5): But the Passes were every where too well guarded. *Honorius* went hereupon to *Rome*, A. 404, to enter upon his sixth Consulship, and made, on Account of these Victories, a triumphal Entry. *Stilico*, as it were, shared the Honour of it with him, and rode with him in the same Char (6), preceded by his Son, *Eucherius*, on Horseback (7). The following Inscription, which yet remains, is a Monument of this Triumph, and, at the same Time, of the *Gothick* War:

Heu, quibus insidiis, qua me circumdedit arte
Fatalis semper Stilico! dum parcere fingit,
Rettulit hostiles animos, bellumque remenso
Evaluit transferre Pado, proh fœdera sævo
Deteriora jugo! tunc vis extincta Getarum,
Tunc mihi, tunc letum pepigi.

(3) IDEM in VI. consulat. Honorii, v. 202.
After having related Alaric's Retreat, he proceeds thus:

Tu quoque non parvum Getico, Verona, triumpho
Adjungis cumulum, nec plus Pellentia rebus
Contulit Aufoniis, aut mœnia vindicis Astæ
Hic rursus dum pacta movet, damnisque coactus
Extremo mutare parat præsentia casu:
Nil sibi perjurum sensit prodesse furorem,
Converti nec fata loco, multisque suorum
Diras pavit aves, inimicaque corpora volvens
Ionios Athesis mutavit sanguine fluctus.
Oblatum Stilico violato fœdere Martem
Omnibus arripuit votis, ubi Roma periclo
Jam procul, & belli medius Padus arbiter ibat:
Jamque oportunam motu strepuisse rebeli
Gaudet perfidiam: præbensque exempla laboris
Sustinet accensos ætivo pulvere soles.

(4) IDEM de VI. consul. Honorii, v. 218.

—— Fesso si deficit agmine miles,
Utitur auxiliis, damni securus, & astu,
Debilitat sævum cognatis viribus Istrum,
Et duplici lucro committens prælia, vertit
In se barbariem nobis utrimque cadentem.
Ipsum se caperet, letoque, Alarice, dedisset,
Ni calor incauti male festinatus Alani
Dispositum turbasset opus. prope captus anhelum
Verbere cogis equum, nec te vitasse dolemus.
I potius gentis reliquum, tantisque superstes
Danubii populis, & nostrum vive tropæum.

(5) IDEM de VI. consul. Honorii, v. 229.

Non tamen ingenium tantis se cladibus atrox
Dejecit. occulto tentabat tramite montis,
Si quas per scopulos subitas exquirere posset
In Rantos, Gallosque vias. Sed fortitur obstat
Cura ducis.

(6) IDEM l. c. v. 577.

Tunc tibi magnorum merces fortuna laborum
Perfolvit, Stilico, curru cum vêtus eodem
Urbe triumphantem generum florente juvena
Conspiceres, &c.

(7) IBIDEM v. 552.

IMPP. CLEMENTISSIMIS. FELICISSIMIS. TOTO. ORBE. VICTORIBUS. D.D.D. N.N.N. ARCADIO. HONORIO. THEODOSIO. AUGGG. AD. PERENNE. INDICIUM. TRIUMPHO. QUO. GETARUM. NATIONEM. IN. OMNE. AEVUM. DOM. EXTR. ARCUM. SIMULACRIS. EORUM. TROPÆISQUE. DECORA. S. P. Q. R. TOTIUS. OPERIS. SPLENDORE (8).

Honorius allow'd the *Romans*, on this Occasion, the *Ludi Circenses*, and staid with them 'till the Month of *July*, when he return'd to *Ravenna*, which, in this Reign, was the usual Residence (9).

Honorius
makes a
League with
Alaric against
Arcadius.

§. XIII. *STILICO* could think of no better Method to secure himself against the Snares laid for him at the *Grecian* Court, than that of exciting *Honorius* to a War with his Brother, under the Pretence of restoring, to the *Western* Empire, that Part of *Illyricum*, which *Gratian* had added to the Share of *Theodosius*, and thought *Alaric* might greatly contribute to the Execution of this Design. He therefore made a League with him, in the Emperor's Name, and promised him certain Subsidies, on Condition, that he should keep in a Readiness, 'till he himself fell into *Illyricum*, and could then actually make Use of his Assistance *.

Radagaisus
invades *Italy*,
and is de-
feated.

§. XIV. BUT this Design was frustrated: For in the Year 405 (1), *Radagaisus* (2) came to *Italy*, with a large Army, which, according to *Zosimus's* Account (3), consisted of several *German* Nations that had been

(8) This Inscription may be seen, tho' very incorrect, in GRUTERUS p. 181. n. 10. F. MABILON caused it to be printed, from a MSS. in the Monastery of Einsiedel, in his *Analecta*, T. IV. p. 359. as it is here in the Text. TILLEMONT indeed imagines, p. 1173. that it was written in Honour of a Victory gain'd over *Radagaisus*, but it may be better apply'd to the Triumph held this Year.

(9) Conf. TILLEMONT, p. 1163.

§. XIII. * ZOSIMUS Lib. V. c. 26. Cæterum *Alaricus*, ubi (ceu dictum est a nobis) excessisset e Peloponneso, & reliqua regione, quam *Acheïus* annis interfluit; in *Epiris* hærens, quam regionem incolunt *Molossi*, *Thesproti*, & alii, quotquot sita usque ad *Epidamnum* & *Taulantios* inhabitant loca: rem cum *Stilichone* compositam expectabat: quæ hujusmodi erat. Quum *Stilicho* videret eos, qui *Arcadianum* imperium administrabant, animis erga se infestis esse; adjuncto sibi *Alaricho* socio, cunctas in *Illyriis* nationes

Honorii regno cogitabat adjicere. Qua de re cum *Alaricho* pactus, occasionem expectabat, uti reapse quam primum hunc conatum exsequeretur.

§. XIV. (1) This Computation is confirmed by TILLEMONT, not. 20. ad vit. *Honorii*. In not. 5. of the foregoing §. X, Passages are quoted from PROSPER and CASSIODORUS, where *Alaric* and *Radagaisus* are said to have broken up together, A. 400. To reconcile these intricate Accounts, with Conjectures, we might suppose both Kings to have had the same Intention A. 400, and that *Alaric* indeed actually pass'd the Alps, but that *Radagaisus*, who was to penetrate, on the Side of the Danube, thro' *Rætia* and *Noricum*, could not then fully execute his Design, but delay'd it 'till now.

(2) *Rhadagaisus* is likewise call'd *Rhadagayfus*, and among the *Grecians*, *Rhodogaisus*.

(3) ZOSIMUS, L. V. c. 26. Dum *Alaricus* in hoc intentus esset, ut imperatis obtemperaret, *Rhadagaisus* rex, *Transilvianis* & *Transrhenanis* Celtici

been brought together, in the Regions between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. The Accounts we have of him are so obscure and imperfect, that we are even ignorant of his Country, and of the *Route* he took: The Relations themselves, are, in some Circumstances, quite contradictory. *Orosius* (4) and *Austin* (5), who treat the most circumstantially of this

Celticis, Germanicisque nationibus collectis, hominum quadringentis millibus, ad transeundum in Italiam se parat. Qua re nuntiata, cunctos mirifice prima fama percussit. Cumque desperassent urbes, & ipsa Roma jam in extremo periculo turbata esset; Stelicho, sumtis secum universis copiis, Tucino Liguriæ impositis (erant autem numeri militum triginta) cum aliis sociorum auxiliis, quæ ab Alanis, & Hunnis impetrare potuerat, hostium adventu non expectato, cum omni exercitu Istrum ipse transjecit; & barbaros nec opinantes adgressus, universas hostium copias ad internecionem cecidit: adeo quidem, ut horum prope nullus incolumis evaderet; exceptis paucissimis, quos ipse Romanis auxiliis adscripsit. Ob hanc victoriam Stelicho non abs re magnos animos gerens, cum exercitu ab omnibus propemodum coronatus redibat: cum præter omnem spem formidatis periculis Italiam liberasset. *The Circumstances of Stilico's beating Radagaisus out of Italy, is not well grounded. Some have attempted to help him out, and imagin'd, that, instead of Istrum, must be read Arnun; but that Amendment would not agree with the Rest of the Relation.*

(4) *OROSIUS*, L. VII. c. 37. n. 3. *is the most circumstantial in his Account.* Radagayfus omnium antiquorum præsentiumque hostium longe immanissimus, repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam: nam, fuisse populo ejus plus quam ducenta millia Gothorum, ferunt. Hic supra hanc incredibilem multitudinem, indomitamque virtutem, paganus & Scythia erat. Qui, (ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi generis) omnem Romani generis sanguinem diis suis propinare devoverat. Hoc igitur Romanis arcibus imminente, sit omnium paganorum in urbe concursus: hostem esse, cum utique virium copia, tum maxime præsidio deorum potentem; urbem autem ideo destitutam, & mature perituram, quia deos & sacra perdidit. Magnis querelis ubique agitur; & continuo de repetendis sacris, celebrandisque tractatur. Fervent tota urbe blasphemiarum: vulgo no-

men Christi, tanquam lues aliqua præsentium temporum, probris ingravatur. Itaque ineffabili judicio dei factum est, uti, quoniam in permixto populo piis gratia, impiis pœna debebatur, oportebatque permitti hostes; (qui insuadibilem in plurimis, & contradicentem civitatem severioribus solito flagris coarguerent, non tamen eos, qui indiscrete, eversos intemperata cæde delerent) duo tunc populi Gothorum, cum duobus potentissimis regibus suis per Romanas provincias baccharentur: quorum unus Christianus, propiorque Romano, & (ut res docuit) timore dei mitis in cæde, alius paganus, barbarus, & vere Scythia, qui non tantum gloriam aut prædam, in quantum inexsaturabili crudelitate ipsam cædem amaret in cæde: & hic jam receptus sinu Italiæ, Romam e proximo frementem terrore quassabat. Itaque, si huic ultionis potestas permetteretur, quem Romani ob hoc præcipue timendum arbitrabantur, quia favorem deorum sacrificiorum obsequiis invitaret, & immoderatio cædes sine fructu emendationis assisteret, & error novissimus pejor priore crevisset: quandoquidem in pagani & idololatriæ manus incidisse, non solum paganis residuis de instaurando cultu idolorum esset indubitata persuasio, sed etiam Christianis periculosa confusio, cum & hi terrentur præjudicio, & illi confirmarentur exemplo. Quamobrem justus dispensator humani generis, deus, perire paganum hostem voluit, & Christianum prævalere permisit, ut pagani blasphemantesque Romani, & illo confunderentur perditio, & hoc punirentur immissio: maxime, cum imperatoris Honorii admiranda in rege continentia, & sanctissima fides, non parum divinæ misericordiæ mereretur. Conceduntur quidem adversus immanissimum illum hostem Rhadagaysum, aliorum hostium, cum copiis suis inclinati ad auxilium animi. Ad sunt Huldin & Sarus, Hunnorum & Gothorum duces, præsidio Romanorum. Sed non finit deus rem potentie sue, virtutem hominum, & maxime hostium videri. Contemtum divinitus Rhadagaysum in Tesub nos montes

coga-

of this War, and lived, both, about the same Time, tho' not in *Italy*, call him *Rex Gothorum*. We find besides, in the Life of *St. Ambrose*, written by

cogit: ejusque (secundum eos qui parcissime referunt) ducenta millia hominum, inopum consilii & cibi, in arido & aspero montis jugo, urgente undique timore, concludit: agminaque, quibus dudum augusta videbatur Italia, latendi spe in unum ac parvum verticem trudit. Quid multis morer? Non disposita in bellum acies fuit, non furor timorque incerta pugnae prætulit: non cædes acta, non sanguis effusus est; non postremo (quod felicitatis loco deputari solet) damna pugnae eventu compensata victoriæ: edentibus, bibentibus, ludentibusque nostris, tanti illi, tamque immanes hostes, esurientes, & sitientes, languentesque confecti sunt. Parum hoc est, nisi captum, ac catenatum, & subjugatum sciant, quem timuere Romani: illumque idololatram suum, cujus sacrificia se magis pertimescere, quam arma fingebant, sine prælio victum ac vinctum sub jugo catenisque despiciant. Igitur rex Rhadagaysus, solus spem fugæ sumens, clam suos deseruit, atque in nostros incidit; a quibus captus, ac paulisper retentus, deinde interfectus est. Tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuisse fertur, ut vilissimarum pecudum modo, singulis aureis passim greges hominum venderentur. Sed nihil superesse deus de eodem populo sivit. Nam illico cunctis, qui emebantur, morientibus, quod improbi emptores eorum non impenderunt turpiter pretiis, expenderunt misericorditer sepulturis. Igitur ingrata Roma, quæ, sicut nunc sentit, non ad remittendam, sed ad reprimendam idololatriæ præsumptionem, judicis dei aliquam misericordiam; ita continuo, propter vivorum & mortuorum sanctorum piam recordationem, dei iram passura non plenam, si forte confusa pœniteat, ut per experientiam fidem discat, ab incurso Alarici regis & hostis, sed Christiani, aliquantulo ad tempus spatio differtur. *OROSIUS speaks only from Hear-say; hence some Circumstances of this Relation are so improbable, that they alone render the whole suspected. For who will believe that Rhadagaysus, who is represented in History as a great General, should retire with 200,000 Men, to a barren Mountain, or that so large an Army could march on one little Hill?*

(5) *AUSTIN mentions this Invasion in two Places.*

First, sermone 105. c. 10. p. 381. Mementote, fratres, mementote, non est longum, pauci anni sunt; recordamini. Eversis in urbe Roma omnibus simulacris, Rhadagaysus, rex Gothorum, cum ingenti exercitu, multo numerosiore, quam Alarici fuit, venit. Paganus Romæ erat Rhadagaysus, Jovi sacrificabat quotidie, nuntiabatur ubique, quod a sacrificiis non desisteret Rhadagaysus. Tunc omnes isti, [pagani scilicet] ecce nos non sacrificamus, ille sacrificat: vinci debemus a sacrificante, quibus non licet sacrificare. Deus ostendens, quia non in istis sacrificiis est ipsa temporalis salus, ipsa regna terrena: victus est Rhadagaysus, adjuvante domino. miro modo. And again, L. V. c. 23. de civit. dei. Quod tamen nostra memoria, recentissimo tempore, deus mirabiliter & misericorditer fecit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorant; sed quantum in ipsis est, omnium (si fieri potest) hominum oblivione sepelire conantur: quod a nobis, si tacebitur, similiter erimus ingrati. Cum Rhadagaysus, rex Gothorum, agmine ingenti & immani, jam in urbis vicinia constitutus, Romanis cervicibus immineret, una die tanta celeritate sic victus est, ut ne uno quidem, non dicam extincto, sed nec vulnerato Romanorum, multo amplius quam centum millium prosterneretur ejus exercitus, atque ipse cum filiis mox captus, pœna debita necaretur. Nam, si ille tam impius, cum tantis & tam impiis copiis Romam fuisset ingressus, cui percisset? quibus honorem martyrum detulisset? in qua persona deum timeret? cujus non sanguinem effusum, cujus pudicitiam vellet intactam? Quas autem isti pro diis suis voces haberent? quod ideo ille vicisset, ideo tanta potuisset. quia quotidianis sacrificiis placabat atque invitabat deos? quod Romanos facere, Christiana religio non sinebat. Nam appropinquante jam illo his locis, ubi nutu summae majestatis oppressus est, cum ejus fama ubique crebresceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, spargere, jactare paganos, quod ille diis amicis protegentibus, & opitulantibus, quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non posset ab eis, quia talia diis Romani facia non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam permetterent. Et non agunt miseri gra-

by *Paulinus*, that he besieged *Florence*; but that *Stilico* relieved it (6). *Rome* began already to tremble at so near an Approach of the Enemy, and the *Christians* in particular; because *Radagaisus* was a Heathen, and there was a Rumour, that he had made a Vow to his Deities, of sacrificing to them the Blood of the *Romans*, which made the Party of the *Pagans* at *Rome* more insolent. But *Stilico* assembled the *Roman* Troops at *Pavia* (7); and had, likewise, an Army of *Goths*, commanded by *Sarus*, and a Body of *Hunns*, under the Command of their Prince *Uldin* (8), in his Service. He pursued the Enemy into *Toscana*, which Country, according to the Relations of *Orosius*, *Isidorus* (9), *Paulinus*, and a Chronicle, supposed to be written by *Prosperus*, became, at that Time, famous for the Overthrow of the *Goths* there. *Orosius* writes, in particular, that *Stilico* reduced him to such Streights, in the Mountains near *Fesole*, by surrounding him, that the whole Army was forc'd, by Hunger and Thirst, to surrender: And that *Radagaisus* himself, when he attempted to make his Escape, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, and was put to Death. *Prosper* (10) and *Marcellinus* (11) place this Overthrow

tias tantæ misericordiæ dei, qui, cum statuisset, irruptione barbarica graviore dignos mores hominum castigare, indignationem suam tamen mansuetudine temperavit, ut illum primo faceret mirabiliter vinci; ne ad infirmorum animos everte-
tendos gloria daretur dæmonibus, quibus eum supplicare constabat; deinde ab his barbaris Roma caperetur, qui contra omnem consuetudinem bellorum ante gestorum, ad loca sancta confugientes, Christianæ religionis reverentia tuerentur, ipsi-
que dæmonibus, atque impiorum sacrificiorum ritibus, de quibus ille præsumerat, sic adversarentur pro nomine Christiano, ut longe atrocius bellum cum eis, quam cum hominibus genere viderentur. *In the Edition of the Benedictines, T. VIII. p. 140. it is observed; that, in some of the most correct Mss, the Words cum filiis are not to be found.*

(6) *PAULINUS in vit. S. Ambrosii, c. 50.* Tempore, quo Rhadagaisus supradictam Florentinam civitatem obsidebat; cum jam de se penitus desperassent viri civitatis, per visum S. Ambrosius cuidam apparuit, & promisit, alio die salutem illis affuturam. Quo referente, civium animi sunt erecti. Nam altero die, adveniente Stilichone, tunc comite, cum exercitu; facta est de hoste victoria. Hæc Pan sophia, religiosa femina, matre pueri Pan sophii, referente, cognovimus.

(7) *ZOSIMUS l. c.*

(8) *IDEM ibidem. OROSIUS, l. c. in nota 4. & MARCELLINUS, l. c. in not. 11.*

(9) *ISIDORUS in chron. Gothorum: æra 443.* Anno imperii Honorii & Arcadii X. rex Gothorum, Rhadagaisus, genere Scythæ, cultui idololatricæ deditus, barbaricæ immanitatis feritate sævissimus, cum CC armatis Sarmatarum millibus, Italiæ partes vehementi vastatione aggreditur, spondens, in contemptum Christi Romanorum sanguinem diis suis libare, si vinceret. Cujus exercitus ab Stilichone, duce Romano, in montuosis Tusciæ locis circumclusus, fame potius, quam ferro consumptus: ipse postremum rex captus & interfectus est. *Zosimus is therefore mistaken when he says that Stilico beat Radagaisus out of Italy.*

(10) *PROSPER in chronico consulari. Stilichone II. & Anthemio cons. (A. 405.)* Rhadagaisus in Tuscia, multis Gothorum millibus caesis, ducente exercitum Stilichone, superatus est. *In his other chronicle he says: Ad annum Honorii X. sæva Italiæ barbarici motus tempestas incubuit. Siquidem Rhadagaisus, rex Gothorum, Italiæ limitem vastaturus transgreditur. Ex hoc Ariani, qui Romano procul fuerant orbe fugati, barbararum nationum, ad quas se contulere, præsidio erigi cœperunt. And, ad ann. HONORII XI. Multis vastatis urbibus, Rhadagaisus occubuit,*

cujus

Overthrow in the Year 406. But *Olympiodorus*, the *Grecian*, relates, in the Life of *Honorius*, that *Radagaisus* was not kill'd; but that *Stilico* enter'd into a League with him (12). *Austin*, *Orosius*, *Prosper*, and others do, indeed, call him a King of the *Goths*; but as by this Name, not only the *Goths*, properly so call'd; but likewise the *Vandals* and other *Northern Nations* are denoted, it is yet uncertain from whence he came. In several *German Historians* there runs the Tradition, which is indeed probable, but not grounded on sufficient Proofs, that he was a Prince of the *Vandals* (13), and some proceed even so far in their Conjectures, as to say, that his Memory was for a long Time celebrated by the *Vandals*, and that he was the same *Rhadagast*, who was revered as a God, in the Country

cujus in tres partes per diversos principes divisus exercitus, aliquam repugnandi Romanis aperuit facultatem. Insigni triumpho exercitum tertie partis hostium, circumactis Hunnorum auxiliariis, Stilico usque ad internecionem delevit.

(11) MARCELLINUS in *chronico*, *Arcadio VI. & Probo Coss. A. 406.* Theodosius junior quinquennalia dedit: Radagaisus Paganus & Scythæ, cum ducentis millibus suorum totam Italiam inundavit. Huldin, & Sarus, Hunnorum Gothorumque reges, Radagaisum continuo devicerunt, ipse capite amputato, captivos ejus singulis aureis distrahentes.

(12) In excerptis OLYMPIODORI, p. 3. A. Gothorum, qui cum Rodogaifo erant, primarios viros, optimates appellatos ait duodecim fere millium numero; quibus omnibus debellatis, Stilichonem cum Rhodogaifo societatem iniisse.

(13) NICOLAUS MARESCHALCUS THURIUS, *for Instance*, in *annal.* Herulorum ac Vandalorum, *not only affirms, that he was a Vandalick Prince, but likewise relates the following Circumstances of him, which, as far as they do not agree with the ancient, seem to have no Foundation at all, and are in Part manifest Falsities.* Rhadagasus, Milhao patre prognatus, re militari omnium celeberrimus evasit. Nam, cum Arcadius res imperii Romani tueretur, & Alarichus Gothorum rex, Atanarici filius, ex Balthorum familia nobilissima, a Visegotis, qui stipendiis tunc privati in Pannoniam secessere, rex constitueretur, Rhadagasum Herulorum ac Vandalorum regem clarissimum evocavit, qui millibus mortalium trecentis, ut Plavius Blondus scribit, subito adfuit, quorum

duorum auspicio Gothi in Thraciam, Pannoniam, Noricum & Illyricum intravere, fœda cuncta populatione grassantes, ac vastantes. In Italiam etiam irrumpentes, Romam rerum quondam dominam cepere, anno natalis sui millesimo sexagesimo quarto, a natali Christiano quadringentesimo duodecimo. Et Rhadagasus quidem ultra progrediens, in Vesulanis montibus circumventus, haud ita procul Flumentinis a Stilichone obsessus, rerum omnium inopiam pertulit, qui, quum fugæ se paravisset, a Romanis captus, strangulatus est. Illo vero mortuo, major nunquam Gothorum cædes. Etenim tanta tunc multitudo captivorum fuit, ut singuli pro aureis singulis, pecudum more venderentur postquam victoriam Stilicho Vandalorum se regem prætitulavit, cum Eucharion filio ab Honorio cæsare haud ita multo interjecto tempore superatus. Et talis erat post egregia multa belli facinora Rhadagasi exitus, quem adeo charum sui habuere viventem, ut extinctum indigeterent, & numinis loco colerent, a quo & amnes, & vici inter Herulos nomen etiamnum obtinent. Meminit vero illius Aurelius Sextus, P. Orosius, Cl. Claudianus, Eutropius, Ablavius. Excessit autem vita anno regni septimo ac trigesimo, ab orbe condito sexingentesimo supra quinquies millesimum, ab urbe Roma millesimo centesimo fere, a natali Christi anno quadringentesimo paulo amplius. Nam Visimarum rex floruit trecentesimo, quadragésimo. Reliquit vero Corsiconem, filium heredem. Ablavius *did not probably come to the Author's Hands, but AURELIUS VICTOR, and EUTROPIUS do not go so far as these Times, and CLAUDIAN makes no Mention of Rhadagaisus.*

Country where the ancient *Vandals* dwelt, by the *Pagan* Slaves, who afterwards took Possession of those Countries (14).

§. XV. PEACE was indeed restored to *Italy*, by *Rhadagaisus's* Overthrow; but the *Vandals*, *Alani*, *Burgundians*, *Suevi*, and other German Nations, immediately afterwards, at the Conclusion of the Year 406, and Beginning of the ensuing Year (1), invaded *Gaul* (2). There is some Probability, that all these Nations belonged to *Rhadagaisus's* Army, and that, seeing the Fate of their Chiefs, in *Italy*, they now resolved to try their Fortune themselves (3). The *Alani* were headed by *Goar* and *Respendial*, the former of whom went over to the *Romans*; but the latter, acquired Glory at the very Beginning, by the Assistance he gave the *Vandals*: For when they marched towards the *Rhine*, they were attack'd by the *Franks*, who at that Time still inhabited this Side of the River, and had, as well on Account of their Treaty with *Honorius*, as of their own Safety, Reason to repel these Savage Guests, and they were routed, after a bloody Battle, in which *Godigisclus*, their King, lost his Life. *Respendial* came in Time to the Succour of the *Vandals*; and defeated the *Franks* in their Turn (4). *Gaul* lay now open to

The *Vandals* and *Alani* march to *Gaul*: Are obliged to fight their Way thro' the *Franks*.

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(14) HECTOR GOTFRID MASIUS, in his *Dissertation de Diis Obotritis*, has diligently examined this Opinion, but does not venture to defend it. See Tentzel's *Monathliche Unterredungen de A.* 1695 p. 694.

§. XV. (1) In one of *Prosper's* *Chronicles*, these Irruptions are placed in the XIIIth Year of *Honorius's* Reign (A. 408) *BASSO* & *PHILIPPO* COSS. With which agrees likewise *Marcellinus Illyricianus*. *ZOSIMUS*, on the contrary, in the *Passage*, quoted Note 2, computes it to have been in the Year 406, which is likewise confirmed in the *Chronicon Consulare*, also imputed to *Prosper*. *ARCADIO* VI. & *PROBO* COSS. *Vandali* & *Alani*, trajecto *Rheno*, prid. kalendas *Januarii* ingressi. *CASSIODORUS* speaking of the same Consulate, says: *Vandali* & *Alani* trajecto *Rheno* *Gallias* intraverunt. *VALESIIUS* rer. *Francicarum* T. I. p. 102. and *TILLEMONT* not. 22. ad vit. *Honorii*, endeavour to confirm this Computation. But, if, according to the foregoing *Passage* from *Prosper's* *Chronicles*, they cross'd the *Rhine* on the last Day of the Year, we must subscribe to the Opinion of those, who reckon the Devastation of *Gaul* in the Year 407.

(2) *OROSIUS* L. VII. c. 40. Interea ante biennium *Romanæ* irruptionis, excitatæ per *Stili-*

conem gentes *Alanorum*, ut dixi, *Suevorum*, *Vandalorum*, multæque cum his aliæ, *Francos* proterunt, *Rhenum* transeunt, *Gallias* invadunt, directoque impetu *Pyrenæum* usque perveniunt: cujus obice ad tempus repulsæ, per circumjacentes provincias refunduntur. *ZOSIMUS* L. VI. c. 3. *ARCADIO* VI. & *PROBO* COSS. *Vandali*, *Suevi*, & *Alani* permixti, superatis his locis nationes *Transalpinas* vastarunt, editaque ingenti cæde, *Britanniarum* etiam exercitibus formidabiles extiterunt. Quos quidem eo perpulerunt, ut veriti, ne progredierentur ulterius, ad tyrannos eligendos sese converterent.

(3) *ZOSIMUS*, in the *Passage*, quoted in the foregoing §. nota 3. says: that his Army consisted of many Nations, who dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; among whom, we may justly reckon the *Vandals*, *Suevi* and *Alani*. From *Prosper's* Words C. 2. not. 10. it appears, that this Army was divided into three Bodies, and only one of them was overthrown in *Italy*: These People may, therefore, have been a Part of the Remainder.

(4) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS* has related these Circumstances, from *RENATUS PROFUTURUS FRIGERIDUS*, who wrote the *History* of *Honorius's* Reign: *Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus*, cujus supra meminimus

the Enemy; for *Stilico* had but a little before drawn away the *Roman* Troops, to oppose *Alaric* (5).

Irruptions of
the *Suevi* and
Burgundians.

§. XVI. ST. *JEROM* in a Letter which he wrote *A.* 409, besides the *Burgundians* and *Suevi* (by which Name the *Quadi*, and perhaps the *Hermunduri*, are likewise meant) who made an Irruption about his Time, mentions the *Heruli*, *Gepidae* and *Saxons*; which latter probably ravaged the Sea-Coasts. These Nations, of whom it is uncertain whether they acted in one Community, or each for its separate Interest, spread like an Inundation, which overflow'd sometimes one, and then other Parts of the Country. In *Upper Germany*, they destroyed *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires* and *Strasburg*; and in *Belgica*, *Rheims*, *Amiens*, *Tournay*, *Arras* and *Terouanne*, the Inhabitants whereof they carried captive into *Germany*. Some of these Nations made Incursions as far as the Confines of *Spain*, and ravag'd *Gallia Lugdunensis*, *Narbonensis* and *Aquitain*, in a terrible Manner (1). Some of them acted perhaps, at first, only with
a View

meminimus, cum Romam refert a Gothis captam atque subversam, ait: Interea Respendial, rex Alanorum, Goare ad Romanos transgresso, de Rheno agmen suorum convertit, Vandalis Francorum bello laborantibus. Godigisclo rege absumpto, acie viginti ferme millibus ferro peremtis, cunctis Vandalorum ad internecionem delendis, ni Alanorum vis in tempore subvenisset. PROCOPIUS says of this Irruption lib. de bello Vandalico l. c. 3. Vandali Mæotidis paludis accolæ, fame pressi, ad Germanos, quos hodie Francos nominant, & fluvium Rhenum se receperunt, tractis in societatem Alanis, natione Gothica. Inde, Godigisclo ductu, in ea parte Hispaniæ, quæ oram habet imperii Romani primam ab oceano, sedes fixerunt, ea conditione, de qua tunc inter Honorium & Godigisclo convenit, ut illis partibus nihil nocerent. But PAGIUS has observed three Mistakes in this Account: viz. when he deduces the Vandals from the Mæotick Lake; and imagines, that the Franks joined them; whereas it is plain from Orosius, and Renatus Frigeridus, that the Franks opposed them, and lastly, when he says, that Godigisclo led them to Spain, whereas he was kill'd in the Battle with the Franks. How much Credit soever we may give PROCOPIUS, when he relates the Transactions of his own Times; we must be as cautious in believing his Accounts of Matters more ancient.

(5) *CLAUDIANUS lib. II. de laud. Stilic. v. 191.*

Grates Gallus agit: quod limite tutus inermi, Et metuens hostile nihil, nova culmina totis Ædificet ripis: & sævum gentibus amnem Tiberidis in morem domibus prævelet amœnis, §. XVI. (1) HYERONIMUS ad Ageruchiam de monogamia epist. 91. p. 748. says, A. 409. Innumerales & ferocissimæ nationes universas Gallias occuparunt. Quidquid inter Alpes & Pyrenæum est, quod oceano & Rheno includitur, Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Alani, Gepides, Eruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni, & o lugenda respublica! hostes Pannonii vastarunt. Etenim Assur venit cum illis, Mogontiacum nobilis quondam civitas capta, atque subversa est, & in ecclesia multa hominum millia trucidata. Vangiones longa obsidione deleti. Remorum urbs præpotens, Ambiani, Atrebatæ, extremique hominum Morini, Tornacum, Nemetæ, Argentoratus, translatae in Germaniam. Aquitania, Novemque populorum, Lugdunensis, & Narbonensis provinciæ, præter paucas urbes, populata sunt cuncta: quas & ipsas foris gladius, intus vallat fames. Non possum absque lacrymis Tolosæ facere mentionem, quæ, ut hucusque non, rueret, sancti episcopi, Exuperii, merita præstiterunt. Ipsa Hispaniæ, jamjam peritura, quotidie contremiscunt, recordantes irruptionis Cimbricæ: & quidquid alii semel passi sunt, illæ semper timore patiuntur: And farther: Olim a mari Pontico usque

a View to Booty: But they were afterwards so successful, as to establish themselves, partly in *Gaul*, and partly in *Spain*: Whither, by Degrees, more of their Country-men follow'd them; which occasioned so great a Revolution, that, including the *Gothick Expedition*, this Period is commonly called in History, *The Universal Transmigration of a Swarm of Nations*. The Migration of the *Burgundians*, and that of the other *Suevian* and *Vandalic Nations*, is, in particular, very remarkable, as well on Account of the great Alterations thereby caused in *Germany*; as of the Subversion of the *Western Empire*. For, after they quitted their ancient Habitations, several Names, which 'till then had been so famous in *Germany*, were no more mentioned: On the other Hand, the *Sarmatian Nations* supplied their Place, and extended their Dominions about the *Danube* and *Vistula*, and so on to the *Elb*.

§. XVII. THE Distractions of the *Roman Empire*, which took Rise ^{Constantine revolts in Britain.} in *Britain*, contributed greatly to the wish'd for Success, these People met with in their Attempts: For when *Gaul* was in so desolate and defenceless a State, the Troops in *Britain*, who were always esteemed the most turbulent in the *Roman Army*, rebelled. *Constantine*, whom they had set up for Emperor, went directly over to *Gaul* †, where † A. 407. he gained many Adherents (1). *Limenius*, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, and *Cariobaudes*, *Magister Militiæ*, retired the next Year into *Italy*, when they found all farther Attempts, in Favour of *Honorius*, fruitless (2).

que ad alpes Julias quæ erant nostra, non nostra sunt: & per annos XXX, fracto Danubii limite, in mediis imperii Romani regionibus pugnabatur. Præter paucos senes omnes in captivitate & obsidione generati, non desiderabant, quam non noverant, libertatem. Quis hoc credet, quæ digno sermone historiæ comprehendent? Romam in gremio suo, non pro gloria, sed pro salute pugnare? Imo ne pugnare quidem, sed auro & cuncta suppellectile vitam redimere, quod non culpa principum, qui religiosissimi sunt: sed scelere semibarbari accidit proditoris, qui nostris contra nos opibus armavit inimicos.

§. XVII. (1) ZOSIM. L.VI.c.2. Quo tempore Arcadius adhuc imperabat, Honorio VII, & Theodosio iterum consulibus, milites Britannici, seditione concitata, Marcum in regio solo collocant, eique, tanquam rerum in iis locis potenti, se subjiunt. Eo deinde necato, veluti moribus illorum non respondente; Gratianum in medium producant, & purpura coronaque ornatum, ceu principem, solito

satellitio comitantur. Verum & huic improbato, post menses quatuor, imperium abrogant, & vitam eripiunt; Constantino rerum summa tradita. PROSPER ad h. A. Honorio VII. & Theodosio II. Coss. Constantinus ex infima militia, ob solam speciem nominis, in Britannia tyrannus exoritur, & ad Gallias transit. BEDA Lib. I. c. 9. Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCVII. tenente imperium Honorio, augusti filio Theodosii minore, loco ab Augusto XLIX, ante biennium Romanæ irruptionis, quæ per Alaricum, regem Gothorum, facta est, cum gentes Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorum, multæque cum his aliæ, protritit Francis, transito Rheno, totas per Gallias sævirent, apud Britannias Gratianus, municeps tyrannus creatur, & occiditur. Hujus loco Constantinus ex infima militia, propter solam spem nominis, & sine merito virtutis eligitur: qui continuo, ut invasit imperium, in Gallias transit.

(2) Conf. TILLEMONT p. 1189.

Constantine made War with some, and enter'd into a League with others, of those foreign Nations, whom he found in *Gaul*, according as the Circumstances required (3). *Stilico*, indeed, sent *Sarus*, the *Gothick* General, who had performed eminent Services in other Wars, against him; but in vain, and it was with some Difficulty he saved his own Person (4). *Constantine* was likewise acknowledg'd by many in *Spain*, according to *Orosius*, to whom we may the sooner give Credit, in this Matter, as he speaks of his native Country. But *Didymus* and *Val. Verininus. rianus* †, two Brethren, related to the Family of *Theodosius*, raised an Army, in order to preserve that Country, in Obedience to their lawful Emperor. *Constantine*, who plainly perceiv'd the inevitable Danger which would ensue, if that Army pass'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and *Honorius's* Troops should break in upon him, on the other Side, from *Italy*, nominated *Constans*, his eldest Son, *Cæsar*, and sent him, with some foreign Troops, which were before in *Honorius's* Service, into *Spain*, where he succeeded so well, that he overthrew the two Brothers, and made them Prisoners of War (5).

Alaric goes a second Time to *Italy* but is appeased.

† A. 408.

§. XVIII. THE Advice of this Rebellion oblig'd *Stilico* again to delay his Expedition into *Illyricum*: But *Alaric* would not lose his Expectations. He march'd into *Noricum*, and had already pass'd *Emone* and the River *Aquila*, when he sent Ambassadors † to the Emperor,

(3) *OROSIUS Lib. VII. c. 40. p. 598.* Hujus loco Constantinus, ex infima militia, propter solani spem nominis, sine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo, ut invasit imperium, in Gallias transit. Ibi sæpe a barbaris incertis fœderibus illus, detrimento magis reipublicæ fuit.

(4) *ZOSIMUS Lib. VI. c. 2.*

(5) *OROSIUS Lib. VII. c. 40. p. 599.* Adversus hos Constantinus Constantem filium suum, prohdolor, ex monacho cæsarem factum, cum barbaris quibusdam, qui quondam in fœdus recepti, atque in militiam allekti, Honoriaci vocabantur, in Hispanias misit. Hinc apud Hispanias prima mali labes. Nam interfectis illis fratribus, qui tutari privato præsidio Pyrenæi Alpes moliebantur, his barbaris, quasi in pretium victoriæ, primum prædandi in Palatinis campis licentia data: dehinc supradicti montis claustrorumque ejus cura permissa est, remota rusticanorum fideli & utili custodia. Igitur Honoriaci, imbuti præda, & illekti abundantia, quo magis scelus impunitum foret, atque ipsis sceleris plus liceret, prodita Pyrenæi custodia, claustrisque patefactis, cunctas

gentes, quæ per Gallias vagabantur, Hispaniarum provinciis immittunt iisdemque ipsi adjunguntur, ubi, actis aliquamdiu magnis cruentisque discursibus, post graves rerum atque hominum vastationes, quarum ipsos quoque modo pœnitet, habita sorte, & distributa usque ad nunc possessione, consistunt. *Instead of Honoriacus we ought rather to read Honorianus. In the Notitia Imperii we find, among the Auxilia Palatina, sub Magistro peditum præsentali in occidente, Mention of several foreign Troops, which bear this Surname, viz, Honoriani Atecotti: HONORIANI MARCOMANNI SENIORES. HONORIANI MARCOMANNI JUNIORES: Honoriani Mauri: Honoriani Ascarii: Honoriani Gallicani. These Marcomanni were perhaps those, of whom Paulinus says, in the Passage quoted in the preceeding Book, §. XXXIX. not. 1. that they became subject to Honorius almost at the Beginning of his Reign. It is likewise highly probable, that the Marcomanni Honoriani were, in particular those, whom Constans led to Spain. See below §. XXXIII.*

to

to demand a considerable Sum of Mony, due to him by Virtue of the Treaty concluded. *Stilico* left the Ambassadors at *Ravenna*, and went to *Rome*, where the Emperor then was, and first reported the Matter to *Honorius*, and afterwards to the Senat. Most of those who were not let into the Secret of the Treaty, advised repelling the *Goths* by Force: But, when *Stilico* laid before them the Emperor's Commission, by which he had been empower'd to treat with *Alaric*, his Demand was esteemed just, and it was decreed to pay him 4000 Pounds of Gold (1).

§. XIX. *ARCADIUS* died, *A.* 408, on the first of *May*, and *Theodosius*, his Son, who had bore the Imperial Title, from the Year 402, was but eight Years of Age; wherefore *Honorius*, who had a Right to the Guardianship, propos'd a Journey to the East, to regulate the Administration: But *Stilico* represented the Difficulties and great Expence, that must inevitably attend the Journey of the Court thither, and how dangerous it was to leave *Italy*; *Constantine* being on the one Side, at *Arles*, and *Alaric* on the other Confines. It was, therefore, resolv'd, that the Emperor should send him into the *East*, to establish the Court

Stilico's Fall.
The Emperor
breaks again
with the
Goths.

§. XVIII. (1) *ZOSIMUS Lib. V. c. 29.* Ad Stelichonem vero nuntium quidam pertulit, Alarichum, relictis Epiris, & superatis angustiis, quæ de Pannonio transitum ad Venetos impediunt; apud Emonem opidum castra locasse, quod inter Pannoniam supremam & Noricum situm est. *ZOSIMUS here inserts an Account of the Foundation of the City of Emone by the Argonauts, and at last proceeds thus:* Emone vero progressus Alaricus, ad Aquili flumine transiecto, jam superatis Apenninis montibus, ad Noricum accessit. Hi montes extremos Pannoniæ limites finiunt, & iis, qui ad Noricam gentem transire volunt, arctissimam viam præbent: cui custodiendæ præsidarii pauci sufficiunt, etiamsi magna multitudo vi transire conetur. Alaricus tamen his transitis, e Norico legatos ad Stelichonem mittit, pecuniam poscens, tum ejus moræ nomine, qua se, suasu Steliconis, aiebat in Epiris hæsisse; tum hujus in Italiam & Noricum profectiois causa. Stelico hac legatione accepta, relictis Ravennæ legatis, Romam abit, cum imperatore ac senatu de eo, quid agendum esset, consilia collaturus. Posteaquam senatus in palatio convenisset: proposita consultatione, bellumne gerendum esset, nec ne; complurium quidem eo sententia tendebat, ut bello res decerneretur. Solus Stelicho cum paucis, qui ei metu adducti adsentiebantur, contrariam in

sententiam ibant, & faciundæ cum Alaricho pacis autores erant. Hæc, quum ii, qui paci bellum præferebant, a Stelichone sibi dici peterent, quæmobrem non bellum potius gerere, quam pacem colere mallet, eamque, cum dedecore Romanæ majestatis, pecunia redimere sustineret; Quoniam, inquit, ob commodum principis Alaricus in Epiris tamdiu hæsit, ut, conjuncta mecum opera, bello principi orientis illato, Illyrios ab ejus averteret imperio, regnoque Honorii adjiceret. Et quidem hoc reapse jam successurum fuisse aiebat, si non Honorii principis litteræ prius adlatæ, suam profectioem versus orientem impedivissent: in cujus expectatione Alaricus, tantum ibi temporis contrivisset. Atque hæc dicens Stelicho, simul & epistolam principis ostendit, & culpam in Sere-nam confert; quæ amborum principum concordiam fartam testam servari voluisset. Quapropter omnibus æqua dicere viso Stelichone, senatui placuit, Alarico quatuor librarum millia pacis nomine solvi; quum plures id senatusconsultum non sponte, sed metu Stelichonis fecissent. Adeoque Lampadius, genere dignitateque præstans, quum verbum hoc lingua patria protulisset, non est ista pax, sed pactio servitutis, dimisso senatu, ne quid sibi propter hanc libertatem accideret veritus, ad proximam quandam Christianorum, ecclesiam aufugit.

of the young Emperor; and *Alaric* should be employed against *Constantine*. *Honorius* set out from *Rome*, in *May*, and went thro' *Ravenna* and *Bologna*, to the Army, which lay encamp'd near *Pavia*, and *Stilico* remained at *Bologna*, to prepare for his intended Journey. He had now attained to the highest Pitch of Fortune, the Crown and Scepter only excepted; he had married *Serena*, the Niece of *Theodosius the Great*; had been twice *Consul*, and commanded the whole Army. *Honorius*, who was educated under his Care, a little before, married *Thermantia*, his second Daughter, the eldest, *Maria*, being dead; and, if we may believe *Claudian* (1), *Eucherius*, his Son, was upon the Point of marrying *Placidia*, the Emperor's Sister: The great Confidence *Theodosius* reposed in him, and Reputation with which he had 'till then sway'd the *Roman* Empire, give Posterity the greater Idea of his eminent Services, the more difficult it was to him, as a Foreigner (for he was of *Vandal* Extraction (2) to attain to so great Honours: But these very Advantages, which he thought a Bulwark to his prosperous State, redounded to his Ruin. One *Olympius* (3), whom he had himself brought to Court, had, under the Pretence of a more than ordinary Piety, which was nevertheless very suspicious, found Means of gaining the Confidence of the young Emperor, who perhaps was disgusted at *Stilico's* Power and Authority, even when they were most serviceable to him, and insinuated to him, that *Stilico* aimed at this Journey to the *East*, only that he might make his Son *Eucherius* Emperor, in *Theodosius's* Room, and that then he would likewise find Means to make himself Master of the *Western* Empire. The first Sparks of this Revolution broke out in the Army. The Soldiers at *Pavia* rebelled, and slew several of the principal General Officers, who were represented to them, as *Stilico's* Creatures. Orders thereupon came to the Troops, which lay at *Ravenna*, to seize *Stilico*, and he was taken out of a Church, into which he had fled for Refuge. A new Order immediately followed, to behead him, which was likewise

§. XIX. (1) *CLAUDIANUS* Lib. II. de laud. *Stiliconis* v. 360-366.

(2) Hence *Jerom* calls him, in the Passage cited §. XVI. not. 1, Semibarbarus. But *OROSIUS* expressly places him among the Vandals. Lib. VII. c. 38. Interea comes *Stilico*, Vandalorum, umbellis, avaræ, perfidæ & dolosæ gentis genere editus, &c. *CLAUDIAN* says, in Praise of his Father, that he commanded a Body of Foreigners (who were probably Vandals) under the Emperor *Valens*: de laudibus *Stiliconis* Lib. I. v. 38. seq.

————— quid facta revolvam

Militiamque patris? cujus protendere famam
Si nihil egisset clarum, nec fida *Valenti*
Dextra duxisset rutilantes crinibus alas,
Sufficeret natus *Stilico*.

It seems, that afterwards, when *Stilico* arriv'd at so high a Pitch of Fortune, some pretended his Descent was from Royal Blood. *CLAUDIAN* says of his Son de VI. conf. *Honorii* v. 552.

Eucherius, cui regius UNDIQUE sanguis.

(3) See, concerning him, *TILLEMONT*. p. 1211. executed

executed on the 23d of *August* (4). *Honorius* sent his Confort back to her Mother *Serena*: *Eucherius* fled indeed to *Rome*, but was soon after murder'd, and *Serena*, as we shall see below, came likewise to a violent End. It is no wonder, that the Historians, who wrote after *Stilico's* Fall, do not speak the most favorably of him. *Sozomenus* says (5), that he was suspected of designing to make his Son Emperor of the *East*: But *Philostorgius* (6) adds other Circumstances less probable, and, among the Rest, that he had given Poison to *Honorius*. *Jerom* (7), *Prosper* (8), and *Marcellinus* (9), even accuse him of having excited the *Barbarians* to invade *Gaul*. In several Imperial Mandats, issued after his Death, he is even called an Enemy to the Empire, and there likewise accused of having

(4) *ZOSIMUS Lib. V. c. 34.* Olympius vero, principis animo suam in potestatem redacto, litteras ad milites Ravennates imperatorias mittit: quæ Stiliconem adprehensum in libera custodia detineri juberent. Ea re cognita, Stilico vicinam quandam Christianorum ecclesiam intempesta nocte ingressus est. Quod conspicati barbari, qui cum eo erant, aliique familiares, armati cum servis suis, quid futurum esset, dispiciunt. Posteaquam illuxisset, ingressi sunt ecclesiam milites, & episcopo præsentem, jurejurando Stiliconi confirmarunt, non imperatum esse sibi a principe, ut eum necarent, sed tantum, ut custodirent: quum vero egressus extra ecclesiam, sub custodia militum esse cœpisset, alteræ reddebantur ab eo, qui priores attulerat, litteræ: quibus in litteris, Stelichonis in rempl. delictis, pœna capitis irrogabatur. Eucherio, Stelichonis filio, fuga, dum hæc fierent, versus urbem Romam elapso, ad mortem Stelicho ducitur. Quumque barbari, quotquot ipsi aderant, & famuli, & alias necessarii (quorum erat multitudo non modica) neci eum eripere citato impetu statuissent; variis Stelicho minis & terrore proposito, ab hoc eos conatu revocavit, & quodam modo cervicem ipsemet gladio præbuit; vir omnium, quotquot id temporis magna cum potestate fuerunt, modestissimus. Licet enim filia fratris Theodosii majores matrimonio junctus esset, amborum Theodosii filiorum regna ei credita fuissent & annos tres ac viginti militum ducis munus gessisset, nunquam tamen animadversum est, cum militibus, interveniente pecunia, magistratus præfecisse, vel annonam militarem in lucrum suum vertisse. Quumque pater filij duntaxat unius esset, hanc ei dignitatis metam sta-

tuit; ut ad officium tribuni notariorum provecto, nullam aliam potestatem adquireret.

(5) *SOZOMENUS Lib. IX. c. 4.*

(6) *PHILOSTORGIUS Lib. XII. c. 2.* Omnes enim cogitationes Stelichonem contra imperatorem direxisse: neque, quod generum eum haberet ob filiam, diductum; sed & venenum mortis ei miscuisse: se ipsum vero injuria affecisse in eo, quod Eucherium, filium, contra jus imperatorem facere studeret, nepotem vero imperio (quod ei debebatur per successionem & secundum jus) præcideret, multaretque. Ita vero aperte & confidenter tyrannidem affectasse Stelichonem ait, ut etiam numisma, sola forma excepta cuderet.

(7) *HIERONYMUS. See the Passage above mentioned §. XVI. not. 1.*

(8) *PROSPER in chronico, ad A. Arcadii & Honorii XIII.* Diversarum gentium rabies Gallias dilacerare exorsa, immisso quam maxime Stiliconis, indigne ferentis, filio suo regnum negatum, *The Invasion of the Nations happen'd in Arcadius's Life-Time, and Stilico did not, 'till after his Death, aim at raising his Son to the Imperial Dignity.*

(9) *MARCELLINUS COMES: BALSO & PHILIPPO Coss.* Stilico, comes, cujus duæ filia, Maria & Thermantia, singulae uxores Honorii principis fuere, utraque tamen virgo defuncta, spreto Honorio, regnumque ejus inhians, Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorumque gentes, donis, pecuniisque illectas, contra regnum Honorii, excitavit, Eucherium filium suum, paganum, & adversum Christianos insidias molientem, cupiens cæsarem ordinare, qui, cum eodem Eucherio, dolo suo detecto, occisus est. *But, that Eucherius was educated to Paganism, is very improbable.*

instigated

instigated those Nations (10): But as it is always difficult to come at the Truth; where the Persons accused are not heard in their own Defence, it is much more so, when a Prime-Minister falls. The real Causes are seldom known; the Court will have him supposed guilty; and the Vulgar is prone to give Credit to the least Suspicion, as it were to revenge, on his Memory, what Oppressions they may have suffer'd during his Administration. *Olympius* was made chief Ruler of the Palace, and changed the whole Court. Among other Things, Care was taken that none should be employ'd who were not Members of the true Church; and all those, who had rais'd themselves by *Stilico's* Favour, were severely persecuted. In the Imperial Council, Measures were taken directly opposite to what *Stilico* had advis'd: But the Consequence prov'd fatal. The Wives and Children of all the foreign Troops in *Italy*, were put to Death (11). Which Method of ridding the Country of Strangers, as it differ'd entirely from that, propos'd by *Synesius* (12) to the Emperor *Arcadius*, did more Damage, than could have accrued by the Toleration of them. The Emperor would not perform the Terms promis'd *Alaric*; and yet gave the Command of the Army to Persons, from whom the *Goths* believ'd they had no great Matter to fear; And when *Alaric* arm'd himself to obtain the Accomplishment of the Treaty by Force, several Thousands, who were irritated on Account of the late Persecution, went over into his Service

Alaric attacks Rome: Comes to an Agreement with the Romans.

§. XX. *ALARIC* gave Orders to *Ataulph* his Wife's Brother, who was, with an Army of *Goths* and *Huns* in *Upper Pannonia*, to follow him to *Italy*, and advanced thro' *Aquileia*, *Concordia* and *Altinum*, to *Cremona*, where he cross'd the *Po* (1). He ravag'd *Æmilia*, pass'd by *Ravenna*,

(10) *Stilico is, in some Statutes, accused of having stirr'd up the Barbarians: e. g. l. 22. C. Theod. de bonis proscriptorum. Qui suas opes prædoni publico, vel ejus filio, cæterisque satellitibus dederunt vel jure, vel corpore, quibus ille usus est ad omnem ditandam, inquietandamque barbariem, his omnem repetendi viam jubemus exclusam. in l. 1. C. Theod. de litorum & itinerum custodia, he is called hostis publicus.*

(11) *ZOSIMUS l. c. c. 35. Qui erant in opidis collocati millites, quum de morte Stelichonis ad eos nuntius adlatus fuisset: in barbarorum uxores atque liberos per singulas urbes grassantur, eisque, veluti signo dato, ad interneccionem deletis, quascunque facultates habebant, diripiunt. Quod quum*

inaudissent occisorum propinqui, & ex locis omnibus confluxissent, commoti graviter ob violatam a Romanis tam impie fidem deo teste datam; cum Alaricho belli statuunt societatem adversus Romam coire. Quo nomine collecta hominum triginta, vel paullo amplius millia, promte quocunque videretur, concurrunt. Alarichus autem, ne per hos quidem incitatus, bellum suscipit; sed pacem adhuc bello præfert, induciarum memor, quæ Stelichone vivo, factæ fuerant.

(12) *SYNESIUS. See ad §. I. not. 3.*

§. XX. (1) *ZOSIMUS Lib. V. c. 37. p. 609. His in hunc modum ordinatis, Alaricus expeditionem occepit. Et quoniam res adeo maximas non tantum adparatu pari, sed etiam majore cogitabat*

Ravenna, into *Picenum*, and march'd directly to *Rome*. . We may easily imagine the Consternation which, hereupon, fell on this haughty City. The Senat suspected *Stilico's* Widow, of a secret Intelligence with *Alaric*, and caus'd her, with the previous Knowledge of the Princess *Placidia*, *Honorius's* Sister, who was at *Rome*, and had, at that Time, a Hand in the Affairs of State, to be seiz'd, and strangled (2); supposing, that *Alaric* would raise the Siege, when he should find the Hopes he had conceived from this private Correspondence to be frustrated. But *Alaric* secured the *Tiber*, and cut off all Communication with the City, which occasioned a great Famine. Some obstinate Heathens had procur'd certain Impostors from *Toscana*, to persuade the People, to restore their ancient Sacrifices, promising to intercede with their Deities, to destroy the Enemy by Thunder and Lightning (3): But

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the

gitabat adgredi; Ataulfum, conjugis suæ fratrem, ex Pannonia superiore arcessit, ut eum rei gerendæ sibi socium adjungeret, qui Hunnorum Gothorumque copias haud aspernandas haberet. Verum illius adventu non expectato, ulterius progressus, Aquileiam, & urbes ordine trans Eridanum flumen fitas, cursu præterit: Concordiam inquam, & Altinum, & secundum hanc, Cremonam. Quumque flumen transjecisset, velut in celebritate quadam festa, hoste nullo prorsus occurrente, quoddam in castellum Bononia venit, quod Oecubariam vocant. Hinc Æmilia tota peragrata, relictaque Ravenna, Ariminum accessit, urbem Flaminiae magnam. Deinde, hac quoque cursu præterita, cum cæteris, quæ sunt ejusdem provinciæ, in Picenum venit.

(2) ZOSIMUS says, that she was innocent: c. 38. p. 613. Erat autem hæc quidem suspicio re-apse falsa. Nam nihil hujusmodi Serenæ ad animum acciderat. Verum meritas violatarum rerum divinarum poenas luebat, velut hoc ipso jam loco narrare lubet. Quo tempore Theodosius major, oppressa Eugenii tyrannide, Romam venit, & contemptum sacri cultus in animis omnium excitavit, publicum sumptum ad sacrificia se suppeditaturum inficiatus: expellebantur utriusque sexus sacerdotes, & sana sacrificiis omnibus destituta jacebant. Tunc igitur, his illudens Serena, matris deum ædem videre voluit. Conspicata vero, mundum collo simulacri Rheæ circumjectum, illo divino

cultu dignum, simulacro ademtum, collo suo adhibuit. Quumque vetula quædam, ex virginibus relicta vestalibus, hanc impietatem in os ei exprobrasset, tam contumeliis illi gravibus illudit, quam abigi per comites eam pedissequos jussit. Tum ea discedens, quidquid illa dignum impietate foret, ut & ipsi Serenæ, & marito ejus, & liberis eveniret, imprecatur. Illa vero, nullius horum ratione habita, quum mundo isto sibi placens e fano exisset; sæpenumero quiddam ei se tum quiescenti, tum vigilanti offerebat, quod mortem imminem denuntiaret. Alii quoque complures consimilia conspexerunt. Et quidem persecutrix impiorum vindicta, tantopere suo satisfecit officio, ut etiam eo Serena cognito, quid de se futurum esset, non tamen sibi caveret; sed laqueo cervices illas præferret elidendas, quibus divæ mundum injecerat.

(3) SOZOMENUS, Lib. 9. c. 6. p. 481. Necessarium videbatur iis, qui in senatu adhuc pagani erant, ut & in Capitolio, & in reliquis templis sacrificaretur. Nam Tusci quidam, ad hoc acciti ab urbis hyparcho, promiserant, se fulminibus ac tonitruis abacturos esse barbaros. Gloria-bantur enim, ab se hujusmodi quippiam esse factum in conservationem Larinæ, civitatis Tusciæ, quam Alarichus, dum Romam contenderet, prætergrediens, non cepisset. Cæterum istorum nullum fuisse futurum visum, eventus ipse declaravit. Cordatis vero, hæc ob indignationem dei Romanis

the Senat refused to consent thereto, tho' many of that Body were still addicted to *Paganism*. Now as they found no Prospect of Assistance from *Ravenna*, the only Means left was, to capitulate with *Alaric*, which, in Consideration of a large Sum of Mony, he comply'd with (4). But, as the Publick Treasury was already exhausted, and the private Contributions of the Senators would not suffice, Recourse was had to all the Remains in the *Pagan* Temples; and many Idols of Gold and Silver were melted down. *Zosimus* laments, in particular, the Fate of the Image of *Valour*, and will have it, that all the Valour and Virtue of the *Romans* perish'd with it; whereas he should rather have been sensible of the Folly of his Superstition, from the Impotence of his Deities, who could not save their own Images (5). *Alaric*, after the Conclusion of the Treaty, kept strict Discipline, and set out from *Rome* for *Toscana*: But

Romanis evenire videbantur, ad eorum poenam, quæ ipsi quondam, præ nimia protervia ac petulantia in ipsos & pauperes inique deliquissent. Nicephorus repeats this relation, Lib. 13. c. 35. p. 422. A. Cum igitur annonæ penuria, fames simul & pestis exorta esset, & jam servi ad Alarichum transfugerent, Romanis senatoribus Græcæ superstitionis, ut in Capitolio, & templis omnibus, sacrificia fierent, placuit. Acciti autem Thufci quidam, tonitru & fulminibus se barbaros inde propulsuros esse, polliciti sunt. Nam id illi ad urbem aliam, cui nomen Larinæ, fecerant: quam urbem Alarichus obsessam non cepit. Sed consilium coeptumque id frustra fuit. Siquidem, qui rectam obtinebant mentem, vindicta divina Romanos hæc pati existimarunt, propter ingentes delicias, & quas exhibebant libidines. *Zosimus interperse*, Lib. 5. c. 41, *some other Circumstances which are certainly fictitious*. Dum hæc ipsi secum expendunt, Pompeianus, præfectus urbi, forte in quosdam incidit, qui Romam e Tuscia venerant, & opidum quoddam aiebant, cui nomen NEVEIA, præsentibus se liberaffe periculis, perque nuncupata numini vota, cultumque patrium tonitruis atque fulgetris immanibus elicitis, barbaros imminentes abegisse. Cum his collocutus, quæcunque de pontificum libris fieri expediret, fecit. Quia vero ad annum accidebat ei, quæ tunc invaluerat, opinio; quo tutius id perageret, quod in votis habebat, omnia cum urbis episcopo communicat. Is erat Innocentius, qui quidem opinioni suæ salutem urbis anteponebat, clam permisit eis, ut facerent, quæcunque scirent. Quam illi non aliter

hæc urbi conductura dicerent, nisi publice consueta sacrificia fierent, senatu in Capitolium ascendente, atque tum ibi, tum quolibet in urbis foro rite debita sacra peragente: nemo interesset cerimoniis, ritu patrio celebrandis, ausus fuit, sed hominibus illis e Tuscia valere jussis, ad permulcendum omni studio barbarum se convertunt.

(4) *ZOSIMUS*, c. l. Placuit ab urbe solvi quinque millia pondo auri, argenti triginta millia, tunicarum sericarum quatuor millia, vellerum coccineorum tria millia, piperis tria librarum millia.

(5) *IDEM*, *ibid.* Nam, quod deerat, mundo supplere statuunt, quo erant exornata deum simulacra. Quod sane nihil aliud erat, quam simulacra, sacris ritibus atque cerimoniis dedicata, mundoque decenti exornata, propterea, quod urbi felicitatem perpetuam conservassent; his ipsis cerimoniis nonnihil deminutis, esse inanima prorsus & inefficacia. Quod denique cuncta, quæ tenderent ad interitum urbis, undique concurrere oporteret, non ornamenta dumtaxat sua simulacris ademerunt: verum etiam nonnulla ex auro & argento facta conflagrant: quorum erat in numero fortitudinis quoque simulacrum, quam Romani virtutem vocant: quo sane abolito, quidquid fortitudinis, atque virtutis, apud Romanos superabat, extinctum fuit, id quod ex eo tempore futurum, homines rebus divinis & ritibus patriis exerciti prædixerunt.

this Vicinity gave Opportunity to many Servants to elope from *Rome*, and to lift themselves among the *Goths*.

§. XXI. *CONSTANTINE* took Advantage of these *Gothick* *Honorius* is reconciled to *Constantine*, to be the better able to oppose the *Goths*. Troubles, to make his Peace with *Honorius*, and to oblige him to acknowledge him Emperor. His Ambassadors arrived about this Time, at *Ravenna*, and remonstrated, that the Soldiers had compell'd him to assume the Imperial Title. *Honorius* had the *Goths* upon his Back, in *Italy*; and durst not, therefore, draw any new Enemy upon himself there: He was likewise under Apprehensions for his two Kinsmen, *Verenianus* and *Didymius*, who were in *Constantine's* Hands: He therefore acknowledged him Emperor, and sent him the Purple (1). A remarkable Monument of this Reconciliation is extant in a *Greek* Inscription, found at *Triers* (2), and placed in the Year, in which *Constantine* and *Honorius* are mentioned as Consuls.

ΤΗΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΟΝΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟ Η, ΚΑΙ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟ Α.

i. c.

CONSULAT. HONORII VIII, & CONSTANTINI I.

§. XXII. THIS Peace seems to have been the Occasion, that *Honorius* would not comply with all the Conditions, which had been stipulated at *Rome*; notwithstanding that the *Romans* sent Deputies to him, to desire it. *Alaric*, therefore, returned to *Rome*. *Honorius* sent, indeed, 6000 *Dalmatians*, under the Command of the General *Valens*, to encounter him; but they met with so warm a Reception, that scarce 100 of them escaped (1). The *Romans* sent thereupon other Deputies to the Emperor, among whom was Pope *Innocent* himself; and *Alaric* gave them a Convoy to secure them against Parties. *Atualph* *Honorius* Refuses to ratify the Treaty the *Romans* had made with *Alaric*.

§ XXI. (1) *ZOSIMUS* Lib. V. c. 43. Secundum hæc mittit Constantinus, tyrannus, eunuchos ad Honorium, veniam poscens, quod imperium delatum accepisset. Non enim id se sponte sua rapuisse, sed a militibus, adhibita vi, fuisse coactum. Hoc postulat ubi princeps audivisset, animadvertens, haud facile se, quam diu milites Alaricho barbari longius remoti non essent, de bellis aliis cogitare posse; prætereaque rationem propinquorum habens, qui a tyranno in vinculis detinebantur: (erant autem ii *Verenianus* & *Didymius*) non postulato duntaxat adfensus est, sed

& imperatoriam vestem ei misit. Ac propinquorum quidem causa frustra sollicitus erat, qui ante legationem hanc jugulati fuerant.

(2) *GRUTERUS* p. MLII. 6. *SIRMONDUS* in notis ad *Sidonium* p. 58. *JOSEPHUS SCALIGER* did not therefore recollect this Circumstance, when, de emend. tempor. Lib. V. p. 516, where he cites this Inscription, he confesses his Ignorance, which *Constantine* this was.

§. XXII. (1) *ZOSIMUS* Lib. V. c. 44-45.

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paſſ'd the *Alps*, about the ſame Time that theſe arriv'd at Court. The Imperial Troops obtain'd ſome Advantage over him, which at firſt rais'd the Hopes of the Court; but the Face of Affairs was ſoon changed, when *Olympius* was oblig'd to decamp, and *Jovius*, *Præſectus Prætorii*, was placed at the Head of the Adminiſtration (2).

Fruitless Ne-
gotiations at
Ravenna.

§. XXIII. *JOVIVS* had been formerly very intimate with *Alaric*, when the latter was in *Epirus*, and undertook now to mediate a Peace with him. *Alaric* conſented, and the Interview was appointed at *Rimini*, whither *Alaric* and *Jovius* both went in Perſon. *Alaric* demanded the Ceſſion of *Dalmatia*, *Noricum*, and *Venetia*, to the *Goths*, together with a certain annual Subſidy in Mony, beſides Proviſions. The *Goths* being now very diffident, *Jovius*, as a Mark of his Integrity, drew up his Report to Court, in the Preſence of *Alaric*; and, by a particular Letter, adviſed the Emperor, to declare *Alaric* General of the Army, that he might the ſooner deſiſt from ſome of his Demands: But the Emperor's Anſwer was, that *Jovius* might make the beſt Terms he could, for the Payment of a Subſidy, and the Delivery of certain Proviſions; but that he would never entruſt *Alaric*, nor any other *Goth*, with Employments in the State, much leſs in the Army (1). *Jovius*, who did not expect this Anſwer would deviate from the Advice he had

(2) *IDEM* *L. c. cap. 46.*

§. XXIII. (1) *ZOSIMUS* *Lib. V. c. 48.* *Jovius* autem, præſectus prætorii, quum omnem apud imperatorem potentiam in ſe tranſuliſſet: legatos ad *Alarichum* mittere decrevit, qui eum hortarentur, ut ad ipſam uſque *Ravennam* accederet, quod iſtic pacem facturi eſſent. *Alaricho* principis & *Jovii* litteris adſenſo, & *Ariminum* proſecto, quæ *Ravenna* triginta milliaribus abeſt, celeriter eo *Jovius* quoque ſe contulit, & quod in *Epiris* *Alarichi* hoſpes & amicus factus fuiſſet, de ſœdere pangendo tractat. *Alarichi* hæc poſtulatæ erant: ut in annos ſingulos auri certa ſumma ſolveretur, & annonæ menſura quædam ſuppeditaretur: ut item ipſe cum ſuis omnibus utramque *Venetiam* & *Noricos* & *Dalmatiam* incoletet. Hæc *Jovius*, *Alaricho* præſente, perſcripta mittit ad imperatorem, datis ad eundem ſeorſim quoque litteris, quibus eum cohortabatur, *Alarichum* utriuſque militiæ magiſtrum conſtitueret; ut hoc modo deſenſus, de conditionum aſperitate nonni-

hil remitteret, ac tolerabilibus moderatiſque legibus pacem faceret. Imperator his acceptis litteris, *Jovii* temeritatem damnat, & viciffim miſſis ad eum litteris ſignificat, auri quædam & annonæ modum, ut ipſe ſtatueret, æquum eſſe, qui & præſectus eſſet prætorii & publicorum tributorum copiam facultatemque perſpectum haberet; at dignitatem, aut ducis officium, nunquam ſe vel *Alaricho*, vel ejus gentilibus conceſſurum. *Sozomenus* *Lib. IX. c. 7.* allows of this. Poſtea, cum legationem ejus nomine miſiſſet *Innocentius*, episcopus Romanus, revocatus imperatoris litteris *Alarichus* *Ariminium* venit: quæ civitas ducentis ac decem ſtadiis *Ravenna* diſtat. Ibi ante muros civitatis caſtra metatum cum allocutus eſſet *Jovius*, *Italiæ* hyparchus, imperatori exponit petitionem *Alarichi*, & quod oporteret eum actis publicis declarari præſectum utriuſque exercitus. Imperator vero Pecuniæ & comineatus copiam, uti petierat, haud ſecus ac *Jovio* hyparcho facit; cæterum dignitatem, quam petebat, ſe illi nunquam eſſe conceſſurum, reſcripſit.

given

given, open'd and read the Letter, likewise, in *Alaric's* Prefence. The latter thought this Declaration such a Dishonour to the *Gothick* Nation, that he broke off immediately, and turned his Force upon *Rome*. *Jovius*, at his Return to *Ravenna*, to conceal the Oversight, which his Confidence in *Alaric* had betray'd him into, pretended that Prince would not give Ear to any Proposals that were tolerable; and he excited the *Romans* to so eager and lively a Desire for War, that *Honorius* made a Vow, never to conclude a Peace with *Alaric*; as he and the other Generals did that they would never advise him to it (2): But the Auxiliaries proved almost as arrant Enemies, as the *Goths* themselves. He took 10,000 *Hunns* into his Service; and notwithstanding *Alaric* moderated his Demands, and, by the Interposition of certain Bishops, offer'd to be contented with the two Provinces of *Noricum*, which were almost always infested, and brought very little into the Imperial Treasury, together with an annual Delivery of certain Provisions and a Sum of Money; in Consideration of which he offer'd, with his Subjects, to serve the *Romans* against all their Enemies (3); the Court nevertheless persisted in the War they had once resolved upon (4).

§. XXIV. *AL A-*

(2) *ZOSIMUS*, l. c. c. 49. Hanc epistolam, quum *Jovius* accepisset, non seorsum apertam, sed audiente *Alaricho*, legit. Is cætera quidem moderate tulit, verum, ubi negatum sibi gentique suæ militiæ magisterium vidit; mox ira percitus, Romam contendere barbaros suos jussit, quasi confestim factum sibi totique genti suæ injuriam ulturus. *Jovius* autem, ob inexpectatas hæc litteras imperatoris ad inopiam consilii reductus, Ravennam rediit. Quumque se omni culpa liberare vellet, *Honorium* sacramentis obstringit, quibus sancte polliceretur, numquam pacem cum *Alaricho* facturum; sed bellum perpetuo gesturum. Simul & ipse principis tacto capite, jusjurandum præstat; & a cæteris, quotquot erant cum potestate, consimile quiddam exigit.

(3) *ZOSIMUS* l. c. c. 50. *Alarichus* autem, quod cum susceptæ adversus Romam expeditionis pœnituisset, episcopos urbium ablegat, qui simul & legatione fungerentur, & auctores *Honorio* essent, ne culpa sua sineret eam urbem, quæ jam a pluribus, quam mille annis, magnæ parti orbis terrarum imperasset, barbaris vastandam dedi; nec tantæ ædificiorum moles hostili flamma deleri: sed

potius, moderatis admodum conditionibus, pacem componeret. Nec enim opus esse sibi dignitate potestatis, nec jam se postulatæ prius provincias ad constituendas in eis sedes petere; sed ambos tantum *Noricos*, ad extremas *Istri* partes sitos, & qui continuis incursionibus vexentur, tenuèque fisco tributum inferant. Præter hæc annuæ tantum in annos singulos adjiceret, quantum ipse princeps satis esse putaret. Quin & ab auri se postulato discedere, ac velle, ut amicitia sit, bellique societas, inter se, ac Romanos, adversus quemvis, qui arma sumeret, & ad gerendum adversus rempublicam bellum se commoveret.

(4) *IBIDEM*. Cum hæc *Alarichus* leniter ac modeste proponeret, omnesque simul hominis moderationem admirarentur; *Jovius* & alii, penes quos secundum principem potestas omnis erat, hæc postulata concedi propterea posse negabant, quod omnes magistratus jurejurando se obstrinxissent, cum *Alaricho* se pacem nullam facturos. Quippe, si deo præstitum fuisset jusjurandum, fortasse negligi posse, permittendo benignitati divinæ facinoris impii condonationem. Sed quoniam per ea ut imperatoris jurassent, non jam eis fas esse,

*Alaric besieges
Rome, a second
Time; and
raises Attalus
to the Imperial
Dignity.*

§. XXIV. *ALARIC*, hereupon, besieged *Rome* a second Time; made himself Master of the Harbour, and got all the Provisions of the City into his Power; so that he had nothing to do, but to leave the Enemy to struggle with Famine. A Peace was, at Length, concluded, on this Condition, that the Senat should, instead of *Honorius*, accept of *Attalus*, who 'till then had been *Præfectus Urbis*, for their Emperor; by whose Means *Alaric* hoped to obtain, what *Honorius* refused to grant him (1). The Gates were then open'd for the *Goths* (2). *Attalus* immediately nominated *Alaric* General of the Army, and *Atualph*, *Comes Domesticorum*; *Lampadius* was made *Præfectus Prætorii*; *Marcianus*, *Præfectus Urbis*, and *Tertyllus*, *Consul* for the ensuing Year 410: And the Senat, as well as the *Roman* People, conceived, at first, no less Hopes, from this Revolution, than the *Goths* themselves.

*Endeavours to
to depose
Honorius:
Impudent
Deportment of
Attalus.*

§. XXV. BUT the *Goths* were the first who found themselves deceived in the Opinion they had entertained of *Attalus*. *Alaric* advised him to take the Advantage of the first Disorder, to make himself Master of *Africa*, from whence *Rome* was furnish'd with Provisions, and to that End, to send *Druma*, the *Gothick* General, thither. But here

contra tam grave jusjurandum delinquere. SOZOMENUS L. IX. c. 7 & 8. At vero barbarus non ita multo post pœnitentia ductus, significat, se dignitatem jam nullam petere, quin se auxiliarem Romanis fore, si modo commeatum medio-rem, & habitationem donent locorum, qui a Romanis non magni fèrent. Cum autem legatione per episcopos quosdam facta, hujus rei petitione bis frustratus esset, Romam reversus, civitatem oppugnat.

§. XXIV. (1) SOZOMENUS L. IX. c. 9. says that he was baptiz'd by Sigefarius, Bishop of the Goths, and on that Account was agreeable to the Arians: Hæc res hujusmodi eventum fuisse fortitas, haud mediocriter doluerunt tum pagani, tum illi Christiani, qui Arianam sectabantur hæresin. Ili enim, ducta conjectura ex Attali tum proposito, & priore educatione, prorsus existimabant, illum palam paganismum amplexurum, & ipsis templa patria restituturum, & ferias & victimas. Ili vero, se primatum in ecclesiis, sicuti tempore Constantii ac Valentis, rursus consecuturos, arbitrabantur, siquidem ille firmum contineret imperium: propterea, quod a Sigefario, Gothorum episcopo, baptizatus, & ob id cum ipsis universis, tum vel maxime Alaricho, charissimus esset.

(2) ZOSIMUS Lib. VI. c. 6. In Italia vero Alarichus, pace conditionibus iis, quas proposuerat non impetrata, nec obsidibus acceptis, Romam rursus invadit, minatus, eam se per vim expugnaturum, nisi cives Romani, conjunctis secum animis, adversus Honorium augustum expeditionem suscepissent. Illis ad hoc postulatum cunctantibus, urbem obsidet; & ad portum profectus, aliquot diebus in ejus oppugnatione consumtis, tandem eo potitus est. Ubi, quum omnem urbis annonam reconditam invenisset, eam se minatus est in exercitum suum expensurum, ni celeriter iis Romani, quæ proponebat, satisfecissent. Itaque senatus universus convenit, & instituta deliberatione, quid potissimum agendum esset, tandem omnibus ad-sensus est, quæ Alarichus imperaverat. Nec enim mortis ullum erat effugium, posteaquam urbi nulla e portu annona suppeditabatur. Secundum hæc exceptis Alarichi legatis, ad urbem eum arcessunt; ac veluti jussi fuerant, Attalum, præfectum urbis, sublimem in augusto solio, purpura coronaque cinctum, collocant. Is extemplo Lampadium præfectum prætorii declarat, & Marcianum præfectum urbis constituit. Militares præfecturas tum ipsi Alaricho, tum Valenti tradit. add. SOZOMENUS L. IX. c. 8.

Zosimus

Zosimus himself ridicules *Attalus*, for relying more upon the empty Promises of his Soothsayers, who had flatter'd him, that he should have the Possession of *Africa*, without Blood-shed, than upon the prudent Counsel of the *Gothick* King (1). He sent another General, call'd *Constantine*, thither; but the Number of his Men was insufficient, and he immediately defeated by *Heraclian*, the Lieutenant of that Province. *Attalus* set out, about the same Time, against *Honorius*, who was in the utmost Anxiety, and sent Ambassadors to him, with the Offer of admitting him a Partner in the Empire: But *Attalus* sent him so arrogant an Answer, that the most discreet of his own Adherents were astonish'd at it. This seems to have been the critical Juncture, on the Event of which every thing depended; so that if *Attalus* fail'd here, all his Hopes were lost. This Answer had, indeed, such an Effect on *Honorius*, that he order'd as many Ships, as could possibly be got together, to *Ravenna*, to be ready for transporting him to the *East*, in Case Matters should go bad, in *Africa* (2): But some Recruits arrived, at the same Time, from the *East*, who had long before received Orders to march; and when, besides this, the happy News of *Heraclian's* Success, in *Africa*, came, *Honorius* recover'd from his Fright and took fresh Vigour. *Heraclian* was, on this Occasion, highly serviceable to him. He shut up all the Ports on the Coasts of *Africa*; so that neither Corn, nor Oyl,

§. XXV. (1) *ZOSIMUS* L. VI. c. 7. p. 660. Quum autem Alarichus Attalo recte consularet, ut idoneas copias in Africam & Karthaginem mitteret, earumque opera Heracliano abrogaret imperium; ne per illum quoque, partes Honorii sectantem, aliquod impedimentum rebus institutis objiceretur; nihili ejusmodi admonitiones fecit Attalus: adeoque spes eas complexus, quas vates ei facerant, ac sine certamine se Karthagine totaque potiturum Africa persuasus; non Drumam mittit, qui cum barbarorum copiis, quas ducebat, facillime potuisset Heraclianum potestate dejicere. Sed Alarichi consilio posthabito, cuidam Constantino in Africanos milites imperium tradit, nec firmas tamen eo copias mittit.

(2) *ZOSIMUS* Lib. VI. c. 7. p. 661. & cap. 8. tot. Interea vero, dum adhuc in dubio res Africanæ essent, expeditionem adversus imperatorem, qui Ravennæ se continebat, suscipit. Is metu perterritus, quum, missis legatis, imperii societatem offerret: Jovius, ab Attalo præfectus prætorii con-

stitutus, ne nomen quidem imperatoris Honorio relicturum ait Attalum, nec integrum corpus; sed in insulam relegaturum, & præterea partem aliquam corporis mutilaturum. Universis hac orationis adrogantia territis, & Honorio principe jam ad capeßendam fugam parato, qui eo nomine non exiguam navium copiam in portum Ravennatem coegerat: sex militum cohortes adpulere, quæ quidem adhuc superstite Stilichone jam olim expectabantur, sed tunc primum ex oriente ad belli societatem venerunt. In his erant hominum quatuor millia. Quapropter velut excitatus e gravi sopore Honorius, his mœnium custodiam credit, qui ex oriente venerant: atque interim Ravennæ manendum statuit, donec certiora de rebus Africanis accepisset. Ac, siquidem superior evaderet Heraclianus, rebus istis in tuto consistentibus, universo cum exercitu Attalo & Alaricho bellum inferendum: sin missi ab se in Africam vincerentur, in orientem ad Theodosium, cum us abundum navibus, quas haberet; & occidentalium nationum imperio cedendum.

nor any other Necessaries of Life could be exported; and the Dealers in Corn, in and about *Rome*, who had yet some Store, kept it up, that they might enhance the Price, which caused a Famine in *Rome*, as violent as that during the last Siege. The Senat was almost unanimous, that *Druma*, the *Gothick* General, in whom every one repos'd a great Confidence that he would perform something, should be sent to *Africa*: But *Attalus* insisted upon it, not to entrust any *Goth* with so great a Charge (3).

Alaric deposes
Attalus:
Enters into
fresh Nego-
tations with
Honorius;
but without
Success.

§. XXVI. IN this Confusion, begun the Year 410 (1). *Alaric*, tho' he had already experienc'd *Attalus* not to answer his Expectations of him, had however, 'till now, not been remiss, in reducing several Cities of *Æmia* and *Liguria* to his Obedience (2): But when he was daily more and more convinced, that *Attalus* intended only to make Use of the *Goths* as a Tool, which, when he had gain'd his Ends, he could throw off; and *Honorius* probably making some new Advances for a Peace, *Alaric* made him sensible that he had, till then, only suffer'd him to act the Part of an Emperor in Shew (3), and depriv'd him of the Character,

(3) I B I D c. 11, 12. Heraclianus vero, quum omnes in Africa portus occupatos multiplici præsidio tenuerat, neque jam frumentum, vel oleum, vel aliæ res ullæ ad victum necessariæ, in portum Romanum invehrentur: fames in urbe gravior, quam prius existit; dardanariis ea spe, quidquid habebant, supprimantibus, ut omnium pecunias ad se averterent, eo potiti pretio, quod ipsimet arbitrato suo statuerent. Adeoque redacta fuit urbs ad eas angustias, ut ab iis, qui sperarent, hominum quoque corpora degustatum iri, vox huiusmodi circensibus ludis emitteretur: PRETIUM PONE CARNI HUMANÆ. Has ob causas Romam profectus Attalus, senatum advocat; & consultatione proposita, universis propemodum ea sententia probata fuit, ut & barbari cum Romanis militibus in Africam mitterentur, eorumque prefectura Drumæ traderetur; illi nimirum viro, qui documenta jam plurima fidei benevolentiaque suæ edidisset. Solus Attalus cum paucis, iudicio plurimum non adsentiebatur; qui neminem barbarorum cum Romano exercitu mitti vellet.

Attalus had nominated Consul for this Year, is taken Notice of in some of the Fasti; as for Instance in CASSIODORO. FL. VARARI, & TERTULLUS. His Coss. Roma a Gothis Halarico duce capta est, ubi clementer usi victoria sunt. In others Varanes, who was nominated Consul in the East, is only mention'd.

(2) ZOSIMUS, Lib. VI. c. 10. Dum autem Alarichus adhuc in fide, Attalo data, perstaret, Valens, equitum magister, occisus est, prodicionis insimulatus: & Alarichus ipse cunctas urbes Æmiæ cum copiis adiit, quotquot imperium Attali promte accipere recusassent. Et alias quidem nullo labore redigit in ditionem. Bononiam obsessam, & hostem compluribus diebus sustinentem, capere non potuit. Itaque versus Ligures pergit, ut illos etiam Attalum imperatorem agnoscere cogeret. PHILOSTORGIUS relates some other Circumstances, Lib. XII. c. 3. which, however, are inconsistent v. TILLEMONT, p. 1243.

(3) OROSIUS, Lib. VII. c. 42. Quid de infelicissimo Attalo loquar, cui occidi inter tyrannos honor & mori lucrum fuit? In hoc Alaricus imperatore

§. XXVI. (1) We find that Tertyllus, whom

Character, which he had shewn himself so unfit to represent. He was obliged publicly to resign his Crown and the Purple, at *Rimini* †. *Alaric* was, however, so generous, not to give him up to his evil Destiny; but, as he had involved him in this Undertaking, kept him, with his Son *Ampelius*, near him, 'till he could include him in the intended Treaty with *Honorius* (4). The Sequel will shew that *Attalus*, long after, shared the Fate of the *Goths*, and made a greater or less Figure, as their Treaties with the *Romans* were fortunate or unsuccessful: But how far soever they proceeded in their Negotiations, they were nevertheless at Length entirely broke off. Historians agree in this, that the *Gothick* General *Sarus*, who was in particular an inveterate Enemy of *Ataulph*, was the Cause of it. But they differ very much in the several Circumstances.

§. XXVII. *ALARIC* went therefore a third Time to *Rome*, and took the City by Storm †; in which, since the first Foundation of it, no foreign Enemy had before succeeded. This happen'd the 24th of *August* (1), and, as it appears from a Passage of *St. Jerom*, in the Night-Time (2). We may easily imagine what a Surprise this News must

Alaric attacks Rome a third Time; and takes the City by Storm.

I i i

have

peratore facto, infecto, reſecto, ac deſecto; citius his omnibus actis, pene quam dictis, mimum riſit, & ludum ſpectavit imperii, nec mirum, ſi jure hac pompa miſer luſus eſt, cujus ille umbratilis conſul, Tertullus, auſus eſt in curia dicere, Loquar vobis patres conſcripti conſul & pontifex, quorum alterum teneo, alterum ſpero: ſperans ab eo, qui non habebat ſpem, & maledictus, utique, quia ſpem ſuam poſuerat in homine. Attalus itaque tantum inane imperii ſimulacrum cum Gothiſ uſque ad Hiſpanias portatus eſt: unde diſcendens navi, incerta moliens, in mari captus & ad Conſtantinum comitem deductus, deinde imperatori Honorio exhibitus, truncata manu, vitæ relictus eſt.

† *A.* 410. *m. Febr. c.* TILL. p. 1255.

(4) ZOSIMUS *c. l. c.* 12. p. 668. Hinc jam Alarichus ad abrogandum Attalo imperium ſpectare, quum multo ante Jovius cum continuis criminationibus ad hoc impulſſet. Itaque reapſe conſilium ſuum exſequens, extra urbem Ariminum, in qua tunc commorabatur, productum Attalum diademate ſpoliat, & exiit purpura;

atque hiſ ad Honorium principem miſſis, Attalum in omnium oculis ad privatam vitæ conditionem redegit, apud ſe tamen, una cum Ampelio, filio, retentum, donec, pace cum Honorio conſtituta, vitæ incolumitatem eis impetraſſet.

§. XXVII. † *And according to Procopius's Account, de bello Vandalico Lib. I. p. 180. A. on the Side of the Porta Salaria.*

(1) *The Time, Year and Day are proved by TILLEMONT in not. 29. ad vit. Honorii: BARONIUS, JOS. SCALIGER, JAC. GOTHOFREDUS, and ſeveral others agree, likewise, as to the Year: But PAGIUS has attempted, ad A. 410. §. VII, XIII, to place it in the Year 409.*

(2) HIERONYMUS *epiſt.* 96. *ſec in epiſtola Marcellæ viduæ, ad Principiam virginum, p. 783.* Dum hæc aguntur in Iebus, terribilis de occidente rumor aſſertur, obſideri Romam, & auro ſalutem civium redimi; ſpoliatosque ruſum circumdari, ut poſt ſubſtantiam, vitam quoque perderent. Hæret vox, & ſingultus intercipiunt verba dic.

U N D E.

have caused throughout the whole World. By some Relations, it appears to have been a total Destruction. *St. Jerum* compares it almost to that of *Troy* (3), and in another Place laments that the whole City was burnt to the Ground (4). *Austin* says, the Inhabitants were put to the Torture, to make them discover their Treasures (5), and supposes the Number of the Dead to have been so large, that it was impossible to bury them (6). If we may believe *Procopius*, not an Edifice wholly escaped the Flames (7): And if to this we add the Account of *Philostorgius* (8), we must suppose *Rome* to have been buried in her own Ashes and Ruins. The learned Bishop *Jac. Benignus Bossuet* takes from thence Occasion to assert, that this was the very Destruction of *Babel*, foretold in

tantis. Capitur urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem: imo fama perit ante quam gladio, & vix pauci, qui caperentur, inventi sunt. Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, & sua invicem membra laniant, dum mater non parcat lactanti infantia; & recipit utero, quem paulo ante effuderat. Nocte Moab capta est, nocte cecidit murus ejus. Deus! venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum. Posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam: posuerunt cadavera sanctorum tuorum escas volatilibus coeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terræ. Effuderunt sanguinem eorum, sicut aquam, in circuitu Jerusalem, & non erat, qui sepeliret.

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
 Explicet, aut possit lacrymis æquare dolorem?
 Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos:
 Plurima perque vias sparguntur inertia passim
 Corpora, perque domos, & plurima mortis
 imago.

(3) *HIERONYMUS l. cit.*

(4) *IDEM in epist. 98. ad Gaudentiam, p. 799.*
 Urbs incluta, & Romani imperii caput, uno hausta est incendio: nulla est regio, quæ non exules Romanos habeat.

(5) *AUGUSTINUS de excid. c. 2. p. 330.*
 Multi, inquit, in excidio urbis variis tormentis excruciatii sunt, strages facta, incendia, rapinae, interfectiones, excruciationes hominum. Verum

est, multa audivimus, omnia genuimus, sæpe flevimus, vix consolati sumus. Verumtamen, fratres dilecti, audivimus librum Jobi, quod perditis omnibus, nec ipsam carnem, quæ illi sola remanserat, salvam potuerit obtinere, sed percussus gravi vulnere sedebat in stercore, &c.

(6) *IDEM Tom. VII. de civit. dei L. I. c. 10. p. 10.* Quidam etiam boni Christiani tormentis excruciatii sunt, ut bona sua hostibus proderent. Sed illi nec prode, nec perdere potuerunt bonum, quo & ipsi boni erant. Si autem torqueri quem mammona prode maluerunt, boni non erant. Admonendi autem fuerant, qui tanta patiebantur pro auro, quanta essent sustinenda pro Christo, &c. Sed quidam etiam non habentes, quod proderent, dum non creduntur, torti sunt? Et hi forte habere cupiebant, nec tanta voluntate pauperes erant, quibus demonstrandum fuit non facultates, sed ipsas cupiditates talibus esse dignas cruciatibus.

(7) *PROCOPIUS de bello Vandal. Lib. I. p. 180. A.* Mox injectis facibus, testæ portæ vicina deflagrarunt. In his fuit Salustii, antiqui historiarum Romanæ scriptoris, domus: cujus pars maxima ad hanc diem stetit incendio deformata.

(8) *PHILOSTORGIUS Lib. XII. 3.* Inde tantæ gloriæ magnitudinem, potentiæque famam externus ignis & gladius hostilis, & captivitas barbarica pessumdedit. Jacente vero in rudibus urbe, Alaricus Campaniam deprædatus est, ibique morbo occubuit.

the

the Revelations (9): And a *Spanish* Writer imagines the Desolation of *Rome* to have been as lamentable as that of *Jerusalem*, and that all the Sufferings of *Troy*, *Carthage*, *Saguntium* and *Numantia*, were not to be compared to it (10).

§. XXVIII. BUT these Relations are only founded on the Reports of the Fugitives, especially of those, who fled to *Bethlehem*, and *Africa*, and represented Matters much worse than they were. *Orosius* (1) says, in general, that *Alaric* did not prove so cruel as the *Romans* apprehended he would: And it was, indeed, a great Proof of his Moderation, that, tho' he was himself of the *Arian* Persuasion, he did not persecute the *Catholick* Church (2). But to descend to Particulars, he ordered the Churches, and all who took Refuge in them to be spared (3). Those very Fathers who, to induce the

Whether the *Goths* committed so many Barbarities, at *Rome*, as are generally laid to their Charge.

I i i 2

People

(9) Mons. de MEAUX applies great Part of the Revelations to the *Goths* and other German Nations: In particular, he represents the History of this Destruction, as the Completion of the Prophecy, Chap. XVI. v. 17, 18, 19. He applies likewise, the 12th and following Verses of Chap. XVII. to the German Princes, and the 16th Verse, in particular, to our *Alaric*. But *Campegus* *Vitringer* proves, in his Comment on the Revelations, these Passages to be misconstrued.

cum duobus potentissimis regibus suis, per Romanas provincias baccharentur: quorum unus [*sc. Alaricus*] Christianus, propiorque Romano, & (ut res docuit) timore dei mitis in corde, alius [*sc. Rhadagaisus*] paganus, & vere Scythia.

(2) If the Inscription in *Gruterus* MCLXX. 13. be genuine, and written at the Time he supposes, the Church, on which it was made, was destroyed during the Siege.

Hic furor hostilis templum violavit, iniquus
Cum premeret vallo mœnia septa Getes.
Nullius hoc potuit temeraria dextera gentis,
Hæc modo permissa est, quod peritura facit.
Nil gravat hoc tumultu sanctorum pessimus hostis
Materiam potius repperit alma fides.
In melius siquidem reparato fulget honore
Cum scelere hostili crevit amor tumultis.
Suscipe nunc gratus devotæ munera mentis
Diogenes martyr cui dedit ista volens.
Quisquis ad hoc templum petiturus dona recurris
Spes sibi est larga est munere vera fides.

(3) *Orosius* Lib. VII. c. 39. Adest *Alaricus*, trepidam *Romam* obsidet; turbat, irrumpit: dato tamen præcepto prius, ut, si qui in sancta loca, præcipueque ad sanctorum apostolorum *Petri* & *Pauli* basilicas confugissent, hos imprimis in-

violatos

(10) *JULIANUS* di CASTILLO f. XXV. Y es gran dolor y lastima ver y oyr esta destruycion de *Roma*, cabeça y sennora del mundo, hecha por los *Godos* y sus Reyes, *Alarico*, y *Athaulfo*, que afferman verdaderos autores que ninguna de las de antes, fuera de la de *Hierusalem*, se le puede ygualar: que la de *Troya*, aunque *Homero* y *Virgilio* la engrandecieron lo possible, no yguala por ser una ciudat sola sin imperio: ni la de *Cartago*, aunque compitio con *Roma* muchos annos, sobre il imperio del mundo: pues ni conguio lo que pretendia, ni fue sennora del: ni la de *Thebas*, tan principal, que tenia cien puertas: ni la nuestra invencibile *Numancia*: ni *Sagunto*, asoladas del todo.

§. XXVIII. (1) *OROSIUS*, Lib. VII. c. 37. makes the following Comparison between *Rhadagaisus* and *Alaric*: Duo tunc populi Gothorum

People to Penitence, so magnified their Misery, in the first Consternation, in other Passages, commend the Moderation of the *Goths*, and give many laudable Instances of their Magnanimity and Virtue. *St. Austin* makes a Comparison of the far superior Humanity of the *Goths*, in the taking of this City, with that of the *Romans*, on the like Occasions, in former Times (4). *Orosius* relates, that a *Goth* of Distinction having found certain Gold and Silver Vessels, belonging to *St. Peter's Church*, sent word of it to *Alaric*, who order'd them to be restored to the Church, unhurt. *St. Jerom* says in their Praise, that they themselves conveyed a *Christian* Widow, named *Marcella*, and her foster-Daughter, *Principia*, for their better Security, into *St. Peter's Church* (5). Several

violatos securosque esse sinerent: tum deinde, in quantum possent, prædæ inhiantes, a sanguine temperarent. AUGUSTINUS Lib. I. c. 1. de civit. dei. Annon etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt? Testantur hoc martyrum loca & basilicæ apostolorum, quæ in illa vastatione urbis ad se confugientes suos alienosque receperunt. Huc usque cruentus sæviebat inimicus; ibi accipiebat limitem trucidatoris furor; illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra ipsa loca pepercerant; ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misericordiam non habebant. Qui tamen etiam ipsi alibi truces, atque hostili more sævientes, posteaquam ad loca illa veniebant, ubi fuerat interdictum, quod alibi jure belli licuisset, tota ferendi refrenabatur immanitas, & captivandi cupiditas frangebatur. IDEM l. c. c. 7. Quidquid ergo vastationis, trucidationis, deprædationis, concremationis, afflictionis, in ista recentissima Romana clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimæ basilicæ implendæ populo cui parceretur, eligerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captivandi ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur; hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non videt, cæcus; quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus: quisquis laudant reluctaturi, insanus est.

(4) AUGUSTINUS de civit. dei L. III. cap.

29. Quæ rabies exterarum gentium, quæ sævitia barbarorum huic de civibus victoriæ civium comparari potest? Quid Roma funestius, tetrius, amariusque vidit, utrum olim Gallorum & paulo ante Gothorum irruptionem, an Marii & Syllæ aliorumque in eorum partibus virorum clarissimorum, tanquam suorum luminum, in sua membra ferocitatem? Galli quidem trucidaverunt senatum, quidquid ejus in urbe tota, præter arcem Capitolinam, quæ sola utcunque defensa est, reperire potuerunt; sed in illo colle constitutis auro vitam saltem vendiderunt, quam etsi ferro rapere non possent, possent tamen obsidione consumere: Gothi vero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit, quod aliquos peremerunt. At vero Sylla, vivo adhuc Mario, ipsum Capitolium, quod a Gallis tutum fuit, ad decernendas cædes victor insedit: & cum fuga Marius esset elapsus, ferocior cruentiorque rediturus, iste in Capitolio per senatus etiam consultum tam multos vita rebusque privavit. Marianis autem partibus, Sylla absente, quid sanctum cui parcerent fuit, quando Mutio civi, senatori, pontifici, aram ipsam, ubi erant, ut aiunt, fata Romana, miseris ambienti amplexibus non pepercerunt? Syllana porro tabula illa postrema, ut omittamu alias innumerabiles mortes, plures jugulavit senatores, quam Gothi vel spoliare potuerunt,

(5) IDEM epistola 154. ad Principiam. Another laudable Instance related by SOZOMENUS Lib. IX. c. 10.

Edifices were; indeed, set on Fire (6); but not near so many as *Philostorgius* † would make us believe; and most of those were, in a short Time, rebuilt (7). *Alaric* was more in Want of Money, to satisfy his Army, than of Blood or Ashes: The *Goths* are therefore injur'd, when they are accused of having destroyed the Splendor of Ancient *Rome*, in her stately Buildings and Statues: For they were, in general, now no more so cruel, in their Wars and Conquests. And it would have been contrary to their own Interest, to have ravag'd a Country, where they were proposing to settle (8). As to the Temples and Statues, those were before partly destroyed by the *Christians*: and the Rest, together with the other splendid Edifices, fell to Ruin afterwards, in Process of Time. The desolate State *Rome* appeared at first to be in, was rather owing to the Flight of the Inhabitants, than to the Sword of the *Goths*: For, as their Fear was perhaps greater than their Danger, several Thousands of *Romans* had fled for Refuge, after the first Siege, some to the nearest Islands *, others to *Africa*, and many even to *Asia*: And *St. Jerom* takes Notice of the many Fugitives, which he daily saw at *Bethlehem* (9). These had carried all their Vices and Vanities, as it were, a Part of their Treasure, along with them, and *St. Austin* complains in particular of their ungovernable Passion for the *Ludi Circenses* (10). When the Dan-

(6) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico*, Lib. I. p. 180 A. Mox injectis facibus, tecta portæ vicina deflagrarunt. In his fuit Salustii, antiquæ historiæ Romanæ scriptoris, domus: cujus pars maxima ad hanc diem stetit incendio deformata.

† See the preceding §. not. 8.

(7) OROSIUS, l. c. Tertia die barbari, quam ingressi urbem fuerant, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum ædium incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingentesimo conditionis ejus anno casus effecerat.

(8) Among the Historians who do Justice to the *Goths* in this particular, we find Poldus d' Albenas, who in his History of Nîmes, extolls the Moderation of King Wamba, when he took that City, p. III. Bamba s'y porta tant honnestement, & usa de telle moderation en sa victoire, qu' il ne ruina nul edifice, ne privény public: ains repara les ruines, a qui par les assauts & droits de guerre lon n' avoit peu pardonner, pour entrer & emporter la cité.

* Among others, in the Island of Giglio (Icilius) in the Sea of Toscana.

(9) HIERONYMUS in *Ezech. Tom. III. p. 745*. Nihil est opere & manu factum, quod non conficiat & consumat vetustas. Quis crederet, ut totius orbis exstructa victoriis Roma corrueret, ut ipsa suis populis & mater fieret & sepulcrum, ut tota orientis, Ægypti, Africæ littora olim dominatricis urbis, servorum & ancillarum numero complerentur, ut quotidie sancta Bethlehem, nobiles quondam utriusque sexus, atque omnibus divitiis affluentes, nunc susciperet mendicantes.

(10) AUGUSTINUS *de civit. dei Lib. 32. p. 24. C.* Quæ animos miserorum tantis obæcavit tenebris, tanta deformitate scedavit, ut etiam modo, (quod incredibile forsitan erit, si a nostris posteris audietur) Romana urbe vastata, quos pestilentia ista possedit, atque inde fugiente Carthaginem pervenire potuerunt, in Theatris quotidie certatim pro histrionibus insanirent.

ger was past, they returned by Degrees, and *Albinus*, who was *Præfectus urbis*, A. 414, then complained to *Honorius*, that the Provisions, which the Emperors usually distributed among the Populace, were no longer sufficient (11) : And *Orosius* upbraids the *Romans* with having so soon forgot the Visitation of the *Goths* (12). The Superstition of the *Heathens* was, on this Occasion, so great, that they look'd upon it as a Judgment from their *Gods*, and a Punishment, for having neglected their Sacrifices. Hence *St. Austin* took Occasion, to their Confusion, to write his excellent Treatise *de Civitate Dei*, and to encourage *Orosius* to write the History we have of him. Both represent to us the Occurrences of these Times, as the Means, by which the God of Truth was pleased wholly to subvert *Paganism*, and to establish the Power of *Christianity*.

Alaric
leaves *Rome*.
His Death.
Ataulph suc-
ceeds him, as
King of the
Wisi-Goths.

§. XXIX. As, in the Perusal of the ancient *Roman* History, we are apt to wonder, that *Hannibal*, after the Battle of *Cannas*, did not attack *Rome*, the Conquest of which would, at that Time, have put an End to the War ; it may seem equally strange to us now, that *Alaric* should make himself Master of *Rome*, and yet carry his main Design no farther into Execution, were it not to be consider'd, as an Effect of the universal Change of the Form of Government. He made but a short Stay in *Rome* (1), and then broke up for *Campania*, marching along that Coast, with a Design to pass into *Sicily* : But he died by the Way, about *Rheggio* ; and therein *St. Jerom* (2), justly compares him to *Brennus*, who did not survive the Event of his Expedition. *Jornandes* relates (3), that

(11) OLYMPIODORUS : See the 5. not. ad §. XL.

(12) OROSIIUS L. I. c. 6. Qui adeo parvo quodam & levi motu hæsitasse erga se parumper consuetudinem voluptatum indubitissime contestatus est, ut libere conclamaret, si reciperet circum, nihil sibi esse factum : hoc est, nihil egisse Romæ Gothorum enses, si concedatur Romanis spectare circenses. See the Passage from Rutilius below.

§. XXIX. (1) According to Marcellinus's Chronicle the *Goths* are said to have staid six Days at *Rome*. *Orosius* mentions only three Days. See in the preceding §. not. 7.

(2) JEROM names *Alaric*, *epist.* 97. ad *Demetriadem* : *Brennum* nostri temporis.

(3) JORNANDES c. 30. Exindeque egressi,

per *Campaniam*, & *Lucaniam* simili clade peracta, *Bructios* accesserunt : ubi diu residentes, ad *Siciliam*, exinde ad *Africam* transire deliberant. Ibi ergo veniens *Alaricus*, rex *Vesegothorum*, cum opibus totius *Italiae*, quas in præda diripuerat, exinde, ut dictum est, per *Siciliam* in *Africam*, quietam patriam, transire disponit. Cujus, quia non est liberum quodcumque homo sine nutu dei disposuerit, fretum illud horribile aliquantas naves submersit, plurimas conturbavit. Qua adversitate repulsus *Alaricus*, dum secum quid ageret deliberaret : subito immatura morte præventus, rebus excessit humanis. Quem nimia dilectione lugentes, *Barentinum* amnem, juxta *Consentinam* civitatem, de alveo suo desiliant. Nam hic fluvius apud montis juxta urbem diapsus fuit unda salutifera. Hujus ergo in medio alveo, collecto captivorum agmine, sepulturæ locum effodiunt, in cujus foveæ gremio *Alaricum*, cum

that the *Goths* turned the Course of a River, in the Bed of which they interr'd him, together with a great Treasure ; after which they led the Waters into their usual Channel again. The *Goths* chose *Atualph*, his Wife's Brother, a Prince of excellent Qualities, to succeed him. He was not of the largest Stature, but well-made ; his very Eyes discover'd a noble Fortitude, and fine Genius (4) : If we may believe *Orosius* (5), he, at first, form'd the grand Design, of conquering the *Roman* Empire, and changing the Name of it to that of the *Gothick* ; but he moderated his Ambition, when, after more Experience, he found the *Goths* yet too
raw

cum multis opibus, obruunt, rursusque aquas in suum alveum reducentes, ne a quoquam quandoque locus cognosceretur, fossiores omnes interemerunt. *The Maps show us a small River, call'd Arentin, near Cosenze, in Calabria citerior, which is perhaps the same here meant by Jornandes.*

(4) JORNANDES c. 31. Mortuo Alarico, Vespogothi regnum Ataulfo, ejus consanguineo, & forma & mente conspicuo, tradunt. Nam erat quamvis non adeo proceritate staturæ formatus, quantum pulchritudine corporis, vultuque decorus Qui, suscepto regno, revertens iterum ad Romanam, si quid primum remanserat, more locustarum erat, nec tantum privatis divitiis Italiam spoliavit. imo & publicis, imperatore Honorio nihil resistere prævalente, cujus & germanam, Placidiam, Theodosii imperatoris ex altera uxore filiam, urbe captivam abduxit, quam tamen ob generis nobilitatem, formæque pulchritudinem, & integritatem castitatis attendens, in Forolivii Æmiliæ civitate, suo matrimonio legitime copulavit, ut gentes, hac societate comperta, quasi adunata Gothis republica, efficacius terrerentur. Honoriumque augustum, quamvis opibus exhaustum, tamen quasi cognatum grato animo derelinquens, Gallias tendit : ubi cum advenisset, vicinæ gentes perterritæ, in suis se finibus cœperunt continere, quæ dudum crudeliter Gallias intestassent, tam Franci, quum Burgundiones. Nam Vandali, & Alani, quos supra diximus, permisso principum Romanorum, utraque Pannonia reiedere : nec ibi ob metum Gothorum, arbitantes tutum fore si reverterentur, ad Gallias transire. Sed mox a Galliis, quas ante non multum tem-

pus occupassent, fugientes, Hispania se recludere, adhuc memores ex relatione majorum suorum, quid dudum Geberich, rex Gothorum, genti suæ præstitisset incommodi, vel quomodo eos virtute sua patrio solo expulisset. Tali ergo casu Galliæ Ataulfo patuere venienti. Confirmato ergo Gothis regno in Galliis, Hispanorum casu cœpit dolere, eosque deliberans a Vandalorum incursum eripere, per suas opes Barcinonam cum certis fidelibus delectis, plebeque imbelli, interiores Hispanias introivit, ubi sæpe cum Vandalis decertans, tertio anno postquam Gallias Hispaniasque domuisset, occubuit, gladio illo perforatus Vernulfi, de cujus solitus erat ridere statura. Post ejus mortem Regerius rex constituitur, sed & ipse suorum fraude peremptus, ocus vitam cum regno reliquit *The Circumstances of Ataulph's Marriage will be examin'd below §. XXX,*

(5) OROSIVS Lib. VII. c. 43. Is, ut dictum, atque ultimo exitu ejus probatum est, satis studiose sectator pacis, militare fideliter Honorio imperatori, ac pro defendenda Romana republica impendere vires Gothorum præoptavit. Nam ego quoque ipse virum quemdam Narbonensem, illustris sub Theodosio militiæ, etiam religiosum, prudentemque, & gravem, apud Bethlehem oppidum Palæstinæ, beatissimo Hieronymo presbytero referente, audivi, se familiarissimum Ataulfo apud Narbonam fuisse ; ac de eo sæpe sub testificatione didicisse, quod ille cum esset animo, viribu, ingenioque nimius, referre solitus esset, se imprimis ardentem inhiasse, ut oblitterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum, Gothorum imperium & faceret, & vocaret ; essetque, (ut vulgariter

raw for so great an Enterprize. He discontinued the Preparations against *Sicily*; and seems rather to have enter'd upon new Treaties with *Honorius*, *Jornandes*, and the Author of the *Miscellæ* write, that he once more visited *Rome*; but this is contradicted by other Historians (6).

The *Vandals*, *Suevi* and *Alani*, break into *Spain*.

§. XXX. *SPAIN* had hitherto escaped the Devastations which the other *Roman* Provinces had suffer'd; but the *Germans* now found the Way over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which had not been attempted by any of them since the Invasion of the *Cimbri*. I observed before, that *Constantine* remained pretty peaceable at *Arles*, that his Son *Constans* had reduced *Spain* to his Obedience, and that *Honorius* had even admitted him to a Partnership in the Empire. *Constantine* had promised to come to his Assistance with all his Forces from *Gaul* and *Spain*: But this good Understanding was interrupted; and *Constantine* stood in need of Succour himself; *Gerontius*, whom *Constans* had entrusted with the Government of *Spain*, rebelled: He did not, however, himself assume the Imperial Dignity; but caused one *Maximus* to be proclaimed Emperor, being well assured, he must be influenc'd by him, in every thing (1). *Gerontius* secured those Troops, which guarded the Passes of the *Pyrenean* Mountains (2.) and, besides these, drew over to his Party, some

gariter loquar,) Gothia, quod Romania fuisset; fieretque nunc Ataulphus, quod quondam Cæsar Augustus. At ubi multa experientia probavisset, neque Gothos uno modo parere legibus posse, propter effrenatam barbariem, neque reipublicæ interdici leges oportere, sine quibus respublica non est respublica, elegisse se saltem, ut gloriam sibi, de restituendo in integrum, augendoque Romano nomine, Gothorum viribus quæreretur; habereturque apud posteros Romanæ restitutionis auctor, postquam esse non poterat immutator. Ob hæc abstinere a bello; ob hoc inhiare paci nitebatur, præcipue Placidia, uxoris suæ, feminae sane ingenio acerrimæ, religionis satis probatæ, ad omnia bonarum ordinationum opera persuasæ, & consilio temperatæ.

(6) *Conf. TILLEMONT p. 1273. He may, on his Return, have taken Rome in his Way.*

§. XXX. (1) *ZOZIMUS Lib. VI. c. 5. Inde rursus in Hispaniam Constans a patre mittitur, ac Iulium ducem secum adducit. Quare offensus*

Gerontius, conciliatis sibi eorum locorum militibus, barbaros in regione Celtarum, adversus Constantinum ad defectionem impellit. Quibus cum Constantinus non restitisset, quod major copiarum ipsius pars esset in Hispania; cuncta pro lubitu invadentes Transrhenani barbari, eo tum incolas insulæ Britannia, tum quasdam Celticas nationes redegerunt, ut ab imperio Romano deficerent, & Romanorum legibus non amplius obedientes, arbitratu suo viverent. Itaque Britanni, sumtis armis & quovis adito pro salute sua discrimine, civitates suas a barbaris imminentibus liberarunt. Idem totus ille tractus Armorichus, cæteraque Gallorum provinciæ, Britannos imitata; consimili se modo liberarunt, ejectis magistratibus Romanis, & sui quadam republica pro arbitrio constituta, Hæc Britannia Celticarumque gentium defectio, quo tempore Constantinus iste regnum usurpabat, accidit: quum ipse in imperio socordia moti barbari, hæc grassationes instituissent.

(2) *Add. locum OROBII ad §. XVII. n. 5.*

other

other foreign Nations, who 'till then had wander'd about in *Gaul*; and, as it appears, from the Sequel of the History, the *Suevi*, *Vandals* and *Alani* (3). This is that remarkable Epoch, when these Nations invaded *Spain*, and were the Authors of a fresh Revolution in those Countries: *Prosper* (4) and *Idatius* (5) place this Occurrence in the Year 400. This News immediately reached *Africa*, as appears by a Letter of St. *Austin's* (6). *Salvianus* here acknowledges the Divine Providence, that gave *Spain*, where Incontinency was practis'd to a great Excess, a Prey in particular to the *Vandals*, who were famous for their Rigidity in this Respect (7). The *Burgundians*

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(3) See the foregoing first Note.

(4) PROSPER ad A. XVI. Arcad. & Honor. Hispaniæ partem maximam Suevi occupavere: ipsa denique orbis caput Roma deprædationi Gothorum foedissime patuit.

(5) IDATIUS in chr. ad A. XV. HONORII. Alani & Wandali, & Suevi Hispanias ingressi, æra CCCXLVII, alii quarto kalendas, alii tertio Idus Octobris memorant die, tertia feria, Honorio VIII. & Theodosio Arcadii filio, III. consulibus. IDEM in fastis. HONORIO VIII. & THEODOS. III. His consulibus barbari Hispanias ingressi.

(6) AUGUSTINUS epistola CXI. ad Victorianum (A. 409.) Totus quippe mundus tantis affligitur cladibus, ut pœne pars nulla terrarum sit, ubi non talia, qualia scripsisti, committantur atque plangantur. Nam ante parvum tempus etiam in illis solitudinibus Ægypti, ubi monasteria separata ab omni strepitu, quasi secunda delegerant, a barbaris interfecti sunt fratres. Jam vero quæ modo in regionibus Italiæ, quæ in Galliis nefaria perpetrata sint, etiam vos latere non arbitror: De HISPANIS quoque tot provinciis, quæ ab his malis diu videbantur intactæ, ceperunt jam talia nuntiari. Sed quid longe imus: Ecce in regione nostra Hipponensi; quoniam eam barbari non attigerunt, clericorum Donatistarum & circumcellionum introcinia, sic vastant ecclesias, ut barbarorum fortasse facta mitiora sint. Quis enim barbarus excogitare potuit, quod isti, ut in oculos clericorum nostrorum calcem & acetum mitterent, quorum membra etiam cætera plagis horrendis, vulneribusque fauciarunt? Deprædantur

etiam domos aliquas & incendunt, fructus aridos diripiunt, humidos fundunt, & talia ceteris comminando, multos etiam rebaptizari compellunt. Some Circumstances of these IncurSIONs are indeed likewise mention'd in the Decrees of a Council said to have been held soon after at Braga; but Baluzius renders it so suspected, and Tillemont, not. XXVII, ad vit. Honorii has so strongly confirmed his Proofs that we cannot have any great Dependence on those Decrees.

(7) SALVIANUS de providentia Dei L. VII. p. 137 makes the following Reflections thereupon: Quid Hispanias? nonne velle eadem, vel majora forsitan vitia perdiderunt? quas quidem cœlestis ira etiam si aliis cujushibet barbaris tradidisset, digna tamen flagitiorum tormenta toleraverant puritatis inimici. Sed accessit hoc ad manifestandum illis impudentiæ damnationem, ut Vandalis potissimum, id est, pudicis barbaris, traderentur. Dupliciter in illa Hispanorum capivitate deus ostendere voluit, quantum & odisset carnis libidinem; & diligeret castitatem, cum & Vandalos ob solam maxime pudicitiam subjugaret. Quid enim? Nunquid non erant in omni orbe terrarum barbari fortiores, quibus Hispaniæ traderentur? multi absque dubio, immo (ni fallor) omnes: sed ideo infirmis hostibus cuncta tradidit; ut ostenderet scilicet non vires valere, sed causam, neque nos tunc ignavissimorum quorundam hostium fortitudine obrui; sed sola vitiorum nostrorum impuritate superari: ut vere in nos venerit dictum illud, quod ait: secundum iniquitates suas feci illis, & averti faciem meam ab eis, &c. And he afterwards goes on Quid prodesse nobis prerogativa illa religiosi nominis potest, quod nos catholicos esse dicimus, quod

ans remained in Gaul, which, it seems, the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had likewise invaded (8). *Gerontius* left *Maximus* at *Tarracona*, and marched himself over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, against *Constantine* and *Constantius*. The latter falling into his Hands, at *Vienne*, he put him to Death; and then besieged *Constantine* at *Arles*.

Honorius
endeavours to
recover Gaul,
and sends *Con-*
stantius thi-
ther.

§. XXXI. THE *Western* Regions were again in such Confusion, that we find no Consul mentioned in the Years 411 and 412. *Honorius*, in the mean Time, had sent the valiant *Constantius*, a Native of *Pannonia*, together with the General *Ulphila*, who seems, by his Name, to have been a *Goth* (1), against *Constantine*, and we should almost imagine, that there must have been some Truce or Treaty with the *Goths*, that could give the Emperor Respite to think of *Gaul*. At the Approach of this Army, many Soldiers belonging to *Gerontius*, who was then besieging *Arles*, deserted his Service, to go over to *Constantius*, and he found himself under a Necessity of raising the Siege, and retiring to *Spain*, where, when his own Soldiers soon after rebelled against him, he laid violent Hands on himself. But *Maximus* had Time to escape to the *Germans* who were then in *Spain*, among whom he lived, at the Time when *Orosius* wrote his History (2).

Constantine
draws the *Ale-*
manni and the
Franks over to
his Party; but
is overcome.

§. XXXII. *CONSTANTIUS* fell upon *Arles*, and *Constantine* resolved, to hold out to the last Extremity; because he daily expected *Ecdobicus*, his *Præfectus Prætorii*, who, according to *Zosimus*, was a *Frank*, with a strong Re-inforcement of *Franks* and *Alemanni* (1). *Constantius* was no sooner informed, that he was on his March, than he cross'd the *Rhine*, to meet him, and *Ecdobicus* was not only defeated but slain.

quod fideles esse iactamus, quod Gothos ac Vandalos hæretici nominis comprobatione despiciamus, cum ipsi hæretica pravitare vivamus.

(8) *Vid. not. 1.*

§. XXXI. (1) *Conf. §. XXXII. not. 2.*

(2) *OROSIUS, Lib. VII. c. 42.* *Maximus*, exutus purpura, destitutusque a militibus Gallicanis, qui in *Africam* trajecti, deinde in *Italiam* revocati sunt, nunc inter barbaros in *Hispania* egenus exulat.

§. XXXII (1) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS*

Lib. II. cap. 9. Tamen cum ait, quod *Constantinus*, assumpta tyrannide, *Constantem* filium ad se de *Hispaniis* venire iussisset, ita differuit: Accito, *Constantinus* tyrannus de *Hispanis* *Constante* filio, itemque tyranno, quo de summa rerum consultarent præsentibus, factum est, ut *Constantius* instrumento aulæ, & conjuge sua *Cæsaraugustæ* dimissis, *Gerontio* intra *Hispanias* omnibus creditis, ad patrem continuato itinere decurreret. Qui, ubi in unum venere, interjectis diebus plurimis, nullo ex *Italia* metu, *Constantinus* gulæ & ventri deditus; redire ad *Hispanias* filium monet. Qui, præmissis agminibus, dum cum patre resideret, ab *Hispania* nuncii comitant, a *Gerontio*

slain in his Flight. *Honorius's* General thereupon resumed the Siege of *Arles*. *Constantine*, who was now destitute of all Succour, resign'd his Crown and the Purple, took Refuge in a Church, and caused himself to be ordain'd a Priest, hoping thereby to save his Life : But his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the City begg'd to capitulate, which was immediately granted ; and a Security for the Lives of *Constantine* and *Julian*, his Son, was one of the Conditions. They were both sent for *Italy*, to *Honorius*, but on the Way were put to Death, by his Command, in Breach of the Security given (2). *Constantine's* Head was brought to *Ravenna*, and there exposed to the View of the Soldiers on an Iron Spike (3).

§. XXXIII. WHILST *Gaul* was destroyed by intestine Divisions, the German Nations, who were in *Spain*, after having, in a great Measure, ruin'd the Provinces, tho' with much Blood shed, among themselves, The Vandals, Suevi and Alani separate in Spain.

rontio Maximum, unum e clientibus suis, imperio præditum, atque in se, comitatu gentium barbararum accinctum parari. Quo exterriti, Edo- becco ad Germanas gentes præmisso, Constans, & præfectus jam Decimius Rusticus, ex officiorum magistro, petunt Gallias, cum Francis & Alamannis, omnique militum manu ad Constantinum jam jamque redituri. *With this agrees* SOZOMENUS *Lib. IX. c. 13.* Interea temporis Gerontius, inter duces Constantini præcipuus, hostis illi factus est : & Maximum, familiarem suum, quem ad tyrannidem accommodatum judicabat, imperiali ornatu induit, ac Taraconæ morari permittit : ipse vero adversus Constantinum exercitum eduxit, eo proposito, ut in transitu Constantem, ejus filium, Viennæ commorantem conficeret. Constantinus igitur, cum intellexisset id, quod de Maximo actum erat, Ebodichum, ducem suum, ad ultiores Rheni partes misit, ut Francos & Alemannos in auxilium vocaret : Constanti autem, filio suo, Viennæ ac cæterarum ibi civitatum custodiam commisit. Ac Gerontius quidem cum Arelatum castra movisset, civitatem oppugnavit. Non multo autem post, exercitu Honorii adversus tyrannum adventante, cui præerat Constantius, imperatoris Valentiniani pater, statim fugit cum paucis quibusdam militibus.

fidionem tamen sustinebat : quod illi nunciatum esset, Ebodichum cum maximis suppetiis adventurum ; quæ quidem res & Honorii quoque duces non modice terrebat, ita, ut in Italiam reverti, & illic bellum experiri vellent. Atque hocubi statuissent, quia appropinquare jam nunciabatur Ebodichus, Rhodanum fluvium trajiciunt : Et Constantius secum pedites retinens, adventantem expectat hostem. Sed Ulphilas, Constantii præfectus, haud procul istinc in insidiis cum equitibus latitat. Postquam igitur hostes cum exercitu Ulphilam prætergressi, pedem jam collaturi essent cum militibus Constantii, dato signo repente prorumpens Ulphilas, hostes a tergo invadit. Et facta statim ordinum perturbatione, alii diffugiunt : alii occiduntur. Gregorius Turonensis relates the Circumstances somewhat differently from Frigeridus.

(3) PROSPER in chron. ad A. CCCCXI. Theodos. aug. IV. eos. Constantinus per Honorii duces, Constantium & Ulphilam, apud Arelatense oppidum victus & captus est. IDATIUS in chron. ad A. XVII. HONORII. Constantinus, post triennium invasæ tyrannidis, ab Honorii duce, Constantio, intra Gallias occiditur. MARCELLIN. in chron. Honor. IX. & Theodos. IV. Coss. Ipse Constantinus apud Arelatem civitatem occiditur. Gregorius Turonensis mentions some farther Circumstances from Frigeridus. See §. XXXIV. not. 3.

(2) SOZOMENUS *l. cit. cap. 14.* Constantinus autem, circumfidente adhuc Honorii exercitu, ob-

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came

came at last, *A.* 411, to an Accommodation (1). The *Vandals* and *Suevi*, in which latter general Name, the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* were likewise particularly included (2), retained *Gallicia*, which then consisted of a greater Extent of Country, than at present, and in particular compris'd the present *Old Castile*. The ancient Inhabitants kept, However, their Ground, in one Part of the Province, probably in Subjection to the *Romans*; and, in After-times, frequently treated with the *Suevi*. The *Alani* obtained *Lusitania*, and the Province of *Carthagera*, and to the *Silingi*, who were likewise a *Vandalian* People, was assign'd that Province, which received its Name from the River *Betis*, now *Guadiana* (3), and was, from these *Vandals*, call'd *Vandalitia*, now corruptly *Andalusia* (4). The *Suevi* were governed by *Hermanaric*; and the *Vandals* by *Gunderic*: But whether *Respendial*, the King of the *Alani*, was then surviving, is uncertain? As the *Germans* were always inclined and accustomed to inhabit the open Country, the Cities, many of which had

§. XXXIII. (1) *OROSIUS*, *L.* VII. c. 40. *Igitur Honoriaci, imbuti præda, & illecti abundantia, quo magis scelus impunitum foret, atque ipsis sceleris plus liceret, prodita Pyrenæi custodia, claustrisque patefactis, cunctas gentes, quæ per Gallias vagabantur, Hispaniarum provinciis immittunt, iisdemque ipsi adjunguntur, ubi actis aliquamdiu magnis cruentisque discursibus, post graves rerum atque hominum vastationes, quarum ipsos quoque modo pœnitet, habita sorte, & distributa usque ad nunc possessione, consistunt.* *Beuterus* f. 84. *even Attempts to mark out the Passes, thro' which the Vandals, Suevi and Alani went to Spain.* *Estos como de su condicion eran robadores, dieron passo por robar con ellos alos Suevos y Vandalos por el puerto de TOR, y alos Alanos por ALTA LA VACA, donde per memoria sue posta una argolla como alda-va, &c.*

(2) *I observed before, §. XVII. not, 5. that by the Honoriaci, mention'd by Orosius, the Marcomanni Honoriani are meant. These Marcomanni therefore, according to the Testimony of Orosius, now joined the other Germans for whom they open'd the Way to Spain, and probably the Suevi, in particular, they being themselves of Suevian Extraction.* *Jerom in the Passage quoted, §. XVI.*

not. 1. mentions likewise the Quadi, who without Doubt entirely reach'd Spain.

(3) *The Year appears from Idatius in chron. ad A. XVII. HONORII. Subversis, memorata plagarum grassatione, Hispaniæ provinciis, barbari ad pacem ineundam, domino miserante conversi, sorte ad habitandum sibi provinciarum dividunt regiones. Gallæciam Vandali occupant & Suevi, sitam in extremitate oceani maris occidua. Alani Lusitaniam, & Carthaginensem provincias, & Vandali cognomine Silingi, Bæticam sortiuntur. Hispani per civitates & castella residui a plagis barbarorum per provincias dominantium se subijciunt servituti. Isidorus repeats this, almost in the same Words, in chron. de historia Vandalorum. Vandali cum Alanis & Suevis pariter Hispanias ingrediuntur. Hi pace inter se inita, sorte ad inhabitandum sibi provinciarum dividunt regiones. Galliciam, Vandali & Suevi occupant, Alani Lusitaniam & Carthaginensem provincias. Vandali autem, cognomine Silingi, Bæticam sortiuntur. Hispani autem, per civitates & castella residui, barbaris dominantibus se subjugant.*

(4) *PETRUS ANTONIUS BEUTER in cronica general de toda Espanna, Lib. I. c. 25. f. 84. Los Vandalos llamados Silinges, tomaron la Bætica,*

had held out even to that Time (5), remain'd chiefly in the Possession of the ancient Inhabitants : And, when all Hopes of a Restoration of the *Roman* Power were vanished, and they begun, by Degrees, to be better acquainted with the *Germans*, they came, at Length, to the best Terms they could with them (6). Nay, the *Spaniards* were even soon after better contented with this new Government, than with that of the *Romans* (7) : And were greatly surpriz'd to find Princes, who were so terrible in War, could act in so humane and equitable a Manner, with their Subjects. *Orosius*, indeed, says, with Regard to the Measures taken by these States with the *Roman* Empire, that their Kings treated, each of them separately, with *Honorius* (8) ; by which they obtained a compleat Right to what they 'till then were indebted for to the Fortune of War only : However, the ensuing Proceedings of the *Romans* give us Room to think, that they did not leave them long in this tranquil State (9) ; and only took the Advantage of these single Treaties, to set them together by the Ears.

§. XXXIV.

tica, y dellos se dixo Vandalia, y agora dezimos Andaluzia. *MARIANA, Lib. V. c. 3. p. 193.* Silingi remanserunt in Hispania, eaque potissima Bætica parte, ubi Hispalis sita est. Unde, quoniam Vandalis contributi erant illisque confusi, consequenti tempore Bætiae nomen, Unadalosiae appellatione, non iisdem prorsus finibus, mutatum est.

(5) *Many of them had likewise been destroy'd.* Beuterus l. c. particularly mentions, that the Alani destroy'd Saguntum ; and of its Splendid Theatre only some Walls remained, whence the Place was call'd Murovieio, now Morviedro En este tiempo fue segunda vez destruyda Sagunto, no queriendo recoger estos Alanos ; y fue por despecho de su presuncion, derribado su teatro magnifico, y asolados los mas principales edificios, como hasta hoy parescen las ruinas. Despues, poblado aquel lugar altra vez fue llamado Muro vieio, y de alli vino el nombre de Morviedro que hoy tiene.

(6) See *Idatius's Words* above not. 3.

(7) *OROSIUS, who lived about this Time, and finish'd his History in the Year 417, says, Lib. VII. c. 41.* Quamquam & post hoc quoque continuo barbari execrati gladios suos, ad aratra con-

versi sunt, residuosque Romanos (*for so he calls the ancient Inhabitants*) ut socios modo & amicos sovent : ut inveniantur jam inter eos quidam Romani, qui malint inter barbaros pauperem libertatem, quam inter Romanos tributariam sollicitudinem sustinere.

(8) *IDEM Lib. VII. c. 43.* After having given an Account of the Peace Valia had made with Honorius, he proceeds : Romanæ securitati periculum suum obtulit, ut adversum cæteras gentes, quæ per Hispanias confederissent, sibi pugnaret, & Romanis vinceret : quamvis & cæteri Alanorum, Vandalorum, Suevorumque reges eodem nobiscum placito depacti forent, mandantes imperatori Honorio : tu cum omnibus pacem habe, omniumque obsides accipe : nos nobiscum confligimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus. Immortalis vero quæstus erit reipublicæ tuæ, si utrique pereamus.

(9) *PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, Lib. I. relates the following singular Circumstance, with Regard in particular to the Vandals.* Inde, Godigiscli ductu, in ea parte Hispaniæ, quæ oram habet imperii Romani primam ab oceano, sedes fixerunt, ea conditione, de qua tunc inter Honorium & Godigisclum convenit, ut illis partibus nihil nocerent. Cum autem hæc esset Romana lex, si qui sua non possiderent, spatiumque efflueret annorum

Jovinus,
assisted by the
Germans, as-
sumes the Im-
perial Dignity
at *Mentz.*

§. XXXIV. *HONORIUS*'s General had not finish'd his War with *Constantine* in *Gaul*, when *Jovinus* (1), a Person of Distinction, of that Nation (2), assumed the Imperial Dignity at *Mentz*. He depended chiefly on the Assistance of *Goar*, King of the *Alani*, whom I mentioned above, and *Guntharius*, King of the *Burgundians* (3). According to *Frigeridus*'s Relation, Part of which has been transmitted to us by *Gregorius Turonensis*, he had, likewise, *Alemanni* and *Franks* in his Service (4): And we find, by Medals, he was acknowledg'd Emperor at *Triers*.

Ataulph
marches into
Gaul, and de-
feats *Jovinus*:
Notwithstand-
ing which the
Treaty with
Honorius is not
ratified.

§. XXXV. THE Empire was involved in new Difficulties; which increas'd when *Ataulph* arrived in *Gaul*, in the Year 412, and brought *Attalus* with him: Hence some date the Beginning of the *Wisi-Goth* Kingdom from that Year. The *Goths* had perhaps 'till then ravaged the lower Parts of *Italy*, and at last *Toscana* (1). We cannot, with any Certainty, assign his Inducement to come to this Resolution: For if, on the one Hand, he was in Alliance with *Honorius*, as *Jornandes* seems

annorum XXX, illis non esse amplius actionem adversus malæ fidei possessores, sed præscriptione desisse jus adeundi ad judicem, lege cavit Honorius, ne tempus, quo Vandali in Romano imperio commorarentur, ad eam XXX. annorum præscriptionem evaderet.

§. XXXIV. (1) *De eo conf.* SIDONIUS APOLL. Lib. V. *epist.* 9.

(2) OROSIUS. *See the Passage in the following* §. *not.* 6.

(3) OLYMPIODORUS, p. 7. B. Jovinus apud Mundiacum, Germaniæ alterius urbem, studio Goaris, Alanl, & Guntiarrii, Burgundionum præfecti, tyrannus creatus est. Cui, ut sese adjungeret, Ataulpho auctor fuit Attalus. Et vero hic cum copiis ad illum se confert. Jovinus tamen, Ataulphi adventu offensus, obscure & veluti per ænigmata Attalum accusat, quod adventum suasset. Sarus item ad Jovinum venturus erat, sed Ataulphus, cognita re, collectis decem millibus militum, occurrit Saro, viros octodecim aut viginti apud se habenti, quem gesta heroica & stupore digna edentem, *scutis adhibitis*, vivum agre ca-

pere potuerunt, tandemque occidunt. Desciverat autem ab Honorio Sarus, audito, Belleridem domesticum suum interfectum, nullam tamen cædis rationem duxisse imperatorem. *add.* LABEUS in *notis ad b. l.*

(4) FRIGERIDUS apud GREGORIUM TURONENSEM, *Lbi.* II. c. 9. Vix dum quartus obsidionis Constantini mensis agebatur, cum repente ex ulteriori Gallia nuntii veniunt, Jovinum assumisse ornatus regios, & cum Burgundionibus, Alamannis, Francis, Alanis, omnique exercitu imminente [*forte, imminere*] obsidentibus, ita, acceleratis moris, referata urbe, Constantius deditur. Confestimque ad Italiam directus, missis a principe obviam percussoribus, supra Mincium flumen capite truncatus est.

§. XXXV. (1) *This receives some Light from Honorius's Rescript of the 18th of May, A. 413, in which he reduces to a fifth Part the Taxes on those Countries; without Doubt, on Account of what they had suffer'd by the Quartering of Soldiers, and military Contributions.* L. 7. *Cod. Theod. de indulgentiis creditorum.* Campaniæ, Tusciæ, Piceno, Samnio, Apuliæ, Calabriæ, sed & Bruttii &

seems to think (2); on the other Hand, his Deportment in Gaul cannot well be reconciled to it; and rather shew that his Design was to enter into a League with Jovinus. Sarus, the famous Gothick General, of whom Mention is made above, upon some Disgust taken at Honorius's Court, went likewise to Gaul, to seek his Fortune there; but Ataulph, pursued and attack'd him; and, at Length, obliged him, after a valiant Resistance, to put an End to the Animosities, subsisting between them, with the Sacrifice of his own Blood (3). There may perhaps, at first, have been some Understanding between Ataulph and Jovinus; but the latter soon fell at Variance with the Goths, and Olympiodorus observes particularly, that Ataulph took Offence at Jovinus's admitting his Brother, Sebastian, to a Share in the Empire. The Accounts we have in History are, in general, so concise and uncertain, that the Reasons why he took Disgust at this are not express'd (4). Cl. Posthumus Dardanus, a Person of Note among the Gauls, who enjoyed several honourable Posts, and particularly the *Præfectura Prætorii Galliarum* (5), performed, on this Occasion, eminent Services for Honorius. He won Ataulph, that he quite broke with Jovinus, and enter'd into a Treaty with Honorius, by Virtue of which he promised to deliver the

& Lucanæ, ex omni præstationis modo, quem antiqua solemnitas detinebat, quatuor partes jubemus auferri, &c. add. JA. GOTHOFREDI commentarius ad h. l. As for Toscana in particular, Rutilius mentions, that he went from Rome by Water, because Toscana had not yet so recover'd it self after the Gothick Wars, that he could conveniently pass through it.

Electum pelagus, quoniam terrena viarum
Plana madent fluviis, cautibus alta rigent.
Postquam Tuscus ager, postquamque Aurelius
agger
Perpeffus Geticas, ense vel igne manus,
Non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte coerces
In certo satius credere vela mari.

Rutilius set Sail in Autumn of the Year 416; some place it indeed in the Year 417 or 420, whose Reasons are cited by Tillemont, p. 335. But from the Poem itself, v. 140 seq. it appears, that it was composed before the Gothick Peace.

(2) See above §. XXX. not. 4.

(3) OLYMPIODORUS. See the Passage in §. XXXIV. not. 3. SOZOMENUS, Lib. IX. c. 15. Nec multo post, præter expectationem, interimuntur Jovianus (lege Jovinus) & Maximus, tyranni prædicti: tum etiam SARUS, & alii plurimi cum his, qui imperio Honorii fuerant infidiati.

(4) OLYMPIODORUS l. c. p. 7. C. Jovinus fratrem suum, Sebastianum, invito Ataulpho imperatorem creans, in ejus odium incurrit. Ataulphus itaque per internuntios capita se tyrannorum missurum, pacemque initurum, Honorio pollicetur. Hi domum ubi redierunt, & jusjurandum præstitum est, Sebastiani mox caput imperatori mittitur. Jovinus etiam ipse, ad Ataulpho obsessus, se dedit, missusque ad imperatorem est, quem Dardanus præfectus, sua manu percutiens interemit.

(5) Conf. SIRMONDUS in not. ad Sidonii Lib. V. epist. 9.

two Brothers into his Hands (6). Pursuant to his Promise, in the Year 412, he actually sent the Head of *Sebastian* to the Emperor, and took *Jovinus* Prisoner at *Valence*, and deliver'd him to *Dardanus*, who caus'd him likewise to be put to Death (7). Notwithstanding this, the Treaty with *Honorius* was not then concluded, because the *Romans*, on their Part, did not fulfill their Engagements (8). *Ataulph* therefore committed Hostilities, and took, together with *Narbonne* (9) and some other Places, as it seems, likewise *Thoulouse* (10). *Bourdeaux* readily open'd its Gates to him (11). He made also an Attempt upon *Marseilles*, but was repuls'd by *Bonifacius* (12).

Ataulph
marries the
Princess *Placidia*.

§. XXXVI. NOTHING prov'd a greater Obstacle to the Treaty than the Article about the Princess *Placidia*, who, from the Time of the taking of *Rome* had been in the Hands of the *Goths*. *Constantius*, who even then look'd upon the Imperial Throne as the only sufficient Reta-

(6) PROSPER *in chron. ad A. HONORII XIX.* Jovinus tyrannidem post Constantinum invadit. Industria viri strenui, qui solus tyranno non cessit, Dardani, Ataulfus, qui post Alaricum Gothis imperitabat, a societate Jovini avertitur. Sallustius quoque & Sebastianus occisi. Valentia, nobilissima Galliarum civitas, a Gothis effringitur, ad quam fugiens se Jovinus contulerat. See Olympiodorus's Words in the foregoing fourth Note.

(7) OLYMPIODORUS *l. c. not. 3.* PROSPER *l. c. not. 5.*

MARCELLINUS *in chr. THEODOS. imp. V. COS.*

Jovinus ac Sebastianus, in Gallis tyrannidem molientes, occisi sunt. OROSIUS, *Lib VII. c. 42.* Jovinus postea, vir Galliarum nobilissimus, in tyrannidem mox ut assurrexit, cecidit. Sebastianus frater ejusdem, hoc solum ut tyrannus moreretur, elegit.

IDATIUS *in chron: ad A. HONORII XIX.* Jovinus & Sebastianus oppressi ab Honorii ducibus Narbona interfecti sunt.

(8) OLYMPIODORUS *p. 7. in f.* Postulatum est ab Ataulpho, studio maxime Constantii, ejus qui illam postea uxorem duxit, Placidiam (quam apud se Romæ captam habebat) Honorio fratri suo redderet. Sed quod Ataulpho promissa, præstitum de curanda annona, perfecta non fuissent,

neque ipsam reddidit, & pacem bello commutaturus videbatur. Ataulphus ergo, cum Placidia repeteretur, frumentum vicissim ipse promissum petiit. Cujus conferendi, etsi, qui promiserant, copiam nullam haberent, nihilo tamen secius consentiunt, si Placidiam reciperent, accepturum. Ad quæ simili fere & ipse barbarus simulatione utebatur. Massiliam interea, sic dictam urbem profectus, dolo eam interciperere tentavit. Sed a Bonifacio, nobilissimo viro, vulneratus, & vix salvo capite fugiens, in sua tentoria se recepit, urbe omissa, quæ lætitiæ plena, laudibus, ac bonis ominibus Bonifacium est prosecuta.

(9) IDATIUS *ad A. Honorii XIX.*

Gothi, Narbonam ingressi, vindemiæ tempore.

(10) This is inferr'd from Rutilius Numatianus's Itinerarium, v. 493.

Victorinus enim nostræ pars maxima mentis Congressu explevit mutua vota suo.

Errantem Tuscis confidere compulit agris

Et colere externos capta Tolosa lares.

(11) This appears from Paulinus's Eucharisticum. See the Passage in §. XXXVII. not. 3.

(12) OLYMPIODORUS. See the Passage quoted in the preceding 7th Note.

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liation for his great Exploits, and imagin'd, that he should the easier attain it, if he married a Daughter of *Theodosius*, insisted upon the Surrender of that *Princess* to the Emperor. *Ataulph* had long before Thoughts of marrying *Placidia*, and the Reluctance with which she took *Constantius* for her Husband, after *Ataulph's* Decease, gives us Room to believe, that she had no great Affection for him at this Time. *Ataulph* therefore, not only refused to part with her, but actually married her himself, at *Narbonne* (1), in the Year 414, in the Month of *January*. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Splendor. *Ataulph* appeared at that Solemnity in a *Roman Habit*; and gave the Upper-Hand to the *Princess*, for whom a Bed was prepared, in the Form of a Throne. The *Roman Spoils* serv'd now to augment the Riches of the Nuptial Presents, and *Attalus* himself sung the Songs, which were composed in Honour to these Nuptials (2). We find in *Idatius* (3), that the following Words of the Prophet *Daniel* (4); *The King's Daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North, to make an Agreement; but she shall not retain the Power of the Arm, neither shall he stand nor his Arm*; were at that Time applied to these Nuptials. *Ataulph* chose *Heraclea*, a Place on the *Rhone*, in the present *Languedoc*, for his

§. XXXVI. (1) JORNANDES says indeed, that *Ataulph married Placidia in Italy*, cap 21. Quam tamen, ob generis nobilitatem, formæque pulchritudinem, & integritatem castitatis attendens, in Foro Livii, [*al. Foro Cornelii*] *Æmilie civitate*, suo matrimonio legitime copulavit. But OLYMPIODORUS and IDATIUS, on the contrary, shew plainly that the Nuptials were celebrated at *Narbonne*. Both Relations may be reconcil'd, if we suppose JORNANDES to mean the *Espousals*, and the Marriage to have been consummated at *Narbonne*. CA-TEL in his *Memoires de l'Hist du Languedoc*, p. 453. attempts to reconcile these Accounts in a different Manner, and imagines, that the Nuptials were celebrated at *Forum Cornelii*, (*at present Imola*) but that the Festivals on that Occasion, were then defer'd, and afterwards celebrated at *Narbonne*.

(2) OLYMPIODORUS p. 8. D. *Ataulpho studio ac consilio Candidiani, nuptiæ cum Placidia conveniunt. Januario mense nuptiis dictus dies, Narbone Gallie urbe, in domo Ingenii cujusdam primarii ejus urbis viri. Hic digniore loco residente Placidia in atrio, Romano more adornato, habituque regio, assedit ipsi Ataulphus lana in-*

dutus, omnique alio amictu Romano. Inter alia nuptiarum dona, donatur Ataulphus etiam quinquaginta formosis pueris, serica veste indutis, ferentibus singulis utraque manu discos binos: quorum alter auri plenus, alter lapillis pretiosis, vel pretii potius inæstimabilis, quæ ex Romanæ urbis direptione Gothi deprædati fuerant. Hinc versus canuntur epithalamii, Attalo præcinente, dein Rustacio atque Phœbadio, nuptiisque finis datus, lusu gaudioque ingenti barbarorum simul, & Romanorum, qui cum eis erant. SIRMONDUS imagines, p. 57, that this Rustacius was the same Decimus Rusticus, whom SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS mentions, Lib. V. epist. 9. But from a Passage in GREGORIUS TURONENSIS it appears, that he was put to Death before that Time.

(3) IDATIUS ad A. HONORII XX. (Cb. 414.) *Ataulphus apud Narbonam Placidiam duxit uxorem; in quo prophetia Danielis putatur impleta, qui ait filiam regis austri sociandam regi aquilonis, nullo tamen ejus ex ea semine subsistente. Ataulph and Placidia had, indeed, a Son, but he died before his Father.*

(4) Daniel c. XI. v. 6.

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Residence,

Residence, which received afterwards, indeed, from *St. Ægidius*, the Name of *St. Gilles*, but was nevertheless, long after, call'd *Palatium Gothorum* (5); and the adjacent Wood is, in ancient Records, mentioned by the Name of *la Selva Gotthesca* (6). There yet exists an Inscription (7), that was then erected in Honour of *Ataulph* and *Placidia*, which contains a fine Monument of this *Gothick Court*; and verifies the Relations of *Gotfrid Viterbiensis*, and *Otto Frisingensis*. It is likewise remarkable, for *Ataulph's* bearing thereupon the Surname of *Flavius*, which the *Gothick Kings* were afterwards very fond of.

ATAULPHO. FLAVIO.
POTENTISSIMO. REGI. REGUM. RECTISSIMO
VICTORI. VICTORUM. INVICTISSIMO. VANDALICÆ.
BARBARIÆ. DEPULSORI. ET CAESAREÆ. PLACIDIÆ.
ANIMÆ. SUÆ. DOMINIS. SUI. CLEMENTISSIMIS.
ANATILII. NARBONENSES. ARECOMICI. (8).
OPTIMIS. PRINCIPIBUS. IN. PALATIO. POSUERUNT.
OB. ELECTAM. A. SE. HERACLEAM. IN. REGIÆ.
MAJESTATIS. SEDEM.

The Goths
march into
Spain.

§. XXXVII. BUT how earnestly soever *Placidia* endeavour'd to establish a lasting Peace with the *Romans*, *Constantius* as vigorously oppos'd it. *Attilus*, who had till then followed the *Gothick Court*, seems, on Occasion of this new Rupture, to have resum'd the Imperial Dig-

(5) GOTHOFREDUS VITERBIENSIS in *Panteco* P. XVI. p. 402. Ataulphus vero, rex Gothorum, amore uxoris suæ Placidia, quæ erat soror Honorii imperatoris, a finibus Romanorum discedit, & in Gallia, prope civitatem Narbonensem, ubi hodie villa S. Ægidii dicitur, in loco qui usque hodie PALATIUM GOTHORUM dicitur, consedit supra Rhodanum fluvium. OTTO FRISINGENSIS in *chronico* Lib. IV. c. 21. Sed Ataulphus, amore uxoris Placidia, a finibus Romanorum secedit, ac in Gallias juxta provinciam Narbonensem, quam postmodum vir dei Ægidius inhabitans, metropoli ex nomine suo, ut villa sancti Ægidii dicatur, dedit, in loco, qui usque hodie PALATIUM GOTHORUM vocatur, consedit.

(6) GUILLAUME CATEL attests, in his *History of*

the Counts of Toulouse p. 5, and in his *Memoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, p. 453. that, in the Records of the Monastery of S. Ægidius, he found the adjacent Wood call'd la Selva Gotthesca. The Monastery of S. Gilles is, in their ancient Documents, call'd Monasterium S. Ægidii in Valle Flaviana. CATEL imagines, that Vallis Flaviana was so named from the Kings of the Wili-Goths, who bore the Surname of Flavianus.

(7) Vid. SIDONIUS in *miscellaneous eruditæ antiquitat.* p. 517.

(8) The Anatilii dwell, according to SPONIUS's Opinion, in the Country about the Rhone, where S. Gilles is, and the Arecomici, where Nîmes is situate.

nity

nity (1): But *Constantius* obtain'd, near *Narbonne*, some Advantage over the *Goths* (2), and was so far superior to them, that they determin'd to go to *Spain*. They first pillag'd *Bordeaux*, which had till then been in their Possession (3); and would have proceeded, in the same Manner, with the City of *Bazas*, had not the King of the *Alani*, during the Siege, abandon'd them, and reconciled himself to the *Romans* (4).

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§ XXXVII (1) PROSPER in *chron. conf. ad consulatum Constantii & Constantis* (A. 415.) Attalus Gothorum Consilio & præsidio tyrannidem resumit in Galliis. *We find a more certain Testimony of this PAULINUS's Eucharisticum, where, v. 291, he relates, that Attalus created him Comes privatarum largitionum.*

Sed mihi ad sortem præfatæ conditionis
Addita majoris nova est quoque causa laboris.

Ut me conquirens solatia vana tyrannus,
Attalus, absentem casso oneraret honoris
Nomine, privatæ comitivam largitionis
Dans mihi, quam sciret nullo subsistere censu
Jamque suo ipse etiam dedisset fidere regno:
Solis quippe Gothis fretus, male jam sibi
notis,

Quos ad præsidium vitæ præsentis habere
Non etiam imperii poterat, per se nihil ipse
Aut opibus propriis, aut milite nixus.

Unde ego non partes infirmi omnino tyranni
Sed Gothicam fateor pacem me esse secutum.
Quæ tunc ipsorum consensu optata Gothorum

• Paulo post aliis cessit mercede redempta.
Nec poenitenda manet, cum jam in republica
nostra

Cernamus plures Gothico florere favore.

placed in the Year of our Lord 414. IDATIUS in *chron. ad A. HONORII XXII.* Ataulfus, a patricio Constantio pulsatus, ut relicta Narbona Hispanias peteret, per quendam Gothum, apud Barcinonam inter familiares fabulas, jugulatur.

(3) PAULINUS, who was then at Bordeaux, describes this Depredation in his Eucharisticum, v. 311. seq.

Namque profecturi regis præcepto Ataulfi
Nostra ex urbe Gothi, fuerant qui in pace
recepti,
Non aliter nobis quam belli jure subactis,
Aspera quæque, omni urbe, irrogavere cre-
menta.

He then relates what befel him and his Family, notwithstanding that he had declared for Attalus, and consequently expected no Hostilities from the Goths.

In qua me inventum comitem tum principis
ejus
Imperio cujus sociatos nos sibi norant,
Nudavere bonis simul omnibus: & geni-
tricem
Juxta meam, mecum communi forte subac-
tos:

Uno hoc se nobis credentes parcere captis,
Quod nos immunes poena paterentur abire,
Cunctarumque tamen comitum simul & fa-
mularum,
Eventum fuerant nostrum quæcunque secutæ,
Illæso penitus, nullo adtentante, pudore.

(4) Of this we again find an Account in PAULINUS, who, after the sacking of Bordeaux, retired to Bazas, v. 329.

—Illico

(2) OROSIUS, *Lib. VII. cap. 43.* Anno ab urbe condita MCLXVIII. Constantius comes, apud Arelatum Galliæ urbem consistens, magna gerendarum rerum industria, Gothos Narbona expulit; atque abire in Hispaniam coëgit, interdicto præcipue, atque intercluso omni comœtatu navium, & peregrinorum usu commerciorum. PAGIUS observes, that OROSIUS follows the Computatio Capitolina, and this Occurrence ought to be

It happen'd luckily for the *Romans*, that the Insurrection in *Africa* was soon quell'd. *Heracian* had there assumed the Imperial Dignity, and was

Illico namque
 Exaëto laribus patriis, testisque crematis,
 Obsidio hostilis vicina excepit in urbe,
 VASATIS, patria majorum & ipsa meorum:
 Et gravior multo, circumfusa hostilitate,
 Factio servilis, paucorum mixta furori
 Infano, juvenum licet ingenuorum,
 Armata in cædem specialem nobilitatis,
 Quam tu, julte deus, insonti a sanguine
 avertens
 Illico paucorum sedasti morte reor m,
 Instantemque mihi specialem percussorem
 Me ignorante, alio jussisti ultore perire;
 Suetus quippe novis tibi me obstringere
 donis,
 Pro queis me scirem grates debere perennes.
 Sed mihi tam subiti concusso sorte pericli,
 Quo me intra urbem percelli posse viderem,
 Subrepsit, fateor nimium trepido, novus
 error,
 Consilii, ut me præsidio regis dudum mihi
 chari,
 Cujus nos populus longa obsidione premebat,
 Urbe ab obsessa sperarem abscedere posse,
 Agmine charorum magno comitante meo-
 rum;
 Hac tamen hos nostros spe sollicitante paratus,
 Quod scirem IMPERIO GENTIS cogente
 GOTHORUM,
 Invitum regem populis incumbere nostris.
 Explorandi igitur studio digressus ab urbe,
 Ad regem intrepidus nullo obsistente te-
 tendi:
 Lætior ante tamen prima quam afforet,
 amicum
 Alloquio, gratumque magis fore quem mihi
 rebar.
 Perscrutato autem, ut potui, interius viri voto,
 Præsidium se posse mihi præstare negavit,
 Extra urbem posito, nec tutum jam sibi pro-
 dens,
 Ut visum remeare aliter pateretur ad urbem,
 Ipse nisi mecum mox susciperetur in urbe:
 Gnaros quippe Gothos rursus mihi dira
 minari
 Seque ab ipsorum cupiens absolvere jure.

Obstupui, fateor, pavefactus conditione
 Proposita, & nimio indicti terrore pericli.
 Sed, miserante deo, afflictis qui semper ubi-
 que
 Imploratus adest, paulo post mente resumta,
 Ipse licet trepidus & adhuc nutantis amici,
 Consilium audacter studui pro me ipse fovere,
 Ardua dissuadens quæ scirem omnino ne-
 ganda,
 Et præstanda prius, quam mox tentanda
 perurgens,
 Quæ non fero probans vir prudens ipse se-
 cutus,
 Illico consultis per se primatibus urbis,
 Rem cœptam accelerans, una sub nocte pe-
 regit,
 Auxiliante Deo, cujus jam munus habebat,
 Quo nobis populoque suo succurrere posset.
 Concurrit pariter cunctis ad sedibus omnis
 Turba ALANARUM armatis sociata ma-
 ritis.
 Prima uxor regis Romanis traditur obses,
 Adjuncto pariter regis charo quoque nato.
 Reddor & ipse meis partæ inter fœdera
 pacis,
 Communi, tanquam Gothico salvatus ab
 hoste,
 Vallanturque urbis pomœria milite ALANO,
 Acceptaque dataque fide certa, reparato
 Pro nobis, nuper quos ipse obsederat hostis.
 Mira urbis facies, cujus magna undique mu-
 ros
 Turba indiscreti sexus circumdat inermis,
 Subjecta, exterius muris hærentia nostris,
 Agmina barbarica plaustris vallantur & armis.
 Qua se truncatam parte agminis haud me-
 diocris,
 Circumjecta videns populantum turba GO-
 THORUM,
 Illico diffidens tuto se posse morari,
 Hoste intestino subito in sua viscera verso,
 Nil tentare ausa ulterius, properanter abire
 Sponte sua legit, cujus non fero secuti
 Exemplum & nostri quos diximus auxiliares,
 Discessere, fidem pacis servare parati
 Romanis, quoque ipsos fors oblata tulisset.

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come to *Italy*; but was defeated at *Utricoli*; and when he thereupon fled back to *Africa*, was put to Death, at *Carthage*, in the *Ædes Memoria*, in the very same Year (5). As for *Attalus*, he indeed followed the *Goths* to *Spain* (6), but fell soon after into the Hands of the *Romans*.

§. XXXVIII. ABOUT the same Time that *Constantius* was involv'd in a War with *Ataulph*, the *Romans* made Peace with the *Burgundians*, by whose Assistance *Jovinus* had assum'd the Imperial Dignity, and allow'd them a Tract of Land, as it seems, in *Germania Prima*, probably that they might be more at Liberty to act against the *Goths*. The *Romans* hoped to make Use of them, as a kind of Guard to those Frontiers, which had 'till then lain exposed to the Ravages of foreign Nations (1), and as a Barrier to the other *Roman* Provinces: But we shall see in the Sequel, that they themselves were not the most tranquil People. This is therefore look'd upon as the Beginning of the *Burgundian* Monarchy, founded by *Gundicarius* in *Gaul*. The *Huns* gave it, indeed, a very great Shock, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, but

Beginning of
the Monarchy
of the Bur-
gundians in
Gaul. Con-
version of the
Burgundians.

(5) OROSIUS, *Lib. VII. c. 42.* Heraclianus interea, Africæ comes missus, cum idem Attalus umbram gestaret imperii, Africam strenue adversum judices ab eo missos tutatus, consulatum assecutus est: quo elatus supercilio, Sabinum, domesticum suum, virum ingenio callidum, industriaque solertem & sapientem nominandum, si animi vires tranquillis studiis accommodavisset, generum allegit, cum quo, quorundam periculorum suspiciones dum patitur, fecit; atque aliquamdiu Africana annona extra ordinem retenta, ipse tandem cum immensa, certe temporibus nostris, & satis incredibili classe navium, Romam contendit. Nam habuisse tunc IIIMDCC naves dicitur: quem numerum ne apud Xerxem quidem, præclarum illum Persarum regem, nec Alexandrum Magnum, vel quenquam alium regum fuisse, historiæ ferunt. Is simul ut cum agmine militum ad urbem pergens litore egressus est, occursum comitis Marini territum, & in fugam versus, arrepta navi, solus Carthaginem rediit, atque ibi continuo militari manu interfectus est. *Idatius in chronico ad A. XIX.* Honorii. Heraclianus movens exercitum de Africa adversus Honorium, Utriculo, in Italia, in conflictu superatus, effugit in Africam, caesis in loco supra dicto L. milibus armatorum. Ipse post Carthaginem, in æde

Memoriæ, per Honorium percussoribus missis, occiditur. *Prosper in chronico ad A. XX.* Honor. Heraclius, comes Africæ, qui in Romanæ urbis reparationem strenuum exhibuerat ministerium, nova quædam molitus, interimitur.

(6) Among all those, who relate the latter Transactions of this Attalus, OROSIUS, who finish'd his History, A. 417, seems to give the most certain Account: He says, *Lib. VII. c. 42.* Attalus itaque, tamquam inane imperii simulacrum, cum Gothis usque ad Hispaniam portatus est. Unde discedens navi, incerta moliens, in mari captus, & ad Constantium comitem deductus, deinde imperatori Honorio exhibitus, truncata manu, vitæ relictus est. *PROSPER in chron. consulari ad A. (416)* HONORIO X. & THEODORIO VI. COSS. Attalus a Gothis, ad Hispanias migrantibus, neglectus, & præsidio carens capitur, & Constantio patricio vivus offertur.

§. XXXVIII. (1) *PROSPER in chron. consulari ad Lucii consulatum A. 414.* Burgundiones partem Galliæ, propinquantem Rheno, obtinuerunt. *CASSIODORUS in chronico says:* ad consulat. Luciani. His COSS. Burgundiones partem Galliæ Rheno tenere conjunctam.

it soon recover'd. The Account *Socrates* gives of their Conversion (2) seems the more probable, as we can likewise shew, from *Orosius*, that they embrac'd the Orthodox *Christian* Religion, before the Year 417, in which he wrote his History (3); but their Kings became soon after Profelytes to *Arianism*. This new Kingdom endur'd many other Shocks before it attained to that Strength and Power, in which we shall find it in ensuing Times. Now, tho' by these Means the *Burgundian* Nation, which 'till then had been several Times noted in the Wars of the *Vandals* and *Alemanni* (4), quitted *Germany*, those *Burgundians* of whom I observ'd before (5), that they dwelt in the inner Parts of *Germania Magna*, will be mentioned again below in *Attila's* Reign.

*Ataulph's
Death.*

§. XXXIX. *ATAULPH* was murder'd in the Year 415, at *Barcelona* (1), in a treacherous Manner (2). *Singeric*, who according to *Olympiodorus*, was the Brother of his former inveterate Enemy, *Severus*, usurp'd the Throne, and vented his savage Revenge on *Ataulph's* House. He caus'd his Children, by his first Marriage, to be taken by Violence from the Bishop, *Segefarius*, who was one of the Heads of the *Arian* Sect, and to be put to Death: *Placidia*, the Queen-Dowager, was oblig'd

(2) *SOCRATES*, Lib. VII. c. 30. writes: Ad quandam Galliae civitatem profecti, postulant ab episcopo, ut Christianum baptismum suscipiant. ille, cum septem dies jejungere eos jussisset, ac fidei rudimentis instituisset, octavo tandem die baptismo donatos dimisit. *HADR. VALESIUS*, Lib. III. rer. Franc. p. 138. supposes, that *Severus*, Bishop of Trier, converted and baptized them: *HERTIUS* in not. P. G. P. III. c. VI. §. 4. is of the same Opinion: But *PAGIUS* observes, on the contrary, from *BROWER's* annales Trevirenses, and others, that this Computation disagrees with *Severus's* Years: conf. *PAGIUS* ad A. CCCCXIII. not. 13.

(3) *OROSIUS*, L. VII. c. 33. says: Eorum esse praevalidam, & perniciosam manum, Galliae hodieque tales sunt: in quibus praesumpta possessione consistunt, quamvis providentia dei omnes Christiani modo facti, catholica fide, nostris clericis, quibus obedirent, receptis, blande, mansuete, innocentique vivant, non quasi cum subjectis Gallis, sed vere cum fratribus Christianis.

(4) See above, Lib. VII. §. VIII.

(5) *IBID.* not. 2. fin.

§. XXXIX. (1) It is uncertain, whether he had fix'd upon *Barcelona* for his Residence, or only happen'd to stop there on his March. *FRANCISCUS DIEGO*, however, believes the former to be unquestionable, in his Hist. de los Condes de Barcelona. L. I. c. 13. 35. Entro en ella por Cathalunna, y puso su assiento y Corte en la ciudad de Barcelona, cerca del ya referido anno de CCCCXII, quando ya avia MCCCXLII. annos, que estava sin Rey. Grande suerte y lustre porcierto de Barcelona.

(2) *OROSIUS*, Lib. VII. c. 43. Cumque eidem paci petendae atque offerendae studiosissime insistere, apud Barcinorum, Hispaniae urbem, dolo suorum, ut fertur, occisus est. Post hunc *Sege-ricus*, rex a Gothis creatus, cum itidem judicio dei ad pacem pronus esset, nihilominus & a suis interfectus est: See the Passages from *OLYMPIODORUS*, *PROSPER*, &c. in the following Notes.

(3) See the Passage from *SOZOMENUS*, §. XXIV. not. 1. *Ataulph* was himself very probably, as well

oblig'd to go before his Horse on Foot, to add Ornament to a Kind of Triumph. *Ataulph* had a Prince by her named *Theodosius*, but he died before his Father (4). *Singeric* was, not many Days afterwards, himself murder'd, and is by very few reckon'd in the Number of the *Gothick* Kings (5). *Wallia* succeeded him, and in his Reign a Peace was, at Length, concluded with the *Romans*, whereby the Kingdom of the *Goths* was fully form'd and established. Some modern *Spanish* Historians say, that *Ataulph's* Tomb was yet shewn, in their Time, at *Barcelona* (6), and even produce the following Epitaph (7):

as *Alaric* and his whole Nation, of that Sect. JACOBUS VALDESIUS de dignitate regum regnorumque Hispaniæ, cap. 9. n. 30. f. 90. and FRANCISCUS DIEGO in his historia de los Condes de Barcelona, cap. 13. f. 35. have indeed so great a Regard for his Memory, as to represent him, as a Member of the Catholick Church, but their Proofs are insufficient.

(4) OLYMPIODORUS, says p. 9. B. Ataulphus, nato sibi e Placidia filio, cui Theodosio nomen dedit, Romanam amplius rempublicam amare videbatur. Verum Constantio, ejusque affectis repugnantibus, ejus & uxoris Placidie (paci in-eundæ) conatus frustra fuerunt. Extinctum autem postea infantem vehementer uterque parens luxit, argenteaque capsula conditum, Barcinone in templo quodam sepelierunt. Interficitur deinde & Ataulphus ipse (dum equos suos in stabulo, de more, contemplatur) a Gotho quodam, ejus domestico, Dobbii nomine, &c. Moriens Ataulphus fratri suo injunxit, Placidia ut redderetur, utque, si quo modo possent, Romanæ sibi gentis concordiam societatemque conciliarent: at qui successit, Sari frater, Singericus (studio potius ac vi, quam successione, aut lege creatus) Ataulphi e priori conjugæ liberos, vi e sinu Sigefarii episcopi abreptos, occidit, atque ipsam Placidiam reginam, in Ataulphi scilicet contumeliam, pedibus ante equum, una cum ceteris captivis ambulare coegit, idque toto illo spatio, quod est ab urbe, ad duodecimum usque lapidem. Septem ille dies cum imperasset interemptus est, & Gothorum dux Valias constituitur.

(5) PROSPER makes no Mention of *Singeric*, when he says: HONORIO X. & THEODOSIO VI. Coss. Ataulphus a quodam suorum vulneratus interiit: regnum ejus Vallia, peremtis, qui idem cupere intelligebantur, invasit.

(6) FRANCISCUS TARAPHA, canonicus at Barcelona, de regibus Hispaniæ, p. 538. Sepulcri ejus (autore Hieronymo Paulo Barcinonensi) in vico Paradisi, sublimiore ejusdem urbis parte, vestigia quædam extant, nempe columnarum partes, & non Herculis, ut fama habetur. JOANNES VASEUS in chronico Hispaniæ p. 66c. and many more modern Writers are of the same Opinion: But HIERONYMUS PAULUS, to whom TARAPHA refers, is in this a very uncertain Voucher. His Words are in the Descriptio urbis Barcinonensis, p. 842. Creditur a nonnullis, vestigia quædam columnarum & antiquorum rudrum, quæ in Paradiso, sublimiore urbis parte videntur, sepulcrum olim Ataulphi sustinuisse: pars reliquias arcis, alii porticus arbitrantur. Fama vulgi habet, Herculem ibi monumento conditum. Quæ opinio scriptis Salustii juvatur: nam hic in Hispania Herculem sepultum fuisse Afris & Iberis persuasum testatur. The Story of the Tomb seems therefore as fictitious as the Epitaph.

(7) LUDOVICUS NONIUS in Hispania, c. 88. Sublatus est hic per insidias Gothorum rex, Ataulphus, una cum sex filiis, teste Paulo Orosio, cujus adhuc aliqua sepulcri vestigia extant, una cum hoc epitaphio: licet imperitæ plebi, vel Herculis, vel regis Hispani esse persuasum sit. BELLIGOTENS, &c.

BELLI-

BELLIPOTENS VALIDA NATUS DE GENTE GOTHORUM
 HIC, CUM SEX NATIS, REX ATAULPHE JACES.
 AUSUS ES HISPANAS PRIMUS DESCENDERE IN
 ORAS;
 QUEM COMITABANTUR MILLIA MULTA VIRUM.
 GENS TUA TUNC NATOS, ET TE INVIDIOSA PER-
 MIT:
 QUEM POST AMPLEXA ËST BARCINO MAGNO
 GEMENS.

Mariana, however, doubts of the Genuineness of this Epitaph (8). It is to be met with in that infamous Chronicle of *Lucius Dexter*, who pretends himself to have been the Author of it (9): But this very Circumstance may suffice to make it fully suspected, since it is known to the Learned what an Imposture is conceal'd in this Chronicle of his (10). Another *Spanish* Historian not only believes the Story both of his Tomb and Epitaph to be genuine, but likewise describes his Coat of Arms (11). As all Writers, moreover, tho' they vary in some Circumstances, yet agree in this, that *Ataulph* was murder'd, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* attributes his Death to the Emperor *Honorius*, as a Kind of Victory; and observes, that publick Rejoicings were made, on this Occasion, at *Constantinople* (12). That Court was, it seems, at that Time, so little accustomed to real good News, that a treacherous Murder, perpetrated in a foreign Country, serv'd them as a Pretence for a Festival.

Wallia makes
 Peace with
 the Romans.
Honorius's
 Triumph.

§. XL. *WALLIA*, at first, continued the War with the Emperor, and even equipp'd a Fleet, for an Expedition into *Africa*; but it was

(8) *MARIANA de rebus Hisp. Lib. V. c. 2.* Sex Ataulphi filios, una cum patre periisse sepulcri inscriptio, carmine concepta declarat, cujus hodie sepulcri pars Barcinone exstat. Ei inscriptioni quanta fides sit arroganda, aliorum esto judicium: nobis recentior visa est, quam pro horum temporum antiquitate.

(9) *LUCIUS FLAVIUS DEXTER in chron. ad fin.* Qui Barcinone, patria nostra, occisus est, XXI. Augusti, anni CCCCXVI, in cujus memoriam hoc ego carmen lusi: BELLIPOTENS, &c,

(10) v. *ANTONIUS in bibl. Hisp. vet. Lib. II; c. 8. p. 155.*

(11) *BEUTERUS, l. c. fol. 87.* Esta enterrado en

Barcelona, en una rica sepultura, con las armas, que hazia, y estos versos, &c. BELLIPOTENS, &c. He adds to this the Coat of Arms, which he divides into four Fields, of which the two upper contain three Chevrons and a Crown, and the two lower, two Lions. This is the less surprizing, as the same Author describes the Coat of Arms, which Tubal brought with him to Spain.

(12) *Chronicon Alexandrinum, p. 309.* B. HONORIO X. & THEODOSIO AUGUSTO VI. Coss. Eodem anno, mense Gorpizeo, nuntius allatus est, Ataulphum barbarum, in superioribus partibus a domino Honorio fuisse sublatum: factaque luminum accensione, postridie circenses ludi acti sunt, in pompæ speciem facto ingressu.

dispers'd

dispers'd in a Tempest (1). This Disaster made him the sooner lend an Ear to the Proposals for a Peace. As *Constantius* had 'till then obstructed it, chiefly, because *Ataulph* had deprived him of the Princess *Placidia*, and *Wallia* had now no Reason to refuse the Surrender of her to the Emperor, the Peace was concluded about the Year 416 (2). The Conditions are indeed not so very expressly mentioned; but we find, that the *Goths*, on their Part, deliver'd up the Queen Dowager *Placidia*, who was in the next ensuing Year 417, married to *Constantius*, on the first of *January*, the Day he enter'd upon his Consulship; tho' she shew'd very little Affection for his Person (3). The *Romans*, on the other Hand, deliver'd to the *Goths* a certain Quantity of Provisions (and probably a Sum of Money too;) and enter'd with them into a League against the *Alani*, and other *German Nations* in *Spain*. The Cession of certain Countries to the *Goths*, was agreed upon, at the same Time; but it is uncertain, whether *Wallia* was first to conquer them in *Spain*, or whether that Part of *Gaul* of which he took Possession, *A. 419*, was then assign'd him. The Conclusion of this Peace with the *Goths* did, in all Probability, give Occasion to that Triumph, which was celebrated by *Honorius*, at *Rome*, in

§. XL. (1) *OROSIUS, Lib. 7. c. 43.* Deinde Vallia successit in regnum, ad hoc electus a Gothis, ut pacem infringeret: ad hoc ordinatus a deo, ut pacem confirmaret. Hic igitur territus maxime iudicio dei, quia cum magna superiore abhinc anno Gothorum manus, instructa armis navigiisque, transire in Africam moliretur, in XIIM. passuum Gaditani freti tempestate corrupta, miserabili exitu perierat; memor etiam illius acceptæ sub Alarico cladis, cum Gothi in Siciliam transire conati, in conspectu suorum miserabiliter arrepti & demersi sunt, pacem optimam cum Honorio imperatore, datis lectissimis obsidibus pepigit. Placidiam, imperatoris sororem, honorifice apud se honesteque habitam, fratri reddidit. Romanæ securitati periculum suum obtulit, ut adversum cæteras gentes, quæ per Hispanias confedissent, ubi pugnaret, & Romanis vinceret.

(2) *OLYMPIODORUS, p. 11. A.* Eupluthius Magistrianus ad Valiam Gothorum præfectum mittitur, qui pacis fœdera iniret, Placidiamque acciperet: Illa vero commode recepit, missaque munimentatione sexcentorum millium, Placidia Eupluthio tradita, ad Honorium fratrem mittitur.

PHILOSTORGIUS says, L. 12. c. 4. Exinde barbari ad Honorium festinarunt, propriamque sororem, & Attalum imperatori stiterunt: ipsi vero annonis donati, portionem quoque aliquam Galliarum ad colendum adepti fuere. *PROSPER* in chronico consulari expressly mentions the Year 416: *THEODOSIO VII. & PALADIO COSS.* Placidiam, Theodosii imperatoris filliam, quam Romæ Gothi ceperant, quamque Ataulphus conjugem habuerat, Vallia, pacem Honorii expetens, reddidit, ejusque nuptias Constantius promeretur. *IDATIUS likewise mentions this Peace, in the same Year. See the Passage in the following § not. 1.*

(3) *OLYMPIODORUS p. 12. A.* Honorius augustus undecimum, & Constantius iterum consules creati, Placidia nuptias conciliant. Sed has ipsas nuptias cum vehementer detractaret, effecit, ut ipsius famulis indignaretur Constantius. Tandem nihilominus, ipso, quo consulatum inivit die, manu ipsam arreptam Honorius imperator, frater ejus, invitam Constantio in manum tradit, nuptiaque splendide celebrantur.

the Year 417 (4). The City had, indeed, recover'd itself (5), and a *Roman* of Distinction, of that Time, represents it as magnificent, as it ever could appear in the Eyes of *Constantius* (6), and mentions the *Gothick* Conquest, as a small Misfortune soon remedied (7): But the Joy of this Triumph must have proceeded rather from a Reflection, that the *Romans* escaped a total Desolation, than that they could boast of any signal Victory, which, in ancient *Rome*, could alone merit a Triumph.

(4) PROSPER in chronico consul. HONORIO XI. & CONSTANTIO II. Coss. (A. 417.) Romam triumphans ingreditur, præeunte currum ejus Attalo: quem Liparæ vivere jussit. PHILOSTORGIUS says, Lib. 12. n. 5. Posthæc vero & Roma a multis malis respirans rursus incolæ cœpit, & imperator cum ad eam venisset, manu & lingua inhabitationem firmavit.

(5) OLYMPIODORUS, p. 9. A. Post Romam a Gothis captam, Albinus, urbis præfectus, quod jam eadem ad pristinum rediret statum, scripsit, non sufficere præbitam populo partem, multitudine jam aucta civitate: additque, uno die initum esse civium quatuordecim millium. Albinus was Præfectus urbis A. 414.

(6) See above, in the VI Book, § XLVI.

(7) RUTILIUS describes Rome to be so magnificent, that one would imagine all the ancient sumptuous Edifices to have been, at that Time, still in their former pristine Lustre. v. 95-106.

Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus:
 Ipsos crediderim sic habitare deos.
 Quid loquar ærio pendentes fornice rivos,
 Qua vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?
 Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes,
 Tale gigantæum Græcia laudat opus.
 Intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris,
 Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.
 Nec minus & propriis celebrantur roscida
 venis,

Totaque nativo mœnia fonte sonant.
 Frigidus æstivas hinc temperat halitus auras,
 Innocuamque levat purior unda sitim.

He concludes this Account as follows, v. 115-142.

Erige crimales lauros, seniumque sacrati
 Verticis in virides, Roma, recinge comas.

Aurea Turrigero radiant diademata cono,
 Perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat.
 ABSCONDAT TRISTEM DELETA IN-
 JURIA CASUM,
 CONTEMPTUS SOLIDET VULNE-
 RA CLAUSA DOLOR.

Adversis solemne tuis sperare secunda:

Exemplo cœli ditia damna subis.

Astrorum flammæ renovant occasibus ortus,
 Lunam finire cernis ut incipiat.

Victoris Brenni non distulit Allia pœnam,
 Samnis servitio fœdera sæva luit.

Post multas Pyrrhum clades superata fugasti.

Flevit successus Annibal ipse suos.

Quæ mergi nequeunt, nixu majore resurgunt,
 Exiliuntque imis altius alta vadis.

Utque novas vires fax inclinata resumit,

Clarior ex humili sorte superna petis.

Porrige victuras Romana in sæcula leges,

Solaque fatales non vereare colos.

Quamvis sedecies denis, & mille peractis,
 Annus præterea jam tibi nonus eat.

Quæ restant nullis obnoxia tempora metis,

Dum stabunt terræ, dum polus astra feret.

Illud te reparat, quod cætera regna resolvit,

Ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis.

ERGO AGE SACRILEGÆ TANDEM
 CADAT HOSTIA GENTIS,
 SUBMITTANT TREPIDI PERFIDA
 COLLA GETÆ.

He then relates that he embark'd, and that he heard the Noise of the Combat, and other publick Shews, when he was at Sea, v. 200-204.

Sæpius attonitæ resonant circensibus aures.

Nunciat accensus plena theatra favor.

Pulsato notæ redduntur ab æthere voces,

Vel quia perveniunt, vel quia fingit amor.

Honorius,

Honorius, by making Peace with the *Goths*, put an End to a War, which seem'd at first to threaten the Downfal of the *Roman Empire*: And tho' he was obliged to give up several Countries a Prey to the *Germans*, he nevertheless saved *Italy*, and the Rest of the Provinces. The Rebel-
lions of *Constantine*, *Attalus*, *Maximus*, *Jovinus* and *Heraclean*, were fortunately suppress'd, and *Attalus* was now oblig'd to walk before the
Triumphal Char: After which his two fore-Fingers were cut off, and he was sent into Exile to the Island of *Lipari* (8).

§. XLI. WE must therefore look upon the bloody Wars, which ^{Wars of the}
Wallia, soon after, made with the *Suevi*, *Alani* and *Vandals*, in *Spain*, ^{Wisi-Goths}
as Consequences of this Peace and Alliance (1). The *Silingi* in particular ^{with the}
suffer'd greatly (2), and likewise the *Alani*, who lost *Atax*, their King, ^{Alani in}
and were so humbled, that after this they were no longer reckon'd ^{Spain.}
a separate Kingdom; but were obliged to put themselves under the Do-
minion of the *Vandals* (3). Hence it is, that the Princes of the
Vandals, ever after, bore the Title of Kings of the *Vandals* and *Alani*.

(8) PROSPER. See above not. 4. conf. §. XXXVIII. n. 6.

Law, Ricimer, who, by his Mother, descended from *Wallia*, v. 360-364.

§. XLI. (1) IDATIUS ad A. HONORII XXII. Cui Ataulpho succedens *Wallia* in regno, cum patricio Constantio pace mox facta, Alanis, & Vandalis *Silingis*, in *Lusitania*, & *Bætica* sedentibus adversatur. He mentions, in the same Year, a Vandalick Prince, whom Constantius sent as a Captive to the Emperor *Honorius*: *Fridibalum*, regem gentis *Vandalorum*, sine ullo certamine ingeniose captum, ad imperatorem *Honorium* destinat. And in the next Year: *Wallia* rex *Gothorum*, *Romani* nominis causa, intra *Hispanias*, cædes magnas efficit barbarorum: *Orosius*, in the Year 417, concludes his History in these Words: Ita-
que nunc quotidie apud *Hispanias* geri bella gen-
tium, & agi strages ex alterutro barbarorum, cre-
bris certisque nunciis discimus; præcipue *Walliam*,
Gothorum regem, insistere patrandæ paci serunt.

(2) IDATIUS in chronico ad A. HONORII XXIV. (418.) *Vandali Silingi*, in *Bætica* per *Walliam*, regem, omnes extincti. These Wars are likewise mentioned by *Sidonius*, in the Panegyrick, which he wrote in Honour of the Emperor *Anthemius*, when he speaks in Praise of his Son-in-

Nam patre *Süevus*,
A genetrice *Gethes*, simul & reminiscitur illud.
Quod *Tartessiacis*, avus hujus *Vallia*, terris
Vandalicas turmas, & juncti *Martis Alanos*
Stravit, & occiduam texere cadavere *Calpen*.
Calpe is generally thought to be the present *Gibraltar*; but *Valesius* in *Excerpta ex Nicolao Damasceno*, p. 72. imagines it to be the present *Carteia*, which is situated at the Foot of the Mountain *Calpe*, and is for that Reason call'd, in the *Itinerarium ANTONINI* *Calpe Carteia*. *Terræ Tartessiacæ* signify here in general *Hispania Bætica*: For the River *Bætis* (at present *Guadalquivir*) was formerly call'd *Tartessus*, as *PAUSANIAS* testifies expressly, Lib. 6. c. 19. p. 497. Some likewise mention a City call'd *Tartessus*, which was famous in ancient Times, and of which *LUD. NONIUS* treats in his *Descript. Hispaniæ*, c. 88.

(3) IDATIUS in chronico (ad A. 418.) *Alani*, qui *Vandalis* & *Suevis* potentabantur, adeo cæsi sunt a *Gothis*, ut, extincto *Atace*, rege ipsorum, pauci, qui supersuerant, abolito regni nomine, *Gunderici* regis *Vandalorum*, qui in *Gallæcia* resederat, se patrocinio subjugarent.

M m m 2

§. XLII. BUT

Wallia makes
Toulouse the
Royal Resi-
dence of the
Wisi-Gothick
Kindgom.

§. XLII. But, about the Year 419 (1), *Wallia* took actual Possession of the Province of *Aquitania secunda*, with some other Cities between the *Garonne* and the Sea (2); which the *Romans*, by the late Peace, had allotted the *Goths* (3). *Wallia* made Choice of *Toulouse* for the Royal Residence, which was afterwards, during 88 Years, the Residence of the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*. These Countries obtain'd from thence the Name of *Gothia*, which was long after appropriated to one Part of them (4); And the modern Appellation of *Languedoc*, is derived from that of the *Goths* (5). The *Goths* seem, in Consideration of this, to have allowed the *Romans* a Share in those Countries, which they took in *Spain*; but to have reserv'd for themselves that Part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, which lies on the Sea-Side, adjoining to the *Pyrenean* Mountains; which some *Spanish* Historians conjecture to have been named *Catalonia* from the *Goths* and *Alani*, who inhabited it (6). The Be-

§ XLII. (1) *Annum probat* TILLEMONT, p. 1343.

(2) PROSPER in chron. consul. MAXIMO & PLINTA COSS. (A. 419.) Constantius pacem firmat cum Vallia, data eidem ad habitandum secunda Aquitania, & quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum.

(3) IDATIUS in chronico ad. A. HONORII XXIV. Gothi, intermisso certamine, quod agebant, per Constantium ad Gallias revocati, sedes in Aquitania, & Tolosa usque ad oceanum acceperunt. Among these Cities was likewise Bourdeaux: PAULINUS therefore means this, when he mentions, in his Eucharisticon, that his Sons left him and went to Bourdeaux, v. 498.

———— Natis abeuntibus a me.

Non equidem paribus studiis, nec tempore eodem,

Succensis pariter sed libertatis amore,

Quam sibi majorem contingere posse putabant
Burdigalæ, GOTHICO QUANQUAM
CONSORTE COLONO.

When the Romans assign'd these Provinces to the Goths, the ancient Inhabitants were not, on that Account, expelled or depriv'd of their civil Rights and Estates; as appears from Paulinus's Words. The Goths enter'd upon the Rights of Sovereignty, and the

Effects and Revenues belonging to the Emperors. A particular Contract was perhaps made, about the Lands, with the Inhabitants (as we find the same related of the Burgundians, Ostro-Goths, and other German Nations.) If a Goth, moreover, desired to have the House or Mannor of a Provincial, he was obliged to purchase them in a legal Manner. Thus Paulinus relates, v. 575, that a Goth bought a Piece of Ground of him, at a Time when he stood in Need of Money.

Emitorem ignotum mihi si de gente Gothorum
Excires, nostri quondam qui juris agellum
Mercari cupiens, pretium transmitteret ultro:
Haud equidem justum, verumtamen accipienti
Votivum, fateor.

(4) Testamentum Caroli Magni: septimania sive Gothia. add. PETRUS de MARCA in Marca Hispanica passim.

(5) Conf. JACOBUS SIRMONDUS in notis ad Sidonium, p. 38. But CATEL rejects this Derivation, in his Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc, p. 39. seq.

(6) HIERONYMUS PAULUS, in descriptione urbis Barcinonensis, p. 842. Inde exillimatum est a non vulgaribus, propter consistentem tum maxime in ea regione Alanam & Gothorum gentem, inceptos appellari GOTALANICOS populos, qui nunc CATALAUNI dicuntur.

ginning

ginning of the Kingdom, erected by the *Goths* in *Spain* and *Gaul*, seems likewise to be properly dated from the Time of the Peace made with the *Romans*, by Virtue of which, it obtained its Form and Establishment. *Spanish* Historians never omit this Circumstance of Antiquity, when they treat of the Preference of their Kings, as Successors of the *Gothick* Conquerors (7). The Confines of this new *Gothick* Kingdom, were soon considerably extended, and the *Wist-Goths* arriv'd to such Renown, that they were, for some Time, superior to all the other *German* Nations, in Power and Form of Government (8).

§. XLVIII. As to the Condition of the remaining Part of *Gaul*, the *Armorici* had followed the Example of the *Britons*, and took the Advantage of the late Divisions of the *Roman* Empire, to secure their own Liberties (1); on which Occasion, *Honorius* and *Valentinian III* †, were continually at War with them. The *Romans* had, themselves, assign'd the *Burgundians* a certain District, on the *Rhine*: But we find, nevertheless, in the *Notitia Imperii* (2), which seems to have been written about this Time

The State of *Gaul*. Constitution of the eleven *Gaulish* Provinces. The City of *Tours* destroyed.

(7) GREGORIO LOPEZ MADERA *Excelencias de la Monarquia de Espanna*, f. 28. De donde es cierto, que entre los Reynos que duran hasta aora, los que han permanecido, y se pueden llamar verdaderamente reynos, tiene el de Espanna desde los mismos Godos la may orantiguedad; allegandose a esto la justificacion de su entrada, para ser desde su principio reyno verdadero y legitimo, por lo que arriba dexamos tratado. Y assi se deve de justicia a sus successores, nuestros catolicos, reyes el primer lugar y precedencia, pues es su reyno, respeto de su antiquissima fundacion, y de su restauracion, (que assi la podemos llamar) el mas antiguo de los, que hasta aora permanecen, &c. He illustrates the Position, that the latter Spanish Kings, since Pelagio, ought to be look'd on as the true Successors of the Gothick Kings. fol. 84.

(8) POLDUS d'ALBENAS, in his Discours Historical de Nimes, p. 109. pleases himself with the Reflection, that, tho' those Countries were destin'd to be taken by Strangers, yet they fell to the Share of the most valiant.

Les Goths occidentaux furent les plus excellents,

& les orientaux non tant illustres — — —
Ce que nous est quelque soulas d'avoir esté vaincus des plus braves, comme Ence console son ennemy, qu'il mourroit de sa main.

§. XLIII. (1) ZOSIMUS, Lib. 6. c. 15. See the Passage above in § XXX. not. 1.

† RUTILIUS, in the Account of his Travel, says, that about the same Time (viz. A. 516) Exuperantius settled all Matters among the *Armorici*, v. 213.

Cujus *Armoricas* pater *Exuperantius* oras
Nunc postliminium pacis amare docet.
Leges restituit, libertatemque reducit
Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.

But the next Book will prove, that *Alcius* was constantly at War with those People, in *Valentinian's* Reign.

(2) In the *Notitia Imperii*, the State of *Belgica Prima* and *Secunda* is still entire: As we find likewise, that of *Germania Prima*, p. 2002.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis, Ducis *MO-*
CONTIACENSIS

Præfectus

Time (3), that the *Roman* Constitution subsisted still in *Germania Prima*. *Germania Secunda*, on the other Hand, was probably, lost (4), and after *Jovinus's* Time, in a great Measure, subject to the *Franks* (5). For about the Year 420 (6), *Castinus* march'd towards the *Rhine*, against the *Franks* (7): But they were, notwithstanding this, at the Beginning of the Reign of *Valentinian III*, in firm Possession of the left Banks of the *Rhine* (8). The City of *Triers* had, about this Time, been already taken twice by the *Franks* (9). *Honorius* had, indeed, in the Year 418, by an Ordinance, directed to the *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum* (10), provided, concerning the other Provinces, that the former Constitution of the VII Provinces (11), so call'd, should be re-instated, and that the annual Conventions should be regularly held at *Arles*: But this Decree was soon after broken, when *Novem Populi* and *Aquitania II*, came by Cession to the *Wisi-Goths*, and they extended themselves yet more and more.

Præfectus militum Pacensium, SALETIONE.
Præfectus militum Menapiorum, TABERNIS.
Præfectus militum Andrecianorum, VICO JU-

LIO.

Præfectus militum Vindicum, NEMETES.
Præfectus militum Martensium, ALTA RIPA.
Præfectus militum secundæ Flaviæ, VANGIONES.
Præfectus militum Armigerorum, MOGONTIACO.
Præfectus militum Bigensium, BINGIO.
Præfectus militum Balistariorum, BODOBRICA.
Præfectus militum Defensorum, CONFLUENTI-

BUS.

Præfectus militum Acincensium, ANTONACO.
And, p. 1948, we find the COMES TRACTUS ARGENTORATENSIS taken Notice of.

(3) *In an Inscription, which was found not far from Silleron in Provence, and was written about this Time, the Brother of Dardanus, Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum, is call'd CL. LEPIDUS EXCONSULARIS GERMANIÆ. See SIRMOND in not. ad SIDONIUM, p. 59.*

(4) *In the afore-cited Notitia Imperii, we meet with no farther Dux Germaniæ secundæ: conf. PANCIROLUS in notis, p. 1992, and only one Præfectus Lætorum Langentium at Tungris.*

(5) *They took Treves a third Time, about the Year 420, v. TILLEMONT, p. 1340.*

(6) *Mons. TILLEMONT demonstrates, p. 1457. and 1458, that this Computation is right.*

(7) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS bist. Franc. Lib. 2. c. 9. Iisdem diebus præfectus tyrannorum Decimius Rusticus Agrætius ex primicerio notariorum Jovini, multique nobiles apud Arvernos capti a ducibus Honorianis, & crudeliter interempti sunt. Treverorum civitas a Francis direpta, incensaque est secunda inruptione. Cum autem Asterius codicillis imperialibus patriciatum sortitus fuisset, hæc adjungit: Eodem tempore CASTINUS, domesticorum comes, expeditione in FRANCOS suscepta, ad Gallias mittitur.*

(8) *See in the next Book, § VII.*

(9) *See the Passage from Gregor. Turonensis in the foregoing 7th Note. Valesius places, in the Times of Honorius, all that Salvianus relates of the calamitous State of the City of Triers: But it appertains properly to that last Destruction related by him, and to the Wars of the Franks which we shall relate in the next Book.*

(10) *V. hæc constitut. ap. Sirmondum in notis ad Sidonium: p. 147. conf. de eadem Pagius ad A. 418. 78.*

(11) *PAGIUS treats of this Constitution, ad A. 401. n. 36.*

§. XLIV. THE

§ XLIV. THE Mention made hitherto, in this Book, of the *Franks*, has related to their Transactions with *Stilico*; their Battles with the *Vandals* and *Alani*; and the Services they did *Constantine* and *Jovinus*, in *Gaul*. Till then the *Rhine* separated them from the *Roman* Dominions. But in the Sequel we shall likewise find *Franks* on the left Side of the *Rhine*, who, as I observed before, had gain'd a firm Footing in *Gaul*, ever since the Times of *Jovinus*: About the Year 420, *Pharamond*, King of the *Franks*, appears in History (1); and is, by an Author, who liv'd in the Beginning of the 7th Century, said to be the Son of King *Marcomer*, of whom Mention is made above (2). Some Writers introduce this *Pharamond*, as the first King of the *Franks*; or, at least, as the Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, who united the several Nations under his Scepter (3). *Henschenius* (4), on the contrary, will allow of no such Person, and doubts, whether that Name is mention'd in any genuine Annals, written before the 9th Century; and neither *Gregorius* nor *Fredegarius* take any Notice of him. *F. Pagi* has indeed answer'd *Henschenius* (5); but it is nevertheless very hazardous, to ground the Beginning of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, on a single Passage of one Chronicle, the Veracity of which, is besides so much called in Question (6): For tho' we do allow, that a Person, named *Pharamond*, reigned about this Time among the *Franks*; yet they go evidently too far, who call him in general the first King of the *Franks*, since we have already, ever since *Maximinian's* Time, met with the Names of many Kings of the *Franks*, in History. Those who affirm him to have been the first King, who united the whole Nation under his Government, are likewise mistaken; since the *Franks* were subject to several Dukes or Kings, 'till *Clovis's* Times. As long, therefore, as *Pharamond's* Memory may be call'd in Question, *Valesius's* Account of his Actions, is likewise confined within the Bounds of a bare

Transactions
of the *Franks*.
Of King *Pharamond*:
Whether
he may be
accounted the
Founder of
the Monarchy
of the *Franks*.

§. XLIV. (1) PROSPER in *chron. a PITHOEO edito: ad A. XXVI. HONORII. Faramundus regnat in Francia.*

(2) AUTOR de GESTIS FRANCORUM, p. 693. Tunc defuncto Sunnone, & accepto consilio, in uno primatu eorum unum habere principem, petierunt consilium a Marchomiro, ut regem unum haberent sicut & ceteræ gentes. At ille dedit eis consilium, & elegerunt Faramundum, filium ipsius Marchomiri.

(3) PAGIUS himself says, ad A. 418, not. 81. Monarchiæ Francicæ fundamenta, hoc circiter anno jacta.

(4) HENSCHENIUS in exegeſi de episcopatu Tungrenſi & Trajectenſi, c. 10. where he endeavours to render the Chronicon Proſperi, publiſh'd by Pithoeus, in which this Paſſage of Pharamond is to met be with, ſuſpected.

(5) PAGIUS in critica annal. Baronii ad A. 418. n. 81.

(6) Theſe Doubts are mention'd in a Remark de l' Epoque de la Monarchie Francoiſe; in the Memoires de Literature, T. 1 p. 370.

Conjecture

Conjecture (7). His Sepulcher was even formerly shewn on the *Franckenberg*, which is the highest among that Ridge of Mountains, which separates *Alsatia* from *Lorrain*: But *F. Mabillon*, who has collected all that has been said about this Sepulcher, has, likewise, at the same Time, demonstrated the Insufficiency of these Relations (8). We find more genuine Monuments of another King of the *Franks*, named *Theodomer*, who lived about these Times: But yet we have not sufficient Circumstances that we can depend on, to illustrate them (9). For those among the *Franks*, who first wrote any History of them, have been as negligent in their Remarks on the Origin of that Nation, as their Posterity has been desirous of a more accurate Knowledge of it.

When the
Salique Laws
were made?

§. XLV. IF we might give Credit to those who will have a *Pharamond*, his Reign would be more famous for the Promulgation of the *Salique Laws* (1), than for all the Wars, attributed to him by *Valesius*:
But

(7) VALESIIUS *l. c. T. I. p. 120.* Hoc solum affirmare possumus, si Honorio XI, & Constantio II. COSS. regnare Faramundus coepit, principatu ejus, & forsitan etiam ductu, Francos in Galliam eruptionem fecisse, & Augustum Trevirorum (sicubi ante dictum est) tertium captam diripuisse, ac incendisse. Præterea ex PROSPERI fastis, chronicoque colligimus, Faramundum partem Galliae Rheno proximam, possessionis causa occupavisse, quam primo regni anno, Chlodio, ejus filius, amiserit.

(8) *In an Enquiry into the Burying Places of the ancient Kings of the Franks.* v. *Memoires de Literature*, T. 4. p. 370.

(9) FRIGERIDIUS apud GERGORIUM TURONENSEM, *lib. 2. c. 9.* Nam & in consularibus legimus, THEODEMEREM, regem Francorum, filium RICHIMERIS quondam, & Asclam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos. Valesius supposes this to be the same Ricimer, who became so famous in Theodosius's Reign: But that Conjecture is no otherwise supported, than by the Likeness of the Names. A Medal is likewise extant, with the Circumscriptio:

THEUTEMEREX,

and le Blanc, p. 44 attributes it to that Theode-

mir, whom Gregory mentions: Fredegarius relates indeed, in the *Historia Francorum Epitomata*, c. 9. some Circumstances, with more Accuracy than Gregory. For, after having related Castinus's Expedition against the Franks, he proceeds thus. Franci electum a se regem, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum, inquirentes diligenter, ex genere Priami Phrygi, & Francionis super se creant, nomine THEODEMEREM, FILIUM RICHEMERIS, qui in hoc prælio, quod supra memini, a Romanis interfectus est. Substituatur filius ejus CHLODIO in regnum. But this Author is so negligent and fabulous in the ancient History, before his Time, that we cannot rely on his Testimony.

§. XLV. (1) The Author of the *Gesta Francorum*, after having related Pharamond's Election, proceeds thus: Tunc & legem habere coeperunt, quem consilarii eorum priores gentiles, his nominibus WISOVAST, WISOGAST, AROGAST, SALEGAST, in villabus Germaniæ, cæ sunt BODECHIEIM, SALECHIEIM; & WILDECHIEIM tractaverunt. Sigebertus Gemblacensis places this in the Year 422, apud Pistorium T. 1. p. 493. Franci uti coeperunt legibus, & legem Salicam dictaverunt per quatuor gentis suæ proceres, electos ex pluribus, his appellatos nominibus, USOGAST, BOSOGAST, SALAGAST, WIDI.

But, in the Preface to these Laws, no Mention is made of *Pharamond*; and we only find it there remark'd, that the *Franks*, while they were yet *Pagans*, after a previous Consultation, caused a perpetual Law to be drawn up, by certain Deputies, and enter'd into mutual Obligations for the Observation of it; that afterwards, when this Nation embraced the *Christian* Faith, it was amended in some Respects, and brought into its present Form, by *Childebert* and *Clotarius* his Sons (2). *Valesius* indeed suspects the Truth of this Account, and questions, whether the *Franks* had any written Laws before *Clovis's* Reign, and whether the *Salique* Laws were not at first established by that Prince? But his Conjecture is not of such Force, to induce us to discredit the said Preface, and ancient Tradition, so far as not, at least, to believe that the *Salique* Laws are more ancient than *Clovis's* Time. The Nature of them, as they contain nothing that seems above the Knowledge and Capacity of those Times, may serve as a Testimony of their Antiquity. The *German* Nations had, many Hundred Years before their Settlement in the *Roman* Provinces, their own Laws and Customs (3); whence

WIDIGAST: in villis Germaniæ SALECHEIM, BODACHEIM, WINGEHEIM, hi quatuor procures, per tres mallos convenientes, causarum origines sollicitè tractantes, de singulis, discutendo, sicut LEX SALICA declarat, judicare decreverunt. *Not to mention now, many others, who follow this Opinion.*

(2) PROLOGUS LEGIS SALICÆ: Gens Francorum inclyta, autore deo condita, fortis in armis, firma pacis foedere, profunda in consilio, corpore nobilis & incolumis, candore & forma egregia, audax, velox, & aspera, nuper ad catholicam fidem conversa, immunis ab hæresi, dum adhuc teneretur barbarie, inspirante deo inquirens scientiæ clavem, juxta morum suorum qualitatem desiderans justitiam, custodiens pietatem, dictaverunt SALICAM LEGEM procures ipsius gentis, qui tunc temporis apud eandem erant rectores. Sunt autem electi de pluribus viri quatuor, his nominibus, WISOGAST, BODOGAST, SALOGAST & WINDOGAST, in locis, quibus nomen SALAGHEVE, BODOGHEVE, & WINDOGHEVE. Qui per tres mallos convenientes, omnes causarum origines sollicitè discutendo, tractantes de singulis, judicium decreverunt hoc modo. At ubi deo favente CLODOVEUS, comatus, & pulcher, & inclytus rex Francorum

primus recepit catholicum baptismum, quidquid minus in pacto habebatur idoneum, per præcelsos reges CLODOVEUM, & CHILDEBERTUM & HLOTARIUM fuit lucidius emendatum, ET PROCURATUM DECRETUM HOC.

(3) VALESIIUS *rerum Francicarum*, T. i. p. 119. Mihi quidem similitudo nominum cum latorum legis, tum locorum, in quibus condita dicitur, suspecta semper fuit: neque existimavi, cum Burgundiones, Vefigothi, Ostrogothi, & Langobardi non prius leges scriptas habuerint. quam hi in Gallia, illi in Italia consedissent, legem Salicam in Germania Francis fuisse descriptam: [quæ utique, Faramundo regante, Germanicis conscribi litteris, & a subsequentibus regibus post occupatam Galliam lingua latina verti debuit. At hujus conversionis nemo mentionem fecit. Quare ut Gundobadus Burgundionibus, Vefigothis Theodoricus posterior, aut ut aliqua arbitrantur, Euricus, Ostrogothis Theodoricus, Lotharius Langobardis, regnis jam diuturnitate confirmatis, jura latine describere: sic Chlodoveus regnum primo, deinde & legem Salicam, quam in præmio legis correxisse tantum dicitur, videtur condidisse: cujus filius Theodoricus legum Francorum, cognomine Ripuariorum, Alamannorum, ac Bajoariorum autor fuit.

N n n

likewise

likewise their Kings are frequently call'd *Judices*. These Customs, as described by *Tacitus*, are apparent throughout all the *Salique Laws* (4), and the unciviliz'd Manners of that Nation is evident, by their tending principally to prevent Murder, Rapine, Violence and other Crimes whereby the Publick Tranquility of a Nation is chiefly disturb'd, and which are the first Foundations of Laws. The most probable Conjecture, therefore, is, that the *Salii* who were one of the first Nations of the *Franks*, who pass'd the *Rhine*, brought their Laws into some Form, before *Clovis's* Time. So many Persons of Distinction, of that Nation, who were in the Service of the *Romans*, at Court, and in the Army, and there learnt the Advantage of Order and Policy, might easily induce a Nation to bring their establish'd Customs, as it were, into a certain Law: And whatever Obscurity and Uncertainty the more particular Circumstances of Time and Place, in which those *Salique Laws* were made, may labour under, it is nevertheless a laudable Indication of ancient Liberty, that they were made by the Advice, and with the Consent of the whole Nation: And the *Franks* are certainly to be commended, that they chose rather to make a common Law themselves, according to their Exigencies, and agreeable to the Maxims of their State, than to borrow the Statutes of other Nations, which were perhaps not adapted to their Condition, or which one Part of the Nation might have made Use of, to lay a Yoke on the other. When *Clovis* afterwards subdued the greatest Part of *Gaul*, and brought the whole Nation of the *Franks* under his Dominion, the *Salique Laws* were, in some Articles, amended, and came in such Esteem, that the ancient *Romans* could not have a greater Regard for their Twelve Tables, than the *Franks* had for these *Leges Salicæ* (5).

Honorius
makes *Constantius* his
Partner in the
Empire.

§ XLVI. *HONORIUS*, at Length, admitted *Constantius*, A. 421 (1), to a Share in the Empire (2): *Olympiodorus*, indeed, observes, that he did it with some Reluctance (3): But *Constantius* had, for several Years,

(4) See above, Lib. 2. § 38.

(5) See the ABBE' de VERTOT's discours sur l'origine des loix Saliques, in the Memoires de Literature, T. 4. p. 333, & 336.

§ XLVI. (1) This Computation is confirm'd by GILLEMONT, not. 46, ad vit. Honorii.

(2) PHILOSTORGIUS, Lib. 12. n. 10. Honorius imperator Constantium magistrum militum, ob affinitatis honorem ad imperiale sceptrum &

tronum adscivit, cum jam Placidia ipsi ad Valentinianum filium edidisset, cui & nobilissimi dignitatem Honorius tribuit. Ceterum Constantii imagines (ut moris erat iis, qui ad imperium recenter promoti erant, agere) mittuntur in orientem. Verum Theodosius inaugurationi non acquiescens, eas non suscepit. Quare cum Constantius sese ob hanc injuriam ad bellum pararet, mors vitam, curasque sistens mutationem præbuit, cum imperasset menses sex.

(3) OLYMPIODORUS, p. 12. D. Constantius Honorius

Years, and especially after his Marriage with *Placidia*, presided in the Administration. *Placidia* was, at the same Time, declared *Augusta*, and *Valentinian*, who then was probably about two Years of Age, created *Cæsar* (4): *Constantius* seem'd therefore design'd alone to gather the Fruits of so many Wars: But when *Honorius* sent his Picture to the East, *Theodosius* would neither acknowledge him nor *Placidia*, in that Dignity. *Constantius* therefore armed himself, and every necessary Preparation was made for a Civil War between the two Lines of the Imperial House, (which seem'd to be the only Misfortune *Honorius's* Reign had not experienced) when *Constantius* died, the same Year, at *Ravenna* (5). His Death, indeed, paved the Way to a Peace between the two Courts, but deprived *Honorius* of the principal Support of his Government, which was, soon after, by his Imbecility, involv'd in fresh Difficulties.

§ XLVII. THE Diffentions of the German Nations, who had settled in Spain, had almost given the Romans an Opportunity, the more easily to execute their Designs, of recovering what they had lost. After the Overthrow of the *Alani* and *Silingi*, of which we have given an Account above, only the *Vandals*, properly so call'd, and the *Suevi*, remained in that Country. A Difference happen'd now, between *Gundaric*, King of the *Vandals*, and *Hermanaric*, King of the *Suevi*, which induced the former to declare War against the latter, in Hopes, perhaps, of subduing the *Suevi*, and to obtain afterwards, with more Ease, the Dominion of Spain (1). He had already enclosed the *Suevi*, in the Mountains, between

Leon

War of the
Vandals and
Suevi in Spain.

N n n 2

Honorii in augustali imperio collega fuit, ab illo quidem ipso, pene repugnante constitutus. Placidia quoque augusta a fratre & marito dicta est: deinde ad Theodosium, qui fratre Honorii genitus orientis partibus augustus imperabat, de Constantii imperatoris electione nuncius mittitur, minimeque receptus est. Hinc morbum Constantius contraxit, suscepti pœnitens imperii, quod non jam ut antea, eundi redeundique quo & quando vellet, libertas esset: neque ludicris, ut moris ejus erat, operam dare jam imperatori permitteretur. Igitur septimo imperii mense (quemadmodum & insomnium sic indicaverat, sextus abiit, septimus inchoatur,) pleuritide extinctus est. Extincta simul cum ipso in oriente ira, atque expeditione, quam, quod ad imperii societatem admisus non esset, animo agitabat.

(4) OLYMPIODORUS. See the Quotation in the preceding third Note. Some place the Promotion of *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, after *Honorius's* Decease, in the Year 424. MARCELLINUS, in chr. VICTORE & CASTINO COSS. *Placidia* mater *Valentiniani* augusta nuncupata est. *Valentinianus*, Cæsar creatus, *Theodosii* imp. *Eudoxiam* filiam sibi met desponsavit.

(5) See the foregoing third Note.

§ XLVII. (1) IDATIUS, in chronico ad A. HONORII XXV. (419.) says, Inter *Gundericum* *Vandalorum*, & *Hermericum* *Suevorum* reges certamine orto, *Suevi* in *NERVASIS MONTIBUS* obsidentur a *Vandalis*. MARIANA says, Lib. 5. p. 192. that these *Montes Nervasi* were situate between *Leon* and *Oviedo*. Hos *Montes* Legionem inter & *Ovetum*, A R V A S hoc tempore vocari

Leon and Oviedo, when the Approach of *Asterius*, whom *Idatius* calls *Comes Hispaniarum*, oblig'd him to quit *Gallicia*, and to retire into *Bætica*, after having lost some Men at *Braga*, which Place then belonged to *Gallicia* (2).

The Vandals
beat the Ro-
man General
Castinus.

§ XLVIII. *CASTINUS*, who, as *Comes Domesticorum*, commanded, A. 421, the Army against the *Franks*, and was afterwards created *Magister Militiæ*, marched out against them, with a formidable Army, Part of which consisted of powerful Auxiliaries from the *Goths* (1). *Bonifacius*, a renowned General, who had before defended *Marseilles* against *Ataulph*, was to be next to him in Command. But *Castinus*'s Arrogance was so intolerable to him, that he declin'd this Expedition, and went to *Africa* (2), where, after some Years, he enter'd into those Treaties with the *Vandals*, the Consequence of which was the Loss of that whole Pro-

vocari, pervetusto monasterio nobiles, quidam arbitrantur, & Ptolemæo Narbasos esse. POX-ARDO likewise calls them, in his *Corona Gotica*, p. 45. Montes Ervases entre Leon, y Oviedo.

(2) *IDATIUS* ad A. HONORII XXVI. (420.) Vandali, Suevorum obsidione dimissa, instante Asterio, Hispaniarum comite, & sub vicario Maurocello, aliquantis Bracaræ in exitu suo occisis, relicta Gallæcia, ad Bæticam transierunt.

§ XLVIII. (1) *IDATIUS*, ad A. HONORII XXVIII. (422.) Castinus, magister militum, cum magna manu, & auxiliis Gothorum, bellum in Bætica Vandalis infert; quos cum ad inopiam vi obsidionis arctaret, adeo ut se tradere jam pararent, inconsulto publico certamine confligens, auxiliorum fraude deceptus, ad Tarraconam victus effugit. *SALVIANUS*, L. 7. p. 165. relates this Affair with some other Circumstances, and does not mention, that the Auxiliaries acted in the least treacherously: For, after having previously related, L. 7, the bad Success of Litorius against the Goths, he proceeds, p. 142. thus: Non dissimiliter autem illud etiam apud Wandalos: ad quos cum in Hispania sitos nostra pars pergeret, tantamque ad debellandos eos præsumptionis fiduciam ferret, quantam etiam proxime ad Gothos, pari superbiæ fastu, pari exitu corruerunt. Venitque super exercitum nostrum illud prophetæ dictum: Ob-ruet dominus confidentiam tuam, & nihil habebis

prosperum. Confidebamus enim in sapientia nostra & fortitudine, contra Dei mandata, dicentis: Non gloriatur sapiens in sapientia sua, nec fortis in fortitudine sua: sed in hoc gloriatur qui gloriatur, scire & nosse me, quia ego sum Dominus. Non immerito itaque victi sumus. Ad meliora enim se illi subsidia contulere, quam nostri. Nam cum armis nos atque auxiliis superbiremus, a parte hostium nobis liber divinæ legis occurrit. Ad hanc enim præcipue opem timor & perturbatio tunc Wandalica confugit, ut seriem nobis cœlestis eloquii opponeret, & adversum venientes æmulos suos sacri voluminis scripta, quasi ipsa quodammodo divinitatis ora, referaret. Hic nunc requiro, quis hoc unquam a nostris partibus fecerit, aut quis non inrisus fuerit si putasset esse faciendum? inrisus utique, sicut a nostris omnia ferme religiosa ridentur.

(2) *PROSPER* in chronico consulari: HONORIO XIII. & THEODOSIO X. Coss. (A. 422.) says, Hoc tempore exercitus ad Hispanias contra Wandalos missus est, cui Castinus dux fuit: qui Bonifacium virum bellicis artibus præclarum inepto & injurioso imperio ab expeditionis suæ societate avertit. Nam ille periculosum sibi atque indignum ratus eum sequi, quem discordem, superbientemque expertus esset, celeriter se ad portum urbis, atque inde ad Africam proripuit: idque reipublicæ multorum laborum initium fuit.

vince.

vince. *Castinus* met, at first, with all the Success he wish'd ; but, when they came to a pitch'd Battle, Fortune forsook him: The *Vandals* defeated the *Roman* Army, and *Castinus* himself fled to *Tarragona* (3). The *Vandals* became hereupon the more famous, as they had vanquish'd the united Forces of the *Romans* and *Goths*.

§ XLIX. THE Wounds, which *Italy* had received from foreign Na-
tions, scarce begun to heal, when they had like to have been torn open
again, in a more dangerous Manner. *Honorius* had, for some Time, lived
in so great a Confidence with his Sister *Placidia*, that the Court began to
murmur at it: But *Placidia's* Female Retinue soon ruin'd all, and *Hono-*
rius's Excess of Love was converted into as great a Degree of Hatred.
The Court was divided into Factions, as were also the Lieutenants of the
Provinces, among whom *Bonifacius* adher'd constantly to *Placidia's* Party,
and, at *Ravenna*, they came to actual Hostilities. *Placidia* had still
many *Goths* and other Foreigners in her Service, and *Honorius's* Party was
apprehensive of some Intrigues from that Quarter. *Honorius* had, how-
ever, still the Advantage of her, and *Placidia* was obliged, together with
her Children, to quit the Court (1). *Honorius* himself died soon after †
at *Ravenna* (2), in the 39th Year of his Age. His Reign is, as it were,
the Theatre on which the *German* Power struggled with that of the *Ro-*
mans. Historians impute, in a great Measure, the Decay of the *Roman*
Empire to his Imbecility (3). And indeed, no one can possibly form to him-
self so advantageous an Idea of *Honorius*, as of *Alaric*, *Ataulph* and some
other *German* Heroes, who, during this Period, founded new Kingdoms.
The *Germans*, in these Occurrences, in general, display'd as great Proofs
of their *Genius*, as of their Valour. If it should be objected, that they
were yet, in some Measure, savage and ungovernable, I reply, that so

The Death of
Honorius. A
Comparison
between the
German and
Roman Power.

† A. 423 M.
August.

(3) See the preceding first Note.

§ XLIX. (1) OLYMPIODORUS, p. 13. D.
says: Honorii erga sororem insita affectio tanta
fuit, ex quo Constantius ejus maritus vita deces-
sit, ut perditæ nimis amando, & assidue os ejus
osculando, turpis apud multos consuetudinis sus-
picionem non effugerit. Sed hic amor in tantum
brevis vertit odium, allaborantibus Spadusa atque
Elpidia, Placidia nutrice, quibus illa tribuebat
plurimum, adjutante item ipsas Leonteo illius
curatore, ut & seditiones Ravennæ frequenter
existerent (adhærebat enim ipsi adhuc barbarorum
turba, cum ex Adaulphi, tum ex Constantii im-
peratoris conjugii) & vulnera etiam utrimque

inferrentur. Donec tandem ad eas ipsas inimi-
citas, & priori amor par nunc odium, Constans-
tinopolim Placidia, fratre prævalente, cum liberis
ablegatur. Solus Bonifacius fidem illi servans,
cum ex Africa, cui præerat, pecuniam, ut pote-
rat, submitit, tum ad alia ei obsequia præsto fuit.
Qui post etiam, ut ad imperium hæc rediret, nihil
non fecit, tulitque. PROSPER, in chron. A. Ho-
norii 31. says only, in few Words; Placidia cum
insidias fratri tenderet, deprehensa est, & Romam
exilio delegata. CASSIODORUS, in chron. Mari-
anus & Asclepiodotus consules. His coss. Placidia
augusta a fratre Honorio, ob suspicionem invita-
torum hostium, cum Honorio & Valentiniano
filiis ad orientem mittitur.

many

Character, which he had shewn himself so unfit to represent. He was obliged publickly to resign his Crown and the Purple, at *Rimini* †. *Alaric* was, however, so generous, not to give him up to his evil Destiny; but, as he had involved him in this Undertaking, kept him, with his Son *Ampelius*, near him, 'till he could include him in the intended Treaty with *Honorius* (4). The Sequel will shew that *Attalus*, long after, shared the Fate of the *Goths*, and made a greater or less Figure, as their Treaties with the *Romans* were fortunate or unsuccessful: But how far soever they proceeded in their Negotiations, they were nevertheless at Length entirely broke off. Historians agree in this, that the *Gothick* General *Sarus*, who was in particular an inveterate Enemy of *Ataulph*, was the Cause of it. But they differ very much in the several Circumstances.

§. XXVII. *ALARIC* went therefore a third Time to *Rome*, and took the City by Storm †; in which, since the first Foundation of it, no foreign Enemy had before succeeded. This happen'd the 24th of *August* (1), and, as it appears from a Passage of *St. Jerom*, in the Night-Time (2). We may easily imagine what a Surprize this News must

Alaric attacks Rome a third Time; and takes the City by Storm.

I i i

have

peratore facto, infecto, refecto, ac defecto; citius his omnibus actis, pene quam dictis, mimum risit, & ludum spectavit imperii, nec mirum, si jure hac pompa miser lusus est, cujus ille umbratilis consul, Tertullus, ausus est in curia dicere, Loquar vobis patres conscripti consul & pontifex, quorum alterum teneo, alterum spero: sperans ab eo, qui non habebat spem, & maledictus, utique, quia spem suam posuerat in homine. Attalus itaque tantum inane imperii simulacrum cum Gothis usque ad Hispanias portatus est: unde discendens navi, incerta moliens, in mari capitur, & ad Constantinum comitem deductus, deinde imperatori Honorio exhibitus, truncata manu, vitæ relictus est.

atque his ad Honorium principem missis, Attalum in omnium oculis ad privatam vitæ conditionem redegit, apud se tamen, una cum Ampelio, filio, retentum, donec, pace cum Honorio constituta, vitæ incolumitatem eis impetrasset.

§. XXVII. † *And according to Procopius's Account, de bello Vandalico Lib. I. p. 180. A. on the Side of the Porta Salaria.*

(1) *The Time, Year and Day are proved by TILLEMONT in not. 29. ad vit. Honorii: BARONIUS, JOS. SCALIGER, JAC. GOTHOFREDUS, and several others agree, likewise, as to the Year: But PAGIUS has attempted, ad A. 410. §. VII, XIII; to place it in the Year 409.*

† *A. 410. m. Febr. v. TILL. p. 1255.*

(4) *ZOSIMUS c. l. c. 12. p. 668. Hinc jam Alarichus ad abrogandum Attalo imperium spectare, quum multo ante Jovius eum continuis criminationibus ad hoc impulisset. Itaque reapse consilium suum exsequens, extra urbem Ariminum, in qua tunc commorabatur, productum Attalum diademate spoliatur, & exiit purpura;*

(2) *HIERONYMUS epist. 96. siue in epitaphio Marcellæ viduæ, ad Principiam virginem, p. 783. Dum hæc aguntur in Iebus, terribilis de occidente rumor affertur, obsideri Romam, & auro salutem civium redimi; spoliatosque rursus circumdari, ut post substantiam, vitam quoque perderent. Hæret vox, & singultus intercipiunt verba dicentis.*

have caused throughout the whole World. By some Relations, it appears to have been a total Destruction. *St. Jerom* compares it almost to that of *Troy* (3), and in another Place laments that the whole City was burnt to the Ground (4). *Austin* says, the Inhabitants were put to the Torture, to make them discover their Treasures (5), and supposes the Number of the Dead to have been so large, that it was impossible to bury them (6). If we may believe *Procopius*, not an Edifice wholly escaped the Flames (7): And if to this we add the Account of *Philostorgius* (8), we must suppose *Rome* to have been buried in her own Ashes and Ruins. The learned Bishop *Jac. Benignus Bossuet* takes from thence Occasion to assert, that this was the very Destruction of *Babel*, foretold in

tantis. Capitur urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem : imo fama perit ante quam gladio, & vix pauci, qui caperentur, inventi sunt. Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, & sua invicem membra laniant, dum mater non parcat lactanti infantia; & recipit utero, quem paulo ante effuderat. *Nocte Moab capta est, nocte cecidit murus ejus.* Deus ! venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum. Posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam : posuerunt cadavera sanctorum tuorum escas volatilibus cœli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiiis terræ. Effuderunt sanguinem eorum, sicut aquam, in circuitu Jerusalem, & non erat, qui sepeliret.

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
Explicit, aut possit lacrymis æquare dolorem ?
Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per an-
nos :
Plurima perque vias sparguntur inertia passim
Corpora, perque domos, & plurima mortis
imago.

(3) *HIERONYMUS l. cit.*

(4) *IDEM in epist. 98. ad Gaudentiam, p. 799.*
Urbs incluta, & Romani imperii caput, uno hausta est incendio : nulla est regio, quæ non exules Romanos habeat.

(5) *AUGUSTINUS de excid. c. 2. p. 330.*
Multi, inquit, in excidio urbis variis tormentis excruciatii sunt, strages facta, incendia, rapinæ, interfectiones, excruciationes hominum. Verum

est, multa audivimus, omnia genuimus, sæpe flevimus, vix consolati sumus. Verumtamen, fratres dilecti, audivimus librum Jobi, quod perditis omnibus, nec ipsam carnem, quæ illi sola remanserat, salvam potuerit obtinere, sed percussus gravi vulnere sedebat in stercore, &c.

(6) *IDEM Tom. VII. de civit. dei L. I. c. 10. p. 10.* Quidam etiam boni Christiani tormentis excruciatii sunt, ut bona sua hostibus proderent. Sed illi nec prodere, nec perdere potuerunt bonum, quo & ipsi boni erant. Si autem torqueri quæ mammona prodere maluerunt, boni non erant. Admonendi autem fuerant, qui tanta patiebantur pro auro, quanta essent sustinenda pro Christo, &c. Sed quidam etiam non habentes, quod proderent, dum non creduntur, torti sunt ? Et hi forte habere cupiebant, nec tanta voluntate pauperes erant, quibus demonstrandum fuit non facultates, sed ipsas cupiditates talibus esse dignas cruciatibus.

(7) *PROCOPIUS de bello Vandal. Lib. I. p. 180. A.* *MON* injectis facibus, tecta portæ vicina deflagrarunt. In his fuit Salustii, antiqui historiæ Romanæ scriptoris, domus : cujus pars maxima ad hanc diem stetit incendio deformata.

(8) *PHILOSTORGIUS Lib. XII. 3.* Inde tantæ gloriæ magnitudinem, potentiæque famam externus ignis & gladius hostilis, & captivitas barbarica pessumdedit. Jacente vero in ruderibus urbe, Alaricus Campaniam deprædatus est, ibique morbo occubuit.

the

the Revelations (9): And a *Spanish* Writer imagines the Desolation of *Rome* to have been as lamentable as that of *Jerusalem*, and that all the Sufferings of *Troy*, *Carthage*, *Saguntium* and *Numantia*, were not to be compared to it (10).

§. XXVIII. But these Relations are only founded on the Reports of the Fugitives, especially of those, who fled to *Bethlehem*, and *Africa*, and represented Matters much worse than they were. *Orosius* (1) says, in general, that *Alaric* did not prove so cruel as the *Romans* apprehended he would: And it was, indeed, a great Proof of his Moderation, that, tho' he was himself of the *Arian* Persuasion, he did not persecute the *Catholick* Church (2). But to descend to Particulars, he ordered the Churches, and all who took Refuge in them to be spared (3). Those very Fathers who, to induce the

Whether the *Goths* committed so many Barbarities, at *Rome*, as are generally laid to their Charge.

I i i 2

People

(9) Mons. de MEAUX applies great Part of the Revelations to the *Goths* and other German Nations: In particular, he represents the History of this Destruction, as the Completion of the Prophecy, Chap. XVI. v. 17, 18, 19. He applies likewise, the 12th and following Verses of Chap. XVII. to the German Princes, and the 16th Verse, in particular, to our *Alaric*. But *Campegus Vitringe* proves, in his Comment on the Revelations, these Passages to be misconstrued.

(10) JULIANUS di CASTILLO f. XXV. Y es gran dolor y lastima ver y oyr esta destruycion de *Roma*, cabeça y sennora del mundo, hecha por los *Godos* y sus Reyes, *Alarico*, y *Athaulfo*, que afferman verdaderos autores que ninguna de las de antes, fuera de la de *Hierusalem*, se le puede ygualar: que la de *Troya*, aunque *Homer* y *Virgilio* la engrandecieron lo possible, no yguala por ser una ciudat sola sin imperio: ni la de *Cartago*, aunque compitio con *Roma* muchos annos, sobre il imperio del mundo: pues ni consigoio lo que pretendia, ni fue sennora del: ni la de *Thebas*, tan principal, que tenia cien puertas: ni la nuestra invencibile *Numancia*: ni *Sagunto*, asoladas del todo.

§. XXVIII. (1) OROSIO, Lib. VII. c. 37. makes the following Comparison between *Rhadagaisus* and *Alaric*: Duo tunc populi Gothorum,

cum duobus potentissimis regibus suis, per Romanas provincias baccharentur: quorum unus [*sc. Alaricus*] Christianus, propiorque Romano, & (ut res docuit) timore dei mitis in corde, alius [*sc. Rhadagaisus*] paganus, & vere Scythæ.

(2) If the Inscription in Gruterus MCLXX. 13. be genuine, and written at the Time he supposes, the Church, on which it was made, was destroyed during the Siege.

Hic furor hostilis templum violavit, iniquus
Cum premeret vallo mœnia septa Getes.
Nullius hoc potuit temeraria dextera gentis,
Hæc modo permissa est, quod peritura facit.
Nil gravat hoc tumulo sanctorum pessimus hostis
Materiam potius repperit alma fides.
In melius siquidem reparato fulget honore
Cum scelere hostili crevit amor tumulis.
Suscipe nunc gratus devotæ munera mentis
Diogenes martyr cui dedit ista volens.
Quisquis ad hoc templum petiturus dona recurris
Spes sibi est larga est munere vera fides.

(3) OROSIO Lib. VII. c. 39. Adest *Alaricus*, trepidam *Romam* obsidet; turbat, irrumpit: dato tamen præcepto prius, ut, si qui in sancta loca, præcipueque ad sanctorum apostolorum *Petri* & *Pauli* basilicas confugissent, hos imprimis inviolatos

People to Penitence, so magnified their Misery, in the first Consternation, in other Passages, commend the Moderation of the *Goths*, and give many laudable Instances of their Magnanimity and Virtue. *St. Austin* makes a Comparison of the far superior Humanity of the *Goths*, in the taking of this City, with that of the *Romans*, on the like Occasions, in former Times (4). *Orosius* relates, that a *Goth* of Distinction having found certain Gold and Silver Vessels, belonging to *St. Peter's Church*, sent word of it to *Alaric*, who order'd them to be restored to the Church, unhurt. *St. Jerom* says in their Praise, that they themselves conveyed a *Christian* Widow, named *Marcella*, and her foster-Daughter, *Principia*, for their better Security, into *St. Peter's Church* (5). Several

violatos securosque esse sinerent: tum deinde, in quantum possent, prædæ inhiantes, a sanguine temperarent. AUGUSTINUS *Lib. I. c. 1. de civit. dei.* Annon etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt? Testantur hoc martyrum loca & basilicæ apostolorum, quæ in illa vastatione urbis ad se confugientes suos alienosque receperunt. Huc usque cruentus sæviebat inimicus; ibi accipiebat limitem trucidatoris furor; illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra ipsa loca pepercerant; ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misericordiam non habebant. Qui tamen etiam ipsi alibi truces, atque hostili more sævientes, posteaquam ad loca illa veniebant, ubi fuerat interdictum, quod alibi jure belli licuisset, tota ferendi refrenabatur immanitas, & captivandi cupiditas frangebatur. IDEM *l. c. c. 7.* Quidquid ergo vastationis, trucidationis, deprædationis, concremationis, afflictionis, in ista recentissima Romana clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimæ basilicæ implendæ populo cui parceretur, eligerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captivandi ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur; hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non videt, cæcus; quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus: quisquis laudant reluctaturi, insanus est.

(4) AUGUSTINUS *de civit. dei* L. III. cap.

29. Quæ rabies exterarum gentium, quæ sævitia barbarorum huic de civibus victoriæ civium comparari potest? Quid Roma funestius, tetrius, amariusque vidit, utrum olim Gallorum & paulo ante Gothorum irruptionem, an Marii & Syllæ aliorumque in eorum partibus virorum clarissimorum, tanquam suorum luminum, in sua membra ferocitatem? Galli quidem trucidaverunt senatum, quidquid ejus in urbe tota, præter arcem Capitolinam, quæ sola utcunque defensa est, reperire potuerunt; sed in illo colle constitutis auro vitam saltem vendiderunt, quam etsi ferro rapere non possent, possent tamen obsidione consumere: Gothi vero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit, quod aliquos peremerunt. At vero Sylla, vivo adhuc Mario, ipsum Capitolium, quod a Gallis tutum fuit, ad decernendas cædes victor infedit: & cum fuga Marius esset elapsus, ferocior cruentiorque rediturus, iste in Capitolio per senatus etiam consultum tam multos vita rebusque privavit. Marianis autem partibus, Sylla absente, quid sanctum cui parcerent fuit, quando Mutio civi, senatori, pontifici, aram ipsam, ubi erant, ut aiunt, fata Romana, miseris ambienti amplexibus non pepercerunt? Syllana porro tabula illa postrema, ut omittamus alias innumerabiles mortes, plures jugulavit senatores, quam Gothi vel spoliare potuerunt,

(5) IDEM epistola 154. ad Principiam. Another laudable Instance related by SOZOMENUS *Lib. IX. c. 10.*

Edifices were, indeed, set on Fire (6); but not near so many as *Philostorgius* † would make us believe; and most of those were, in a short Time, rebuilt (7). *Alaric* was more in Want of Money, to satisfy his Army, than of Blood or Ashes: The *Goths* are therefore injur'd, when they are accused of having destroyed the Splendor of Ancient *Rome*, in her stately Buildings and Statues: For they were, in general, now no more so cruel, in their Wars and Conquests. And it would have been contrary to their own Interest, to have ravag'd a Country, where they were proposing to settle (8). As to the Temples and Statues, those were before partly destroyed by the *Christians*: and the Rest, together with the other splendid Edifices, fell to Ruin afterwards, in Process of Time. The desolate State *Rome* appeared at first to be in, was rather owing to the Flight of the Inhabitants, than to the Sword of the *Goths*: For, as their Fear was perhaps greater than their Danger, several Thousands of *Romans* had fled for Refuge, after the first Siege, some to the nearest Islands *, others to *Africa*, and many even to *Asia*: And *St. Jerom* takes Notice of the many Fugitives, which he daily saw at *Bethlehem* (9). These had carried all their Vices and Vanities, as it were, a Part of their Treasure, along with them, and *St. Austin* complains in particular of their ungovernable Passion for the *Ludi Circenses* (10). When the Dan-

(6) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico*, Lib. I. p. 180. A. Mox injectis facibus, tecta portæ vicina deflagrarunt. In his fuit Salustii, antiquæ historiæ Romanæ scriptoris, domus: cujus pars maxima ad hanc diem stetit incendio deformata.

† See the preceding §. not. 8.

(7) OROSIUS, l. c. Tertia die barbari, quam ingressi urbem fuerant, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum ædium incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingentesimo conditionis ejus anno casus effecerat.

(8) Among the *Historians* who do Justice to the *Goths* in this particular, we find Poldus d' Albenas, who in his *History* of Nimes, extolls the Moderation of King Wamba, when he took that City, p. III. Bamba s'y porta tant honnestement, & usa de telle moderation en sa victoire, qu' il ne ruina nul edifice, ne priveny public: ains repara les ruines, a qui par les assauts & droits de guerre lon n' avoit peu pardonner, pour entrer & emporter la cité.

* Among others, in the Island of Giglio (Icilius) in the Sea of Toscana.

(9) HIERONYMUS in *Ezech. Tom.* III. p. 745. Nihil est opere & manu factum, quod non conficiat & consumat vetustas. Quis crederet, ut totius orbis exstructa victoriis Roma corrueret, ut ipsa suis populis & mater fieret & sepulcrum, ut tota orientis, Ægypti, Africæ littora olim dominatricis urbis, servorum & ancillarum numero complerentur, ut quotidie sancta Bethlehem, nobiles quondam utriusque sexus, atque omnibus divitiis affluentes, nunc susciperet mendicantes.

(10) AUGUSTINUS *de civit. dei* Lib. 32. p. 24. C. Quæ animos miserorum tantis obcæcavit tenebris, tanta deformitate sordavit, ut etiam modo, (quod incredibile forsitan erit, si a nostris posteris audietur) Romana urbe vastata, quos pestilentia ista possedit, atque inde fugientes Carthaginem pervenire potuerunt, in Theatris quotidie certatim pro histrionibus insanirent.

ger was past, they returned by Degrees, and *Albinus*, who was *Præfectus urbis*, A. 414, then complained to *Honorius*, that the Provisions, which the Emperors usually distributed among the Populace, were no longer sufficient (11): And *Orosius* upbraids the *Romans* with having so soon forgot the Visitation of the *Goths* (12). The Superstition of the *Heathens* was, on this Occasion, so great, that they look'd upon it as a Judgment from their *Gods*, and a Punishment, for having neglected their Sacrifices. Hence *St. Austin* took Occasion, to their Confusion, to write his excellent Treatise *de Civitate Dei*, and to encourage *Orosius* to write the History we have of him. Both represent to us the Occurrences of these Times, as the Means, by which the God of Truth was pleased wholly to subvert *Paganism*, and to establish the Power of *Christianity*.

Alaric
leaves *Rome*.
His Death.
Ataulph suc-
ceeds him, as
King of the
Wisi-Goths.

§. XXIX. As, in the Perusal of the ancient *Roman* History, we are apt to wonder, that *Hannibal*, after the Battle of *Cannas*, did not attack *Rome*, the Conquest of which would, at that Time, have put an End to the War; it may seem equally strange to us now, that *Alaric* should make himself Master of *Rome*, and yet carry his main Design no farther into Execution, were it not to be consider'd, as an Effect of the universal Change of the Form of Government. He made but a short Stay in *Rome* (1), and then broke up for *Campania*, marching along that Coast, with a Design to pass into *Sicily*: But he died by the Way, about *Rheggio*; and therein *St. Jerom* (2), justly compares him to *Brennus*, who did not survive the Event of his Expedition. *Jornandes* relates (3), that

(11) OLYMPIODORUS: See the 5. not. ad §. XL.

(12) OROSIUS L. I. c. 6. Qui adeo parvo quodam & levi motu hæsitasse erga se parumper consuetudinem voluptatum indubitissime contestatus est, ut libere conclamaret, si reciperet circum, nihil sibi esse factum: hoc est, nihil egisse Romæ Gothorum enses, si concedatur Romanis spectare circenses. See the Passage from Rutilius below.

§. XXIX. (1) According to Marcellinus's Chronicle the *Goths* are said to have staid six Days at *Rome*. *Orosius* mentions only three Days. See in the preceding §. not. 7.

(2) JEROM names *Alaric*, epist. 97. ad Demetriadem: Brennum nostri temporis.

(3) JORNANDES c. 30. Exindeque egressi,

per *Campaniam*, & *Lucaniam* simili clade peracta, Bructios accesserunt: ubi diu residentes, ad *Siciliam*, exinde ad *Africam* transire deliberant. Ibi ergo veniens *Alaricus*, rex *Vesegothorum*, cum opibus totius *Italiae*, quas in præda diriperat, exinde, ut dictum est, per *Siciliam* in *Africam*, quietam patriam, transire disponit. Cujus, quia non est liberum quodcumque homo sine nutu dei disposuerit, fretum illud horribile aliquantas naves submersit, plurimas conturbavit. Qua adversitate repulsus *Alaricus*, dum secum quid ageret deliberaret: subito immatura morte præventus, rebus excessit humanis. Quem nimia dilectione lugentes, *Barentinum* amnem, juxta *Consentinam* civitatem, de alveo suo derivant. Nam hic fluvius a pede montis juxta urbem dilapsus fuit unda salutifera. Hujus ergo in medio alveo, collecto captivorum agmine, sepulturæ locum effodiunt, in cujus foveæ gremio *Alaricum*, cum

that the *Goths* turned the Course of a River, in the Bed of which they interr'd him, together with a great Treasure ; after which they led the Waters into their usual Channel again. The *Goths* chose *Atualph*, his Wife's Brother, a Prince of excellent Qualities, to succeed him. He was not of the largest Stature, but well-made ; his very Eyes discover'd a noble Fortitude, and fine Genius (4) : If we may believe *Orosius* (5), he, at first, form'd the grand Design, of conquering the *Roman* Empire, and changing the Name of it to that of the *Gothick* ; but he moderated his Ambition, when, after more Experience, he found the *Goths* yet too raw.

cum multis opibus, obruunt, rursusque aquas in suum alveum reducentes, ne a quoquam quandoque locus cognosceretur, fossiles omnes intererunt. *The Maps show us a small River, call'd Arentin, near Cosenze, in Calabria citerior, which is perhaps the same here meant by Jornandes.*

(4) JORNANDES c. 31. Mortuo Alarico, Vefegothi regnum Ataulfo, ejus consanguineo, & forma & mente conspicuo, tradunt. Nam erat quamvis non adeo proceritate staturæ formatus, quantum pulchritudine corporis, vultuque decorus Qui, suscepto regno, revertens iterum ad Romanam, si quid primum remanserat, more locustarum erasit, nec tantum privatis divitiis Italiam spoliavit. imo & publicis, imperatore Honorio nihil resistere prævalente, cujus & germanam, Placidiam, Theodosii imperatoris ex altera uxore filiam, urbe captivam abduxit, quam tamen ob generis nobilitatem, formæque pulchritudinem, & integritatem castitatis attendens, in Forolivii Æmiliæ civitate, suo matrimonio legitime copulavit, ut gentes, hac societate comperta, quasi adunata Gothi republica, efficacius terrerentur. Honoriumque augustum, quamvis opibus exhaustum, tamen quasi cognatum grato animo derelinquens, Gallias tendit : ubi cum advenisset, vicinæ gentes perterritæ, in suis se finibus cœperunt continere, quæ dudum crudeliter Gallias infestassent, tam Franci, quam Burgundiones. Nam Vandali, & Alani, quos supra diximus, permisso principum Romanorum, utraque Pannonia re sedere : nec ibi ob metum Gothorum, arbitrantur tutum fore si reverterentur, ad Gallias transire. Sed mox a Galliis, quas ante non multum tem-

pus occupassent, fugientes, Hispania se reclusere, adhuc memores ex relatione majorum suorum, quid dudum Geberich, rex Gothorum, gerti suæ præstitisset incommodi, vel quomodo eos virtute sua patrio solo expulisset. Tali ergo casu Galliæ Ataulfo patuere venienti. Confirmato ergo Gothi regno in Galliis, Hispanorum casu cœpit dolere, eoique deliberans a Vandalorum incurfus eripere, per suas opes Barcironam cum certis fidelibus delectis, plebeque imbelli, interiores Hispanias introivit, ubi sæpe cum Vandalis decertans, tertio anno postquam Gallias Hispaniasque donuisset, occubuit, gladio illo perforatus Vernulfi, de cujus solitus erat ridere statura. Post ejus mortem Regerius rex constituitur, sed & ipse suorum fraude peremptus, ocus vitam cum regno relinquit. *The Circumstances of Ataulph's Marriage will be examin'd below §. XXX,*

(5) OROSIUS Lib. VII. c. 43. Is, ut dictum, atque ultimo exitu ejus probatum est, satis studiose sectator pacis, militare fideliter Honorio imperatori, ac pro defendenda Romana republica impendere vires Gothorum præoptavit. Nam ego quoque ipse virum quemdam Narbonensem, illustris sub Theodosio militiæ, etiam religiosum, prudentemque, & gravem, apud Bethlehem oppidum Palæstinæ, beatissimo Hieronymo presbytero referente, audivi, se familiarissimum Ataulfo apud Narbonam fuisse ; ac de eo sæpe sub testificatione didicisse, quod ille cum esset animo, viribus, ingenioque nimius, referre solitus esset, se imprimis ardentem inhiasse, ut oblitterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum, Gothorum imperium & faceret, & vocaret ; essetque, (ut vulgariter

raw for so great an Enterprize. He discontinued the Preparations against *Sicily*; and seems rather to have enter'd upon new Treaties with *Honorius*, *Jornandes*, and the Author of the *Miscellæ* write, that he once more visited *Rome*; but this is contradicted by other Historians (6).

The *Vandals*, *Suevi* and *Alani*, break into *Spain*.

§. XXX. *SPAIN* had hitherto escaped the Devastations which the other *Roman* Provinces had suffer'd; but the *Germans* now found the Way over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which had not been attempted by any of them since the Invasion of the *Cimbri*. I observed before, that *Constantine* remained pretty peaceable at *Arles*, that his Son *Constans* had reduced *Spain* to his Obedience, and that *Honorius* had even admitted him to a Partnership in the Empire. *Constantine* had promised to come to his Assistance with all his Forces from *Gaul* and *Spain*: But this good Understanding was interrupted; and *Constantine* stood in need of Succour himself; *Gerontius*, whom *Constans* had entrusted with the Government of *Spain*, rebelled: He did not, however, himself assume the Imperial Dignity; but caused one *Maximus* to be proclaimed Emperor, being well assured, he must be influenc'd by him, in every thing (1). *Gerontius* secured those Troops, which guarded the Passes of the *Pyrenean* Mountains (2.) and, besides these, drew over to his Party, some

gariter loquar,) Gothia, quod Romania fuisset; fieretque nunc Ataulphus, quod quondam Cæsar Augustus. At ubi multa experientia probavisset, neque Gothos uno modo parere legibus posse, propter effrenatam barbariem, neque reipublicæ interdici leges oportere, sine quibus respublica non est respublica, elegisse se saltem, ut gloriam sibi, de restituendo in integrum, augendoque Romano nomine, Gothorum viribus quæreret; habereturque apud posteros Romanæ restitutionis auctor, postquam esse non poterat immutator. Ob hæc abstinere a bello, ob hoc inhiare paci nitebatur, præcipue Placidia, uxoris suæ, fœminæ sane ingenio acerrimæ, religionis satis probatæ, ad omnia bonarum ordinationum opera persuasum, & consilio temperatus.

(6) *Conf. TILLEMONT p. 1273. He may, on his Return, have taken Rome in his Way.*

§. XXX. (1) *ZOSIMUS Lib. VI. c. 5. Inde rursus in Hispaniam Constans a patre mittitur, ac Iustum ducem secum adducit. Quare offensus*

Gerontius, conciliatis sibi eorum locorum militibus, barbaros in regione Celtarum, adversus Constantinum ad defectionem impellit. Quibus cum Constantinus non restitisset, quod major copiarum ipsius pars esset in Hispania; cuncta pro lubitu invadentes Transrhenani barbari, eo tum incolas insulæ Britannia, tum quasdam Celticas nationes redegerunt, ut ab imperio Romano deficerent, & Romanorum legibus non amplius obedientes, arbitrato suo viverent. Itaque Britanni, sumtis armis & quovis adito pro salute sua discrimine, civitates suas a barbaris imminentibus liberarunt. Itidem totus ille tractus Armorichus, cæteræque Gallorum provinciæ, Britannos imitatæ; consimili se modo liberarunt, ejectis magistratibus Romanis, & sua quadam republica pro arbitrio constituta, Hæc Britannia Celticarumque gentium defectio, quo tempore Constantinus iste regnum usurpabat, accidit: quum ipsius in imperio socordia moti barbari, hæc grassationes instituissent.

(2) *Ald. locum OROSII ad §. XVII. n. 5.*

other

other foreign Nations, who 'till then had wander'd about in *Gaul*; and, as it appears, from the Sequel of the History, the *Suevi*, *Vandals* and *Alani* (3). This is that remarkable Epoch, when these Nations invaded *Spain*, and were the Authors of a fresh Revolution in those Countries: *Prosper* (4) and *Idatius* (5) place this Occurrence in the Year 400. This News immediately reached *Africa*, as appears by a Letter of St. *Austin's* (6). *Salvianus* here acknowledges the Divine Providence, that gave *Spain*, where Incontinency was practis'd to a great Excess, a Prey in particular to the *Vandals*, who were famous for their Rigidity in this Respect (7). The *Burgundi-*
K k k *ans*

(3) See the foregoing first Note.

(4) PROSPER *ad A. XVI. Arcad. & Honor.* Hispaniæ partem maximam Suevi occupavere: ipsa denique orbis caput Roma deprædationi Gothorum foedissime patuit.

(5) IDATIUS *in chr. ad A. XV. HONORII. A-*lani & Wandali, & Suevi Hispanias ingressi, æra CCCCXLVII, alii quarto kalendas, alii tertio Idus Octobris memorant die, tertia feria, Honorio VIII. & Theodosio Arcadii filio, III. consulibus. IDEM *in fastis.* HONORIO VIII. & THEODOS. III. His consulibus barbari Hispanias ingressi.

(6) AUGUSTINUS *epistola CXI. ad Victorianum (A. 409.)* Totus quippe mundus tantis affligitur cladibus, ut pœne pars nulla terrarum sit, ubi non talia, qualia scripsisti, committantur atque plangantur. Nam ante parvum tempus etiam in illis solitudinibus Ægypti, ubi monasteria separata ab omni strepitu, quasi secunda delegerant, a barbaris interfecti sunt fratres. Jam vero quæ modo in regionibus Italiæ, quæ in Galliis nefaria perpetrata sint, etiam vos latere non arbitror: De HISPANIS quoque tot provinciis, quæ ab his malis diu videbantur intactæ, ceperunt jam talia nuntiari. Sed quid longe imus: Ecce in regione nostra Hipponensi; quoniam eam barbari non attigerunt, clericorum Donatistarum & circumcellionum latrocinia, sic vastant ecclesias, ut barbarorum fortasse facta mitiora sint. Quis enim barbarus excogitare potuit, quod isti, ut in oculos clericorum nostrorum calcem & acetum mitterent, quorum membra etiam cætera plagis horrendis, vulneribusque fauciarunt? Deprædantur

etiam domos aliquas & incendunt, fructus aridos diripiunt, humidos fundunt, & talia ceteris comminando, multos etiam rebaptizari compellunt. Some Circumstances of these Incurfions are indeed likewise mention'd in the Decrees of a Council said to have been held soon after at Braga; but Baluzius renders it so suspected, and Tillemont, not. XXVII, ad vit. Honorii has so strongly confirmed his Proofs that we cannot have any great Dependence on those Decrees.

(7) SALVIANUS *de providentia Dei L. VII. p. 137* makes the following Reflections thereupon: Quid Hispanias? nonne velleadem, vel majora forsitan vitia perdiderunt? quas quidem cœlestis ira etiam si aliis cujuslibet barbaris tradidisset, digna tamen flagitiorum tormenta toleraverant puritatis inimici. Sed accessit hoc ad manifestandum illis impudentiæ damnationem, ut Vandalis potissimum, id est, pudicis barbaris, traderentur. Dupliciter in illa Hispanorum capivitate deus ostendere voluit, quantum & odisset carnis libidinem; & diligeret castitatem, cum & Vandalos ob solam maxime pudicitiam subjugaret. Quid enim? Nunquid non erant in omni orbe terrarum barbari fortiores, quibus Hispaniæ traderentur? multi absque dubio, immo (ni fallor) omnes: sed ideo infirmis hostibus cuncta tradidit; ut ostenderet scil. non vires valere, sed causam, neque nos tunc ignavissimorum quorundam hostium fortitudine obrui; sed sola vitiorum nostrorum impuritate superari: ut vere in nos venerit dictum illud, quod ait: secundum iniquitates suas feci illis, & averti faciem meam ab eis, &c. And he afterwards goes on Quid prodesse nobis prærogativa illa religiosi nominis potest, quod nos catholicos esse dicimus, quod

ans remained in Gaul, which, it seems, the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had likewise invaded (8). *Gerontius* left *Maximus* at *Tarracona*, and marched himself over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, against *Constantine* and *Constans*. The latter falling into his Hands, at *Vienne*, he put him to Death; and then besieged *Constantine* at *Arles*.

Honorius
endeavours to
recover Gaul,
and sends *Con-*
stantius thi-
ther.

§. XXXI. THE *Western* Regions were again in such Confusion, that, we find no Consul mentioned in the Years 411 and 412. *Honorius*, in the mean Time, had sent the valiant *Constantius*, a Native of *Pannonia*, together with the General *Ulphila*, who seems, by his Name, to have been a *Goth* (1), against *Constantine*, and we should almost imagine, that there must have been some Truce or Treaty with the *Goths*, that could give the Emperor Respite to think of *Gaul*. At the Approach of this Army, many Soldiers belonging to *Gerontius*, who was then besieging *Arles*, deserted his Service, to go over to *Constantius*, and he found himself under a Necessity of raising the Siege, and retiring to *Spain*, where, when his own Soldiers soon after rebelled against him, he laid violent Hands on himself. But *Maximus* had Time to escape to the *Germans* who were then in *Spain*, among whom he lived, at the Time when *Orosius* wrote his History (2).

Constantine
draws the *Ale-*
manni and the
Franks over to
his Party; but
is overcome.

§. XXXII. *CONSTANTIUS* fell upon *Arles*, and *Constantine* resolved, to hold out to the last Extremity; because he daily expected *Ecdobicus*, his *Præfectus Prætorii*, who, according to *Zosimus*, was a *Frank*, with a strong Re-inforcement of *Franks* and *Alemanni* (1). *Constantius* was no sooner informed, that he was on his March, than he cross'd the *Rhine*, to meet him, and *Ecdobicus* was not only defeated but slain

quod fideles esse jactamus, quod Gothos ac Vandalos hæretici nominis comprobatione despiciamus, cum ipsi hæretica pravitate vivamus.

(8) *Vid. not. 1.*

§. XXXI. (1) *Conf. §. XXXII. not. 2.*

(2) *OROSIUS, Lib. VII. c. 42.* *Maximus*, exutus purpura, destitutusque a militibus Gallicanis, qui in *Africam* trajecti, deinde in *Italiam* revocati sunt, nunc inter barbaros in *Hispania* egenus exulat.

§. XXXII (1) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS*

Lib. II. cap. 9. Tamen cum ait, quod *Constantinus*, assumpta tyrannide, *Constantem* filium ad se de *Hispaniis* venire jussisset, ita differuit: Accito, *Constantinus* tyrannus de *Hispanis* *Constante* filio, itemque tyranno, quo de summa rerum consultarent præsentem, factum est, ut *Constans* instrumento aulæ, & conjuge sua *CæsarAugustæ* dimissis, *Gerontio* intra *Hispanias* omnibus creditis, ad patrem continuato itinere decurreret. Qui, ubi in unum venire, interjectis diebus plurimis, nullo ex *Italia* metu, *Constantinus* gulæ & ventri deditus, redire ad *Hispanias* filium monet. Qui, præmissis agminibus, dum cum patre resideret, ab *Hispania* nuncii commeant, a *Gerontio*

slain in his Flight. *Honorius's* General thereupon resumed the Siege of *Arles*. *Constantine*, who was now destitute of all Succour, resign'd his Crown and the Purple, took Refuge in a Church, and caused himself to be ordain'd a Priest, hoping thereby to save his Life : But his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the City begg'd to capitulate, which was immediately granted ; and a Security for the Lives of *Constantine* and *Julian*, his Son, was one of the Conditions. They were both sent for *Italy*, to *Honorius*, but on the Way were put to Death, by his Command, in Breach of the Security given (2). *Constantine's* Head was brought to *Ravenna*, and there exposed to the View of the Soldiers on an Iron Spike (3).

§. XXXIII. WHILST *Gaul* was destroyed by intestine Divisions, the German Nations, who were in *Spain*, after having, in a great Measure, ruin'd the Provinces, tho' with much Blood shed, among themselves, The Vandals, Suevi and Alani separate in Spain.

Gerontio Maximum, unum e clientibus suis, imperio præditum, atque in se, comitatu gentium barbararum accinctum parari. Quo exterriti, Edo- becco ad Germanas gentes præmisso, Constans, & præfectus jam Decimius Rusticus, ex officiorum magistro, petunt Gallias, cum Francis & Alamannis, omnique militum manu ad Constantinum jam jamque redituri. *With this agrees Sozomenus Lib. IX. c. 13.* Interea temporis Gerontius, inter duces Constantini præcipuus, hostis illi factus est : & Maximum, familiarem suum, quem ad tyrannidem accommodatum judicabat, imperiali ornatu induit, ac Taraconæ morari permittit : ipse vero adversus Constantinum exercitum eduxit, eo proposito, ut in transitu Constantem, ejus filium, Viennæ commorantem conficeret. Constantinus igitur, cum intellexisset id, quod de Maximo actum erat, Ebodichum, ducem suum, ad ultiores Rheni partes misit, ut Francos & Alemannos in auxilium vocaret : Constanti autem, filio suo, Viennæ ac cæterarum ibi civitatum custodiam commisit. Ac Gerontius quidem cum Arelatum castra movisset, civitatem oppugnavit. Non multo autem post, exercitu Honorii adversus tyrannum adventante, cui præerat Constantius, imperatoris Valentiniani pater, statim fugit cum paucis quibusdam militibus.

fidionem tamen sustinebat : quod illi nunciatum esset, Ebodichum cum maximis suppetiis adventurum ; quæ quidem res & Honorii quoque duces non modice terrebat, ita, ut in Italiam reverti, & illic bellum experiri vellent. Atque hoc ubi statuisset, quia appropinquare jam nunciabatur Ebodichus, Rhodanum fluvium trajiciunt : Et Constantius secum pedites retinens, adventantem expectat hostem. Sed Ulphilas, Constantii præfectus, haud procul istinc in insidiis cum equitibus latitat. Postquam igitur hostes cum exercitu Ulphilam prætergressi, pedem jam collaturi essent cum militibus Constantii, dato signo repente prorumpens Ulphilas, hostes a tergo invadit. Et facta statim ordinum perturbatione, alii diffugiunt : alii occiduntur. Gregorius Turonensis relates the Circumstances somewhat differently from Frigeridus

(3) PROSPER in chron. ad A. CCCCXI. Theodos. aug. IV. cos. Constantinus per Honorii duces, Constantium & Ulphilam, apud Arelatense oppidum victus & captus est. IDATIUS in chron. ad A. XVII. HONORII. Constantinus, post triennium invasæ tyrannidis, ab Honorii duce, Constantio, intra Gallias occiditur. MARCELLIN. in chron. Honor. IX. & Theodos. IV. Coss. Ipse Constantinus apud Arelatem civitatem occiditur. Gregorius Turonensis mentions some farther Circumstances from Frigeridus. See §, XXXIV. not. 3.

(2) SOZOMENUS l. cit. cap. 14. Constantinus autem, circumfidente adhuc Honorii exercitu, ob-

K k k 2

came

came at last, *A.* 411, to an Accommodation (1). The *Vandals* and *Suevi*, in which latter general Name, the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* were likewise particularly included (2), retained *Gallicia*, which then consisted of a greater Extent of Country, than at present, and in particular compris'd the present *Old Castile*. The ancient Inhabitants kept, however, their Ground, in one Part of the Province, probably in Subjection to the *Romans*; and, in After-times, frequently treated with the *Suevi*. The *Alani* obtained *Lusitania*, and the Province of *Carthagera*, and to the *Silingi*, who were likewise a *Vandalian* People, was assign'd that Province, which received its Name from the River *Bætis*, now *Guadiana* (3), and was, from these *Vandals*, call'd *Vandalitia*, now corruptly *Andalusia* (4). The *Suevi* were governed by *Hermanaric*; and the *Vandals* by *Gunderic*: But whether *Respendial*, the King of the *Alani*, was then surviving, is uncertain? As the *Germans* were always inclined and accustomed to inhabit the open Country, the Cities, many of which had

§. XXXIII. (1) OROSIUS, *L.* VII. c. 40. Igitur Honoriaci, imbuti præda, & illecebræ abundantia, quo magis scelus impunitum foret, atque ipsis sceleris plus liceret, prodita Pyrenæi custodia, claustrisque patefactis, cunctas gentes, quæ per Gallias vagabantur, Hispaniarum provinciis immittunt, iisdemque ipsi adjunguntur, ubi actis aliquamdiu magnis cruentisque discursibus, post graves rerum atque hominum vastationes, quarum ipsos quoque modo pœnitent, habita sorte, & distributa usque ad nunc possessione, consistunt. Beuterus f. 84. even Attempts to mark out the Passes, thro' which the Vandals, Suevi and Alani went to Spain. Estos como de su condicion eran robadores, dieron passò por robar con ellos a los Suevos y Vandalos por el puerto de TOR, y a los Alanos por ALTA LA VACA, donde per memoria fue posta una argolla como alda-va, &c.

(2) I observed before, §. XVII. not, 5. that by the Honoriaci, mention'd by Orosius, the Marcomanni Honoriani are meant. These Marcomanni therefore, according to the Testimony of Orosius, now joined the other Germans for whom they open'd the Way to Spain, and probably the Suevi, in particular, they being themselves of Suevian Extraction. Jerom in the Passage quoted, §. XVI.

not. 1. mentions likewise the Quadi, who without Doubt entirely reach'd Spain.

(3) The Year appears from Idatius in chron. ad *A.* XVII. HONORII. Subversis, memorata plagarum grassatione, Hispaniæ provinciis, barbari, ad pacem ineundam, domino miserante conversi, sorte ad habitandum sibi provinciarum dividunt regiones. Gallæciam Vandali occupant & Suevi, sitam in extremitate oceani maris occidua. Alani Lusitaniam, & Carthaginensem provincias, & Vandali cognomine Silingi, Bæticam sortiuntur. Hispani per civitates & castella residui a plagis, barbarorum per provincias dominantium se subijciunt servituti. Isidorus repeats this, almost in the same Words, in chron. de historia Vandalorum. Vandali cum Alanis & Suevis pariter Hispanias ingrediuntur. Hi pace inter se inita, sorte ad inhabitandum sibi provinciarum dividunt regiones. Galliciam, Vandali & Suevi occupant, Alani Lusitaniam & Carthaginensem provincias. Vandali autem, cognomine Silingi, Bæticam sortiuntur. Hispani autem, per civitates & castella residui, barbaris dominantibus se subjugant.

(4) PETRUS ANTONIUS BEUTER in coronica general de toda Espanna, Lib. I. c. 25. f. 84. Los Vandalos lamados Silinges, tomaron la Bética,

had held out even to that Time (5), remain'd chiefly in the Possession of the ancient Inhabitants : And, when all Hopes of a Restoration of the *Roman* Power were vanis'd, and they begun, by Degrees, to be better acquainted with the *Germans*, they came, at Length, to the best Terms they could with them (6). Nay, the *Spaniards* were even soon after better contented with this new Government, than with that of the *Romans* (7) : And were greatly surpriz'd to find Princes, who were so terrible in War, could act in so humane and equitable a Manner, with their Subjects. *Orosius*, indeed, says, with Regard to the Measures taken by these States with the *Roman* Empire, that their Kings treated, each of them separately, with *Honorius* (8) ; by which they obtained a compleat Right to what they 'till then were indebted for to the Fortune of War only : However, the ensuing Proceedings of the *Romans* give us Room to think, that they did not leave them long in this tranquil State (9) ; and only took the Advantage of these single Treaties, to set them together by the Ears.

§. XXXIV.

tica, y dellos se dixo Vandalia, y agora dezimos Andaluzia. *MARIANA, Lib. V. c. 3. p. 193.* Silingi remanserunt in Hispania, eaque potissima Bætice parte, ubi Hispalis sita est. Unde, quoniam Vandalis contributi erant illisque confusi, consequenti tempore Bætice nomen, Unadalosie appellatione, non iisdem prorsus finibus, mutatum est.

(5) *Many of them had likewise been destroy'd.* Beuterus l. c. particularly mentions, that the Alani destroy'd Saguntum ; and of its Splendid Theatre only some Walls remained, whence the Place was call'd Murovieio, now Morviedro En este tiempo fue segunda vez destruyda Sagunto, no queriendo recoger estos Alanos ; y fue por despecho de su presuncion, derribado su teatro magnifico, y asolados los mas principales edificios, como hasta hoy parescen las ruinas. Despues, poblado aquel lugar altra vez fue llamado Muro vieio, y de alli vino el nombre de Morviedro que hoy tiene.

(6) See *Idatius's Words above* not. 3.

(7) *OROSIUS, who lived about this Time, and finish'd his History in the Year 417, says, Lib. VII. c. 41.* Quamquam & post hoc quoque continuo barbari execrati gladios suos, ad aratra con-

versi sunt, residuosque Romanos (*for so he calls the ancient Inhabitants*) ut socios modo & amicos sovent : ut inveniantur jam inter eos quidam Romani, qui malint inter barbaros pauperem libertatem, quam inter Romanos tributariam sollicitudinem sustinere.

(8) *IDEM Lib. VII. c. 43.* After having given an Account of the Peace Valia had made with Honorius, he proceeds : Romanæ securitati periculum suum obtulit, ut adversum cæteras gentes, quæ per Hispanias consedissent, sibi pugnaret, & Romanis vinceret : quamvis & cæteri Alanorum, Vandalorum, Suevorumque reges eodem nobiscum placito depacti forent, mandantes imperatori Honorio : tu cum omnibus pacem habe, omniumque obsides accipe : nos nobiscum configimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus. Immortalis vero quæstus erit reipublicæ tuæ, si utrique pereamus.

(9) *PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, Lib. I. relates the following singular Circumstance, with Regard in particular to the Vandals.* Inde, Godigiscli ductu, in ea parte Hispaniæ, quæ oram habet imperii Romani primam ab oceano, sedes fixerunt, ea conditione, de qua tunc inter Honorium & Godigisclum convenit, ut illis partibus nihil nocerent. Cum autem hæc esset Romana lex, si qui sua non possiderent, spatiumque efflueret annorum

Jovinus,
assisted by the
Germans, as-
sumes the Im-
perial Dignity
at *Mentz*.

§. XXXIV. *HONORIUS*'s General had not finish'd his War with *Constantine* in *Gaul*, when *Jovinus* (1), a Person of Distinction, of that Nation (2), assumed the Imperial Dignity at *Mentz*. He depended chiefly on the Assistance of *Goar*, King of the *Alani*, whom I mentioned above, and *Guntharius*, King of the *Burgundians* (3). According to *Frigeridus*'s Relation, Part of which has been transmitted to us by *Gregorius Turonensis*, he had, likewise, *Alemanni* and *Franks* in his Service (4): And we find, by Medals, he was acknowledg'd Emperor at *Triers*.

Ataulph
marches into
Gaul, and de-
feats *Jovinus*:
Notwithstand-
ing which the
Treaty with
Honorius is not
ratified.

§. XXXV. THE Empire was involved in new Difficulties; which increas'd when *Ataulph* arrived in *Gaul*, in the Year 412, and brought *Attalus* with him: Hence some date the Beginning of the *Wisi-Goth* Kingdom from that Year. The *Goths* had perhaps 'till then ravaged the lower Parts of *Italy*, and at last *Toscana* (1). We cannot, with any Certainty, assign his Inducement to come to this Resolution: For if, on the one Hand, he was in Alliance with *Honorius*, as *Jornandes* seems

annorum XXX, illis non esse amplius actionem adversus malæ fidei possessores, sed præscriptione defuisse jus adeundi ad judicem, lege cavit Honorius, ne tempus, quo Vandali in Romano imperio commorarentur, ad eam XXX. annorum præscriptionem evaderet.

§. XXXIV. (1) *De eo conf. SIDONIUS APOLL. Lib. V. epist. 9.*

(2) *OROSIUS. See the Passage in the following §. not. 6.*

(3) *OLYMPIODORUS, p. 7. B.* *Jovinus* apud *Mundiacum*, Germaniæ alterius urbem, studio *Goaris*, *Alani*, & *Guntiarii*, *Burgundionum* præfecti, tyrannus creatus est. Cui, ut sese adjungeret, *Ataulpho* auctor fuit *Attalus*. Et vero hic cum copiis ad illum se confert. *Jovinus* tamen, *Ataulphi* adventu offensus, obscure & veluti per ænigmata *Attalum* accusat, quod adventum suassisset. *Sarus* item ad *Jovinum* venturus erat, sed *Ataulphus*, cognita re, collectis decem millibus militum, occurrit *Saro*, viros octodecim aut viginti apud se habenti, quem gesta heroica & stupore digna edentem, scutis adhibitis, vivum ægre ca-

pere potuerunt, tandemque occidunt. Desciverat autem ab *Honorio Sarus*, audito, *Belleridem* domesticum suum interfectum, nullam tamen cædis rationem duxisse imperatorem, add. *Labeus in notis ad h. l.*

(4) *FRIGERIDUS apud GREGORIUM TURONENSEM, Lbi. II. c. 9.* Vix dum quartus obsidionis *Constantini* mensis agebatur, cum repente ex ulteriori *Gallia* nuntii veniunt, *Jovinum* assumpsisse ornatus regios, & cum *Burgundionibus*, *Alamannis*, *Francis*, *Alanis*, omnique exercitu imminente [*forte, imminere*] obsidentibus, ita, acceleratis moris, referata urbe, *Constantius* deditur. Confestimque ad *Italiam* directus, missis a principe obviam percussoribus, supra *Mincium* flumen capite truncatus est.

§. XXXV. (1) This receives some Light from *Honorius*'s Rescript of the 18th of May, A. 413, in which he reduces to a fifth Part the Taxes on those Countries; without Doubt, on Account of what they had suffer'd by the Quartering of Soldiers, and military Contributions. L. 7. Cqd. Theod. de indulgentiis creditorum. *Campaniæ*, *Tusciæ*, *Piceno*, *Samnio*, *Apuliæ*, *Calabriæ*, sed & *Brutiis* &

seems to think (2) ; on the other Hand, his Deportment in *Gaul* cannot well be reconciled to it ; and rather shew that his Design was to enter into a League with *Jovinus*. *Sarus*, the famous *Gothick* General, of whom Mention is made above, upon some Disgust taken at *Honorius's* Court, went likewise to *Gaul*, to seek his Fortune there ; but *Ataulph*, pursued and attack'd him ; and, at Length, obliged him, after a valiant Resistance, to put an End to the Animosities, subsisting between them, with the Sacrifice of his own Blood (3). There may perhaps, at first, have been some Understanding between *Ataulph* and *Jovinus* ; but the latter soon fell at Variance with the *Goths*, and *Olympiodorus* observes particularly, that *Ataulph* took Offence at *Jovinus's* admitting his Brother, *Sebastian*, to a Share in the Empire. The Accounts we have in History are, in general, so concise and uncertain, that the Reasons why he took Disgust at this are not express'd (4). *Cl. Posthumus Dardanus*, a Person of Note among the *Gauls*, who enjoyed several honourable Posts, and particularly the *Præfectura Prætorii Galliarum* (5), performed, on this Occasion, eminent Services for *Honorius*. He so won *Ataulph*, that he quite broke with *Jovinus*, and enter'd into a Treaty with *Honorius*, by Virtue of which he promised to deliver the

& *Lucanæ*, ex omni præstationis modo, quem antiqua solemnitas detinebat, quatuor partes jubemus auferri, &c. add. JA. GOTHOFREDI commentarius ad b. l. As for *Toscana* in particular, *Rutilius* mentions, that he went from *Rome* by *Water*, because *Toscana* had not yet so recover'd it self after the *Gothick Wars*, that he could conveniently pass through it.

Electum pelagus, quoniam terrena viarum
Plana madent fluviis, cautibus alta rigent.
Postquam Tuscus ager, postquamque Aurelius
agger
Perfessus Geticas, ense vel igne manus,
Non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte coerces
In certo satius credere vela mari.

Rutilius set Sail in Autumn of the Year 416 ; some place it indeed in the Year 417 or 420, whose Reasons are cited by *Tillemont*, p. 335. But from the Poem itself, v. 140 seq. it appears, that it was composed before the *Gothick Peace*.

(2) See above §. XXX. not. 4.

(3) OLYMPIODORUS. See the Passage in §. XXXIV. not. 3. SOZOMENUS, Lib. IX. c. 15. Nec multo post, præter expectationem, interimuntur Jovianus (lege Jovinus) & Maximus, tyranni prædicti : tum etiam SARUS, & alii plurimi cum his, qui imperio Honorii fuerant infidiati.

(4) OLYMPIODORUS l. c. p. 7. C. Jovinus fratrem suum, Sebastianum, invito Ataulpho imperatorem creans, in ejus odium incurrit. Ataulphus itaque per internuntios capita se tyrannorum missurum, pacemque initurum, Honorio pollicetur. Hi domum ubi redierunt, & jusjurandum præstitum est, Sebastiani mox caput imperatori mittitur. Jovinus etiam ipse, ad Ataulpho obsessus, se dedit, missusque ad imperatorem est, quem Dardanus præfectus, sua manu percutiens interemit.

(5) Conf. SIRMONDUS in not. ad Sidonii Lib. V. epist. 9.

two Brothers into his Hands (6). Pursuant to his Promise, in the Year 412, he actually sent the Head of *Sebastian* to the Emperor, and took *Jovinus* Prisoner at *Valence*, and deliver'd him to *Dardanus*, who caus'd him likewise to be put to Death (7). Notwithstanding this, the Treaty with *Honorius* was not then concluded, because the *Romans*, on their Part, did not fulfill their Engagements (8). *Ataulph* therefore committed Hostilities, and took, together with *Narbonne* (9) and some other Places, as it seems, likewise *Thoulouse* (10). *Bourdeaux* readily open'd its Gates to him (11). He made also an Attempt upon *Marseilles*, but was repuls'd by *Bonifacius* (12).

Ataulph
marries the
Princess *Placidia*.

§. XXXVI. NOTHING prov'd a greater Obstacle to the Treaty than the Article about the Princess *Placidia*, who, from the Time of the taking of *Rome* had been in the Hands of the *Goths*. *Constantius*, who even then look'd upon the Imperial Throne as the only sufficient Reta-

(6) PROSPER *in chron. ad A. Honorii XIX.* Jovinus tyrannidem post Constantinum invadit. Industria viri strenui, qui solus tyranno non cessit, Dardani, Ataulphus, qui post Alaricum Gothis imperitabat, a societate Jovini avertitur. Sallustius quoque & Sebastianus occisi. Valentia, nobilissima Galliarum civitas, a Gothis effringitur, ad quam fugiens se Jovinus contulerat. See Olympiodorus's Words in the foregoing fourth Note.

(7) OLYMPIODORUS *l. c. not. 3.* PROSPER *l. c. not. 5.*

MARCELLINUS *in chr. THEODOS. imp. V. Coss.*

Jovinus ac Sebastianus, in Gallis tyrannidem molientes, occisi sunt. OROSIUS, *Lib VII. c. 42.* Jovinus postea, vir Galliarum nobilissimus, in tyrannidem mox ut assurrexit, cecidit. Sebastianus frater ejusdem, hoc solum ut tyrannus moreretur, elegit.

IDATIUS *in chron: ad A. Honorii XIX.* Jovinus & Sebastianus oppressi ab Honorii ducibus Narbona interfecti sunt.

(8) OLYMPIODORUS *p. 7. in f.* Postulatum est ab Ataulpho, studio maxime Constantii, ejus qui illam postea uxorem duxit, Placidiam (quam apud se Romæ captam habebat) Honorio fratri sut redderet. Sed quod Ataulpho promissa, præsertim de curanda annona, perfecta non fuissent,

neque ipsam reddidit, & pacem bello commutaturus videbatur Ataulphus ergo, cum Placidia repeteretur, frumentum vicissim ipse promissum petiit. Cujus conferendi, etsi, qui promiserant, copiam nullam haberent, nihilo tamen secius consentiunt, si Placidiam reciperent, accepturum. Ad quæ simili fere & ipse barbarus simulatione utebatur. Massiliam interea, sic dictam urbem profectus, dolo eam interciperere tentavit. Sed a Bonifacio, nobilissimo viro, vulneratus, & vix salvo capite fugiens, in sua tentoria se recepit, urbe omissa, quæ lætitiæ plena, laudibus, ac bonis ominibus Bonifacium est prosecuta.

(9) IDATIUS *ad A. Honorii XIX.*

Gothi, Narbonam ingressi, vindemiæ tempore.

(10) *This is inferr'd from Rutilius Numatianus's Itinerarium, v. 493.*

Victorinus enim nostræ pars maxima mentis
Congressu explevit mutua vota suo.
Errantem Tuscis confidere compulit agris
Et colere externos capta Tolosa lares.

(11) *This appears from Paulinus's Eucharisticum. See the Passage in §. XXXVII. not. 3.*

(12) OLYMPIODORUS. See the Passage quoted in the preceding 7th Note.

liation for his great Exploits, and imagin'd, that he should the easier attain it, if he married a Daughter of *Theodosius*, insisted upon the Surrender of that *Princess* to the Emperor. *Ataulph* had long before Thoughts of marrying *Placidia*, and the Reluctance with which she took *Constantius* for her Husband, after *Ataulph's* Decease, gives us Room to believe, that she had no great Affection for him at this Time. *Ataulph* therefore, not only refused to part with her, but actually married her himself, at *Narbonne* (1), in the Year 414, in the Month of *January*. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Splendor. *Ataulph* appeared at that Solemnity in a *Roman Habit*; and gave the Upper-Hand to the Princess, for whom a Bed was prepared, in the Form of a Throne. The *Roman Spoils* serv'd now to augment the Riches of the Nuptial Presents, and *Attalus* himself sung the Songs, which were compos'd in Honour to these Nuptials (2). We find in *Idatius* (3), that the following Words of the Prophet *Daniel* (4); *The King's Daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North, to make an Agreement; but she shall not retain the Power of the Arm, neither shall he stand nor his Arm*; were at that Time applied to these Nuptials. *Ataulph* chose *Heraclea*, a Place on the *Rhone*, in the present *Languedoc*, for his

§. XXXVI. (1) JORNANDES says indeed, that *Ataulph married Placidia in Italy*, cap 21. *Quam tamen, ob generis nobilitatem, formæque pulchritudinem, & integritatem castitatis attendens, in Foro Livii, [al. Foro Cornelii] Æmiliæ civitate, suo matrimonio legitime copulavit. But OLYMPIODORUS and IDATIUS, on the contrary, shew plainly that the Nuptials were celebrated at Narbonne. Both Relations may be reconcil'd, if we suppose JORNANDES to mean the Espousals, and the Marriage to have been consummated at Narbonne. CA- TEL in his Memoires de l'Hist du Languedoc, p. 453. attempts to reconcile these Accounts in a different Manner, and imagines, that the Nuptials were celebrated at Forum Cornelii, (at present Imola) but that the Festivals on that Occasion, were then defer'd, and afterwards celebrated at Narbonne.*

(2) OLYMPIODORUS p. 8. D. *Ataulpho studio ac consilio Candidiani, nuptiæ cum Placidia conveniunt. Januario mense nuptiis dictus dies, Narbone Galliæ urbe, in domo Ingenii cujusdam primarii ejus urbis viri. Hic digniore loco residente Placidia in atrio, Romano more adornato, habituque regio, assedit ipsi Ataulphus læna in-*

dutus, omnique alio amictu Romano. Inter alia nuptiarum dona, donatur Ataulphus etiam quinquaginta formosis pueris, serica veste indutis, ferentibus singulis utraque manu discos binos: quorum alter auri plenus, alter lapillis pretiosis, vel pretii potius inæstimabilis, quæ ex Romanæ urbis direptione Gothi deprædati fuerant. Hinc versus canuntur epithalamii, Attalo præcinente, dein Rustacio atque Phœbadio, nuptiisque finis datus, lusu gaudioque ingenti barbarorum simul, & Romanorum, qui cum eis erant. SIRMONDUS imagines, p. 57, that this Rustacius was the same Decimus Rusticus, whom SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS mentions, Lib. V. epist. 9. But from a Passage in GREGORIUS TURONENSIS it appears, that he was put to Death before that Time.

(3) IDATIUS ad A. HONORII XX. (Ch. 414.) *Ataulphus apud Narbonam Placidiam duxit uxorem; in quo prophetia Danielis putatur impleta, qui ait filiam regis austri sociandam regi aquilonis. nullo tamen ejus ex ea semine subsistente. Ataulph and Placidia had, indeed, a Son, but he died before his Father.*

(4) Daniel c. XI. v. 6.

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Residence,

Residence, which received afterwards, indeed, from *St. Ægidius*, the Name of *St. Gilles*, but was nevertheless, long after, call'd *Palatium Gothorum* (5); and the adjacent Wood is, in ancient Records, mentioned by the Name of *la Selva Gothesca* (6). There yet exists an Inscription (7), that was then erected in Honour of *Ataulph* and *Placidia*, which contains a fine Monument of this *Gothick* Court; and verifies the Relations of *Gotfrid Viterbiensis*, and *Otto Frisingensis*. It is likewise remarkable, for *Ataulph's* bearing thereupon the Surname of *Flavius*, which the *Gothick* Kings were afterwards very fond of.

ATAULPHO. FLAVIO.

POTENTISSIMO. REGI. REGUM. RECTISSIMO
VICTORI. VICTORUM. INVICTISSIMO. VANDALICÆ.
BARBARIÆ. DEPULSORI. ET CAESAREÆ. PLACIDIÆ.
ANIMÆ. SUÆ. DOMINIS. SUIS. CLEMENTISSIMIS.
ANATILII. NARBONENSES. ARECOMICI. (8).
OPTIMIS. PRINCIPIBUS. IN. PALATIO. POSUERUNT.
OB. ELECTAM. A. SE. HERACLEAM. IN. REGIÆ.
MAJESTATIS. SEDEM.

The Goths
march into
Spain.

§. XXXVII. BUT how earnestly soever *Placidia* endeavour'd to establish a lasting Peace with the *Romans*, *Constantius* as vigorously oppos'd it. *Attalus*, who had till then followed the *Gothick* Court, seems, on Occasion of this new Rupture, to have resum'd the Imperial Dig-

(5) GOTHOFREDUS VITERBIENSIS in *Pantheo* P. XVI. p. 402. Ataulphus vero, rex Gothorum, amore uxoris suæ Placidia, quæ erat soror Honorii imperatoris, a finibus Romanorum discedit, & in Gallia, prope civitatem Narbonensem, ubi hodie villa S. Ægidii dicitur, in loco qui usque hodie PALATIUM GOTHORUM dicitur, consedit supra Rhodanum fluvium. OTTO FRISINGENSIS in *chronico* Lib. IV. c. 21. Sed Ataulphus, amore uxoris Placidia, a finibus Romanorum secedit, ac in Gallias juxta provinciam Narbonensem, quam postmodum vir dei Ægidius inhabitans, metropoli ex nomine suo, ut villa sancti Ægidii dicatur, dedit, in loco, qui usque hodie PALATIUM GOTHORUM vocatur, consedit.

(6) GUILLAUME CATEL attests, in his *History of*

the Counts of Tolouse p. 5, and in his *Memoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, p. 453. that, in the Records of the Monastery of S. Ægidius, he found the adjacent Wood call'd la Selva Gotesca. The Monastery of S. Gilles is, in their ancient Documents, call'd Monasterium S. Ægidii in Valle Flaviana. CATEL imagines, that Vallis Flaviana was so named from the Kings of the Wisi-Goths, who bore the Surname of Flavianus.

(7) Vid. SIDONIUS in *miscellaneis eruditæ antiquitat.* p. 517.

(8) The Anatilii dwell, according to SPONIUS's Opinion, in the Country about the Rhone, where S. Gilles is, and the Arecomici, where Nimes is situate.

nity

nity (1): But *Constantius* obtain'd, near *Narbonne*, some Advantage over the *Goths* (2), and was so far superior to them, that they determin'd to go to *Spain*. They first pillag'd *Bordeaux*, which had till then been in their Possession (3); and would have proceeded, in the same Manner, with the City of *Bazas*, had not the King of the *Alani*, during the Siege, abandon'd them, and reconciled himself to the *Romans* (4).

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§ XXXVII (1) *PROSPER in chron. conf. ad consulatum Constantii & Constantis (A. 415.)* Attalus Gothorum Consilio & præsidio tyrannidem refutavit in Galliis. *We find a more certain Testimony of this PAULINUS's Eucharisticum, where, v. 291, he relates, that Attalus created him Comes privatarum largitionum.*

Sed mihi ad sortem præfatæ conditionis
Addita majoris nova est quoque causa laboris.

Ut me conquirens solatia vana tyrannus,
Attalus, absentem casso oneraret honoris
Nomine, privatæ comitivam largitionis
Dans mihi, quam sciret nullo subsistere censu
Jamque suo ipse etiam dedisset fidere regno:
Solis quippe Gothis fretus, male jam sibi
notis,

Quos ad præsidium vitæ præsentis habere
Non etiam imperii poterat, per se nihil ipse
Aut opibus propriis, aut milite nixus.

Unde ego non partes infirmi omnino tyranni;
Sed Gothicam fateor pacem me esse secutum.
Quæ tunc ipsorum consensu optata Gothorum

Paulo post aliis cessit mercede redempta.
Nec poenitenda manet, cum jam in republica
nostra

Cernamus plures Gothico florere favore.

(2) *OROSIUS, Lib. VII. cap. 43.* Anno ab urbe condita MCLXVIII. Constantius comes, apud Arelatum Galliæ urbem consistens, magna gerendarum rerum industria, Gothos Narbona expulit; atque abire in Hispaniam coëgit, interdicto præcipue, atque intercluso omni comitatu navium, & peregrinorum usu commerciorum. *PAGIUS observes, that OROSIUS follows the Computatio Capitolina, and this Occurrence ought to be*

placed in the Year of our Lord 414. IDATIUS in chron. ad A. HONORII XXII. Ataulfus, a patricio Constantio pulsatus, ut relicta Narbona Hispanias peteret, per quendam Gothum, apud Barcinonam inter familiares fabulas, jugulatur.

(3) *PAULINUS, who was then at Bordeaux, describes this Depredation in his Eucharisticum, v. 311. seq.*

Namque profecturi regis præcepto Ataulfi
Nostra ex urbe Gothi, fuerant qui in pace
recepti,
Non aliter nobis quam belli jure subactis,
Aspera quæque, omni urbe, irrogavere cre-
menta.

He then relates what befel him and his Family, notwithstanding that he had declared for Attalus, and consequently expected no Hostilities from the Goths.

In qua me inventum comitem tum principis
ejus
Imperio cujus sociatos nos sibi norant,
Nudavere bonis simul omnibus: & gen-
tricem
Juxta meam, mecum communi sorte subac-
tos:

Uno hoc se nobis credentes parcere captis,
Quod nos immunes poena paterentur abire,
Cunctarumque tamen comitum simul & fa-
mularum,
Eventum fuerant nostrum quæcunque secutæ,
Illæso penitus, nullo adtentante, pudore.

(4) *Of this we again find an Account in PAULINUS, who, after the sacking of Bordeaux, retired to Bazas, v. 329.*

It happen'd luckily for the *Romans*, that the Infurrection in *Africa* was soon quell'd. *Heracian* had there assumed the Imperial Dignity, and was

Illico namque
Exaeto laribus patriis, tectisque crematis,
Obsidio hostilis vicina excepit in urbe,
VASATIS, patria majorum & ipsa meorum :
Et gravior multo, circumfusa hostilitate,
Factio fervilis, paucorum mixta furori
Insano, juvenum licet ingenuorum,
Armata in caedem specialem nobilitatis,
Quam tu, iuste deus, infanti a sanguine
avertens
Illico paucorum sedasti morte reor m,
Instantemque mihi specialem percussorem
Me ignorante, alio jussisti ultore perire ;
Suetus quippe novis tibi me obstringere
donis,
Pro quibus me scirem grates debere perennes.
Sed mihi tam subiti concusso sorte pericli,
Quo me intra urbem percelli posse viderem,
Subrepsit, fateor nimium trepido, novus
error,
Consilii, ut me praesidio regis dudum mihi
chari,
Cujus nos populus longa obsidione premebat,
Urbe ab obsessa sperarem abscedere posse,
Agmine charorum magno comitante meo-
rum ;
Hac tamen hos nostros spe sollicitante paratus,
Quod scirem IMPERIO GENTIS cogente
GOTHORUM,
Invitum regem populis incumbere nostris.
Explorandi igitur studio digressus ab urbe,
Ad regem intrepidus nullo obfistente te-
tendi :
Laetior ante tamen prima quam afforet,
amicum
Alloquio, gratumque magis fore quem mihi
rebar.
Perscrutato autem, ut potui, interius viri voto,
Praesidium se posse mihi praestare negavit,
Extra urbem posito, nec tutum jam sibi pro-
dens,
Ut visum remeare aliter pateretur ad urbem,
Ipse nisi mecum mox susciperetur in urbe :
Gnaros quippe Gothos rursus mihi dira
minari
Seque ab ipsorum cupiens absolvere jure.

Obstupui, fateor, pavescens conditione
Proposita, & nimio indicti terrore pericli.
Sed, miserante deo, afflictis qui semper ubi-
que
Imploratus adest, paulo post mente resumta,
Ipse licet trepidus & adhuc nutantis amici,
Consilium audacter studui pro me ipse fovere,
Ardua dissuadens quae scirem omnino ne-
ganda,
Et praestanda prius, quam mox tentanda
perurgens,
Quae non sero probans vir prudens ipse se-
cutus,
Illico consultis per se primatibus urbis,
Rem coeptam accelerans, una sub nocte pe-
regit,
Auxiliante Deo, cujus jam munus habebat,
Quo nobis populoque suo succurrere posset.
Concurrit pariter cunctis ad sedibus omnis
Turba ALANARUM armatis sociata ma-
ritis.
Prima uxor regis Romanis traditur obfes,
Adjuncto pariter regis charo quoque nato.
Reddor & ipse meis partae inter foedera
pacis,
Communi, tanquam Gothico salvatus ab
hoste,
Vallanturque urbis pomœria milite ALANO,
Acceptaque dataque fide certa, reparato
Pro nobis, nuper quos ipse obsederat hostis.
Mira urbis facies, cujus magna undique mu-
ros
Turba indiscreti sexus circumdat inermis,
Subiecta, exterius muris hærentia nostris,
Agmina barbarica plaustris vallantur & armis.
Qua se truncatam parte agminis haud me-
diocris,
Circumjecta videns populantur turba GO-
THORUM,
Illico diffidens tuto se posse morari,
Hoste intestino subito in sua viscera verso,
Nil tentare ausa ulterius, properanter abire
Sponte sua legit, cujus non sero secuti
Exemplum & nostri quos diximus auxiliares,
Discessere, fidem pacis servare parati,
Romanis, quoque ipsos fors oblata tulisset.
come

come to *Italy*; but was defeated at *Utricoli*; and when he thereupon fled back to *Africa*, was put to Death, at *Carthage*, in the *Aedes Memoriae*, in the very same Year (5). As for *Attalus*, he indeed followed the *Goths* to *Spain* (6), but fell soon after into the Hands of the *Romans*.

§. XXXVIII. ABOUT the same Time that *Constantinus* was involv'd in a War with *Ataulph*, the *Romans* made Peace with the *Burgundians*, by whose Assistance *Jovinus* had assum'd the Imperial Dignity, and allow'd them a Tract of Land, as it seems, in *Germania Prima*, probably that they might be more at Liberty to act against the *Goths*. The *Romans* hoped to make Use of them, as a kind of Guard to those Frontiers, which had 'till then lain exposed to the Ravages of foreign Nations (1), and as a Barrier to the other *Roman* Provinces: But we shall see in the Sequel, that they themselves were not the most tranquil People. This is therefore look'd upon as the Beginning of the *Burgundian* Monarchy, founded by *Gundicarius* in *Gaul*. The *Huns* gave it, indeed, a very great Shock, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, but

Beginning of
the Monarchy
of the *Bur-*
gundians in
Gaul. Con-
version of the
Burgundians.

(5) OROSIUS, *Lib. VII. c. 42*. Heraclianus interea, Africae comes missus, cum idem Attalus umbram gestaret imperii, Africam strenue adversum judices ab eo missos tutatus, consulatum assecutus est: quo elatus supercilio, Sabinum, domesticum suum, virum ingenio callidum, industriae solertem & sapientem nominandum, si animi vires tranquillis studiis accommodavisset, generum allegit, cum quo, quorundam periculorum suspiciones dum patitur, fecit; atque aliquamdiu Africana annona extra ordinem retenta, ipse tandem cum immensa, certe temporibus nostris, & satis incredibili classe navium, Romam contendit. Nam habuisse tunc IIIMDCC naves dicitur: quem numerum ne apud Xerxem quidem, praeclarum illum Persarum regem, nec Alexandrum Magnum, vel quenquam alium regum fuisse, historiae ferunt. Is simul ut cum agmine militum ad urbem pergens litore egressus est, occursum comitis Marini territus, & in fugam versus, arrepta navi, solus Carthaginem rediit, atque ibi continuo militari manu interfectus est. *Idatius in chronico ad A. XIX.* Honorii. Heraclianus movens exercitum de Africa adversus Honorium, Utriculo, in Italia, in conflictu superatus, effugit in Africam, caesis in loco supra dicto L. milibus armatorum. Ipse post Carthaginē, in aede

Memoriae, per Honorium percussoribus missis, occiditur. *Prosper in chronico ad A. XX.* Honor. Heraclius, comes Africae, qui in Romanae urbis reparationem strenuum exhibuerat ministerium, nova quadam molitus, interimitur.

(6) Among all those, who relate the latter Transactions of this Attalus, OROSIUS, who finish'd his History, A. 417, seems to give the most certain Account: He says, *Lib. VII. c. 42*. Attalus itaque, tamquam inane imperii simulacrum, cum Gothis usque ad Hispaniam portatus est. Unde discedens navi, incerta moliens, in mari captus, & ad Constantium comitem deductus, deinde imperatori Honorio exhibitus, truncata manu, vitae relictus est. *PROSPER in chron. consulari ad A. (416)* HONORIO X. & THEODOSIO VI. COSS. Attalus a Gothis, ad Hispanias migrantibus, neglectus, & praesidio carens capitur, & Constantio patricio vivus offertur.

§. XXXVIII. (1) PROSPER in *chron. consulari ad Lucii consulatum A. 414*. Burgundiones partem Galliae, propinquantem Rheno, obtinuerunt. CASSIODORUS in *chronico* says: ad consulat. Luciani. His COSS. Burgundiones partem Galliae Rheno tenere conjunctam.

it soon recover'd. The Account *Socrates* gives of their Conversion (2) seems the more probable, as we can likewise shew, from *Orosius*, that they embrac'd the Orthodox *Christian* Religion, before the Year 417, in which he wrote his History (3); but their Kings became soon after Profelytes to *Arianism*. This new Kingdom endur'd many other Shocks before it attained to that Strength and Power, in which we shall find it in ensuing Times. Now, tho' by these Means the *Burgundian* Nation, which 'till then had been several Times noted in the Wars of the *Vandals* and *Alemanni* (4), quitted *Germany*, those *Burgundians* of whom I observ'd before (5), that they dwelt in the inner Parts of *Germania Magna*, will be mentioned again below in *Attila's* Reign.

Ataulph's
Death.

§. XXXIX. *ATAULPH* was murder'd in the Year 415, at *Barcelona* (1), in a treacherous Manner (2). *Singeric*, who according to *Olympiodorus*, was the Brother of his former inveterate Enemy, *Sarus*, usurp'd the Throne, and vented his savage Revenge on *Ataulph's* House. He caused his Children, by his first Marriage, to be taken by Violence from the Bishop, *Segefarius*, who was one of the Heads of the *Arian* Sect, and to be put to Death: *Placidia*, the Queen-Dowager, was oblig'd

(2) *SOCRATES*, Lib. VII. c. 30. writes: Ad quandam Galliae civitatem profecti, postulant ab episcopo, ut Christianum baptismum suscipiant. ille, cum septem dies jejuna eos jussisset, ac fidei rudimentis instituisset, octavo tandem die baptismum donatos dimisit. *HADR. VALESII*, Lib. III. rer. Franc. p. 138. supposes, that *Severus*, Bishop of Trier, converted and baptized them: *HERTIUS* in not. P. G. P. III. c. VI. §. 4. is of the same Opinion: But *PAGIUS* observes, on the contrary, from *BROWER's* annales Trevirenses, and others, that this Computation disagrees with *Severus's* Years: conf. *PAGIUS* ad A. CCCCXIII. not. 13.

(3) *OROSIUS*, L. VII. c. 33. says: Eorum esse prævalidam, & perniciosam manum, Galliae hodieque testes sunt: in quibus præsumta possessione consistunt, quamvis providentia dei omnes Christiani modo facti, catholica fide, nostris clericis, quibus obedirent, receptis, blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivant, non quasi cum subjectis Gallis, sed vere cum fratribus Christianis.

(4) See above, Lib. VII. §. VIII.

(5) *IBID.* not. 2. fin.

§. XXXIX. (1) It is uncertain, whether he had fix'd upon *Barcelona* for his Residence, or only happen'd to stop there on his March. *FRANCISCUS DIEGO*, however, believes the former to be unquestionable, in his Hist. de los Condes de Barcel. L. I. c. 13. 35. Entro en ella por Cathalunna, y puso su asiento y Corte en la ciudad de Barcelona, cerca del ya referido anno de CCCCXII, quando ya avia MCCCXLII. annos, que estava sin Rey. Grande fuerte y lustre porcierto de Barcelona.

(2) *OROSIUS*, Lib. VII. c. 43. Cumque eidem paci petendæ atque offerendæ studiosissime insistet, apud *Barcinorum*, Hispaniæ urbem, dolo suorum, ut fertur, occisus est. Post hunc *Segeticus*, rex a *Gothis* creatus, cum itidem judicio dei ad pacem pronus esset, nihilominus & a suis interfectus est: See the Passages from *OLYMPIODORUS*, *PROSPER*, &c. in the following Notes.

(3) See the Passage from *SOZOMENUS*, §. XXIV. not. 1. *Ataulph* was himself very probably, as well

oblig'd to go before his Horse on Foot, to add Ornament to a Kind of Triumph. *Ataulph* had a Prince by her named *Theodosius*, but he died before his Father (4). *Singeric* was, not many Days afterwards, himself murder'd, and is by very few reckon'd in the Number of the *Gothick* Kings (5). *Wallia* succeeded him, and in his Reign a Peace was, at Length, concluded with the *Romans*, whereby the Kingdom of the *Goths* was fully form'd and established. Some modern *Spanish* Historians say, that *Ataulph's* Tomb was yet shewn, in their Time, at *Barcelona* (6), and even produce the following Epitaph (7):

as *Alaric* and his whole Nation, of that Sect. *JACOBUS VALDESIUS* de dignitate regum regnorumque Hispaniæ, cap. 9. n. 30. f. 90. and *FRANCISCUS DIEGO* in his historia de los Condes de Barcelona, cap. 13. f. 35. have indeed so great a Regard for his Memory, as to represent him, as a Member of the Catholick Church, but their Proofs are insufficient.

(4) *OLYMPIODORUS*, says p. 9. B. *Ataulphus*, nato sibi e *Placidia* filio, cui *Theodosio* nomen dedit, Romanam amplius rempublicam amare videbatur. Verum *Constantio*, ejusque affeclis repugnantibus, ejus & uxoris *Placidia* (pacis in-eundæ) conatus frustra fuerunt. Extinctum autem postea infantem vehementer uterque parens luxit, argenteaque capsa conditum, *Barcinone* in templo quodam sepelierunt. Interficitur deinde & *Ataulphus* ipse (dum equos suos in stabulo, de more, contemplatur) a Gotho quodam, ejus domestico, *Dobbii* nomine, &c. *Moriens Ataulphus* fratri suo injunxit, *Placidia* ut redderetur, utque, si quo modo possent, Romanæ sibi gentis concordiam societatemque conciliarent: at qui successit, *Sari* frater, *Singericus* (studio potius ac vi, quam successione, aut lege creatus) *Ataulphi* e priori conjugæ liberos, vi e sinu *Sigefarii* episcopi abreptos, occidit, atque ipsam *Placidiam* reginam, in *Ataulphi* scilicet contumeliam, pedibus ante equum, una cum ceteris captivis ambulare coëgit, idque toto illo spatio, quod est ab urbe, ad duodecimum usque lapidem. Septem ille dies cum imperasset, interemptus est, & *Gothorum* dux *Valias* constituitur.

(5) *PROSPER* makes no Mention of *Sigeric*, when he says: *HONORIO* X. & *THEODOSIO* VI. CCSS. *Ataulphus* a quodam suorum vulneratus interiit, regnum ejus *Vallia*, peremtis, qui idem cupere intelligebantur, invasit.

(6) *FRANCISCUS TARAPHA*, canonicus at *Barcelona*, de regibus Hispaniæ, p. 538. Sepulcri ejus (autore Hieronymo Paulo Barcinonensi) in vico Paradisi, sublimiore ejusdem urbis parte, vestigia quædam extant, nempe columnarum partes, & non Herculis, ut fama habetur. *JOANNES VASEUS* in chronico Hispaniæ p. 66c. and many more modern Writers are of the same Opinion: But *HIERONYMUS PAULUS*, to whom *TARAPHA* refers, is in this a very uncertain Voucher. His Words are in the Descriptio urbis Barcinonensis, p. 842. Creditur a nonnullis, vestigia quædam columnarum & antiquorum rudum, quæ in Paradiso, sublimiore urbis parte videntur, sepulcrum olim *Ataulphi* sustinuisse: pars reliquias arcis, alii porticus arbitrantur. Fama vulgi habet, *Herculem* ibi monumento conditum. Quæ opinio scriptis *Salustii* juvatur: nam hic in Hispania *Herculem* sepultum fuisse *Afris* & *Iberis* persuasum testatur. The Story of the Tomb seems therefore as fictitious as the Epitaph.

(7) *LUDOVICUS NONIUS* in Hispania, c. 88. Sublatus est hic per insidias Gothorum rex, *Ataulphus*, una cum sex filiis, teste *Paulo Orosio*, cujus adhuc aliqua sepulcri vestigia exstant, una cum hoc epitaphio: licet imperitæ plebi, vel *Herculis*, vel regis Hispani esse persuasum sit. *BELLIFOTENS, &c.*

BELLI-

BELLIPOTENS VALIDA NATUS DE GENTE GOTHORUM
 . HIC, CUM SEX NATIS, REX ATAULPHE JACES.
 AUSUS ES HISPANAS PRIMUS DESCENDERE IN
 ORAS:
 QUEM COMITABANTUR MILLIA MULTA VIRUM.
 GENS TUA TUNC NATOS, ET TE INVIDIOSA PER-
 EMIT:
 QUEM POST AMPLEXA EST BARCINO MAGNO
 GEMENS.

Mariana, however, doubts of the Genuineness of this Epitaph (8). It is to be met with in that infamous Chronicle of *Lucius Dexter*, who pretends himself to have been the Author of it (9): But this very Circumstance may suffice to make it fully suspected, since it is known to the Learned what an Imposture is conceal'd in this Chronicle of his (10). Another *Spanish* Historian not only believes the Story both of his Tomb and Epitaph to be genuine, but likewise describes his Coat of Arms (11). As all Writers, moreover, tho' they vary in some Circumstances, yet agree in this, that *Ataulph* was murder'd, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* attributes his Death to the Emperor *Honorius*, as a Kind of Victory; and observes, that publick Rejoicings were made, on this Occasion, at *Constantinople* (12). That Court was, it seems, at that Time, so little accustomed to real good News, that a treacherous Murder, perpetrated in a foreign Country, serv'd them as a Pretence for a Festival.

Wallia makes
 Peace with
 the *Romans*.
Honorius's
 Triumph.

§. XI. *WALLIA*, at first, continued the War with the Emperor, and even equipp'd a Fleet, for an Expedition into *Africa*; but it was

(8) *MARIANA de rebus Hisp. Lib. V. c. 2.* Sex Ataulphi filios, una cum patre periisse sepulcri inscriptio, carmine concepta declarat, cujus hodie sepulcri pars Barcinone exstat. Ei inscriptioni quanta fides sit arroganda, aliorum esto judicium: nobis recentior visa est, quam pro horum temporum antiquitate.

(9) *LUCIUS FLAVIUS DEXTER in chron. ad fin.* Qui Barcinone, patria nostra, occisus est, XXI. Augusti, anni CCCCXVI, in cujus memoriam hoc ego carmen lusi: BELLIPOTENS, &c,

(10) v. *ANTONIUS in bibl. Hisp. vet. Lib. II; c. 8. p. 155.*

(11) *BEUTERUS, l. c. fol. 87.* Esta enterrado en

Barcelona, en una rica sepultura, con las armas, que hazia, y estos versos, &c. BELLIPOTENS, &c. He adds to this the Coat of Arms, which he divides into four Fields, of which the two upper contain three Chevrans and a Crown, and the two lower, two Lions. This is the less surprizing, as the same Author describes the Coat of Arms, which *Tubal* brought with him to Spain.

(12) *Chronicon Alexandrinum, p. 309. B. HONORIO X. & THEODOSIO AUGUSTO VI. Coss.* Eodem anno, mense Gorpiaeo, nuntius allatus est, Ataulphum barbarum, in superioribus partibus a domino Honorio fuisse sublatum: factaque luminum accensione, postridie circenses ludi acti sunt, in pompæ speciem facto ingressu.

dispers'd

dispers'd in a Tempest (1). This Disaster made him the sooner lend an Ear to the Proposals for a Peace. As *Constantius* had 'till then obstructed it, chiefly, because *Ataulph* had deprived him of the Princess *Placidia*, and *Wallia* had now no Reason to refuse the Surrender of her to the Emperor, the Peace was concluded about the Year 416 (2). The Conditions are indeed not so very expressly mentioned; but we find, that the *Goths*, on their Part, deliver'd up the Queen Dowager *Placidia*, who was in the next ensuing Year 417, married to *Constantius*, on the first of *January*, the Day he enter'd upon his Consulship; tho' she shew'd very little Affection for his Person (3). The *Romans*, on the other Hand, deliver'd to the *Goths* a certain Quantity of Provisions (and probably a Sum of Money too;) and enter'd with them into a League against the *Alani*, and other German Nations in *Spain*. The Cession of certain Countries to the *Goths*, was agreed upon, at the same Time; but it is uncertain, whether *Wallia* was first to conquer them in *Spain*, or whether that Part of *Gaul* of which he took Possession, *A. 419*, was then assign'd him. The Conclusion of this Peace with the *Goths* did, in all Probability, give Occasion to that Triumph, which was celebrated by *Honorius*, at *Rome*, in

§. XL. (1) *OROSIUS*, *Lib. 7. c. 43.* Deinde Vallia successit in regnum, ad hoc electus a Gothis, ut pacem infringeret: ad hoc ordinatus a deo, ut pacem confirmaret. Hic igitur territus maxime iudicio dei, quia cum magna superiore abhinc anno Gothorum manus, instructa armis navigiisque, transire in Africam moliretur, in XIIM. passuum Gaditani freti tempestate corrupta, miserabili exitu perierat; memor etiam illius acceptæ sub Alarico cladis, cum Gothi in Siciliam transire conati, in conspectu suorum miserabiliter arrepti & demersi sunt, pacem optimam cum Honorio imperatore, datis lectissimis obsidibus pepigit. Placidiam, imperatoris sororem, honorifice apud se honesteque habitam, fratri reddidit. Romanæ securitati periculum suum obtulit, ut adversum cæteras gentes, quæ per Hispanias confedissent, sibi pugnaret, & Romanis vinceret.

(2) *OLYMPIODORUS*, *p. 11. A.* Euplutijs Magistris ad Valiam Gothorum præfectum mittitur, qui pacis scœdera iniret, Placidiamque reciperet: Illa vero commode recepit, missaque frumentatione sexcentorum millium, Placidia Euplutijs tradita, ad Honorium fratrem mittitur.

PHILOSTORGIUS says, *L. 12. c. 4.* Exinde barbari ad Honorium festinarunt, propriamque sororem, & Attalum imperatori stiterunt: ipsi vero annonis donati, portionem quoque aliquam Galliarum ad colendum adepti fuere. *PROSPER* in chronico consulari expressly mentions the Year 416: *THEODOSIO VII. & PALADIO COSS.* Placidiam, Theodosii imperatoris filliam, quam Romæ Gothi ceperant, quamque Ataulphus conjugem habuerat, Vallia, pacem Honorii expetens, reddidit, ejusque nuptias Constantius promeretur. *IDATIUS* likewise mentions this Peace, in the same Year. See the Passage in the following § not. 1.

(3) *OLYMPIODORUS* *p. 12. A.* Honorius augustus undecimum, & Constantius iterum consules creati, Placidia nuptias conciliant. Sed has ipsas nuptias cum vehementer detractaret, effecit, ut ipsius famulis indignaretur Constantius. Tandem nihilominus, ipso, quo consulatum iniit die, manu ipsam arreptam Honorius imperator, frater ejus, invitam Constantio in manum tradit, nuptiaque splendide celebrantur.

the Year 417 (4). The City had, indeed, recover'd itself (5), and a *Roman* of Distinction, of that Time, represents it as magnificent, as it ever could appear in the Eyes of *Constantius* (6), and mentions the *Gothick* Conquest, as a small Misfortune soon remedied (7): But the Joy of this Triumph must have proceeded rather from a Reflection, that the *Romans* escaped a total Desolation, than that they could boast of any signal Victory, which, in ancient *Rome*, could alone merit a Triumph.

(4) PROSPER *in chronico consul.* HONORIO XI. & CONSTANTIO II. COSS. (A. 417.) Romam triumphans ingreditur, præeunte currum ejus Attalo: quem Liparæ vivere jussit. PHILOSTORGIUS *says*, Lib. 12. n. 5. Posthæc vero & Roma a multis malis respirans rursus incolæ cœpit, & imperator cum ad eam venisset, manu & lingua inhabitationem firmavit.

(5) OLYMPIODORUS, p. 9. A. Post Romam a Gothis captam, Albinus, urbis præfectus, quod jam eadem ad pristinum rediret statum, scripsit, non sufficere præbitam populo partem, multitudine jam aucta civitate: additque, uno die initum esse civium quatuordecim millium. Albinus was Præfectus urbis A. 414.

(6) See above, in the VI Book, § XLVI.

(7) RUTILIUS describes Rome to be so magnificent, that one would imagine all the ancient sumptuous Edifices to have been, at that Time, still in their former pristine Lustre. v. 95-106.

Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus:
Ipsos crediderim sic habitare deos.
Quid loquar ærio pendentes fornice rivos,
Qua vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?
Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes,
Tale gigantæum Græcia laudat opus.
Intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris,
Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.
Nec minus & propriis celebrantur roscida
venis,

Totaque nativo mœnia fonte sonant.
Frigidus æstivas hinc temperat halitus auras,
Innocuamque levat purior unda sitim.

He concludes this Account as follows, v. 115-142.

Erige crinales lauros, seniumque sacrati
Verticis in virides, Roma, recinge comas.

Aurea Turrigero radiant diademata cono,
Perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat.
ABSCONDAT TRISTEM DELETA IN-
JURIA CASUM,
CONTEMPTUS SOLIDET VULNE-
RA CLAUSA DOLOR.

Adversis solemne tuis sperare secunda:

Exemplo cœli ditia damna subis.

Astrorum flammæ renovant occasibus ortus,
Lunam finiri cernis ut incipiat.

Victoris Brenni non distulit Allia pœnam,
Samnis servitio fœdera sæva luit.

Post multas Pyrrhum clades superata fugasti.
Flevit successus Annibal ipse suos.

Quæ mergi nequeunt, nixu majore resurgunt,
Exiliuntque imis altius alta vadis.

Utque novas vires fax inclinata resumit,
Clarior ex humili forte superna petis.

Porrige victuras Romana in sæcula leges,
Solaque fatales non vereare colos.

Quamvis sedecies denis, & mille peractis,
Annus præterea jam tibi nonus eat.

Quæ restant nullis obnoxia tempora metis,
Dum stabunt terræ, dum polus astra feret.

Illud te reparat, quod cætera regna resolvit,
Ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis.

ERGO AGE SACRILEGÆ TANDEM
CADAT HOSTIA GENTIS,
SUBMITTANT TREPIDI PERFIDA
COLLA GETÆ.

He then relates that he embark'd, and that he heard the Noise of the Combat, and other publick Shews, when he was at Sea, v. 200-204.

Sæpius attonitæ resonant circensibus aures.

Nunciat accensus plena theatra favor.

Pulsato notæ redduntur ab æthere voces,

Vel quia perveniunt, vel quia fingit amor.
Honorius,

Honorius, by making Peace with the *Goths*, put an End to a War, which seem'd at first to threaten the Downfal of the *Roman* Empire: And tho' he was obliged to give up several Countries a Prey to the *Germans*, he nevertheless saved *Italy*, and the Rest of the Provinces. The Rebel-
 lions of *Constantine*, *Attalus*, *Maximus*, *Jovinus* and *Heracleian*, were fortunately suppress'd, and *Attalus* was now oblig'd to walk before the
 Triumphal Char: After which his two fore-Fingers were cut off, and he was sent into Exile to the Island of *Lipari* (8).

§. XLI. WE must therefore look upon the bloody Wars, which ^{Wars of the} *Wallia*, soon after, made with the *Suevi*, *Alani* and *Vandals*, in *Spain*, ^{Wisi-Goths} as Consequences of this Peace and Alliance (1). The *Silingi* in particular ^{with the} suffer'd greatly (2), and likewise the *Alani*, who lost *Atax*, their King, ^{Alani in} and were so humbled, that after this they were no longer reckon'd ^{Spain.} a separate Kingdom; but were obliged to put themselves under the Dominion of the *Vandals* (3). Hence it is, that the Princes of the *Vandals*, ever after, bore the Title of Kings of the *Vandals* and *Alani*.

(8) PROSPER. See above not. 4. conf. §. XXXVIII. n. 6.

Law, Ricimer, who, by his Mother, descended from *Wallia*, v. 360-364.

§. XLI. (1) IDATIUS *ad A. HONORII XXII.* Cui Ataulpho succedens *Wallia* in regno, cum patricio Constantio pace mox facta, Alanis, & Vandalis Silingis, in Lusitania, & Bætica sedentibus adversatur. He mentions, in the same Year, a Vandalick Prince, whom Constantius sent as a Captive to the Emperor Honorius: Fridibalum, regem gentis Vandalorum, sine ullo certamine ingeniose captum, ad imperatorem Honorium destinat. And in the next Year: *Wallia* rex Gothorum, Romani nominis causa, intra Hispanias, cædes magnas efficit barbarorum: OROSIUS, in the Year 417, concludes his History in these Words: Itaque nunc quotidie apud Hispanias geri bella gentium; & agi strages ex alterutro barbarorum, crebris certisque nunciis discimus; præcipue Walliam, Gothorum regem, insistere patranda paci ferunt.

Nam patre Sævus,
 A genetrice Gethes, simul & reminiscitur illud,
 Quod Tartessiacis, avus hujus Vallia, terris
 Vandalicas turmas, & juncti Martis Alanos
 Stravit, & occiduum texere cadavere Calpen.
Calpe is generally thought to be the present Gibraltar; but Valesius in Excerpta ex Nicolao Damasceno, p. 72. imagines it to be the present Carteia, which is situated at the Foot of the Mountain Calpe, and is for that Reason call'd, in the Itinerarium ANTONINI Calpe Carteia. Terræ Tartessiacæ signify here in general Hispania Bætica: For the River Bætis (at present Guadalquivir) was formerly call'd Tartessus, as PAUSANIAS testifies expressly, Lib. 6. c. 19. p. 497. Some likewise mention a City call'd Tartessus, which was famous in ancient Times, and of which LUD. NONIUS treats in his Descript. Hispaniæ, c. 88.

(2) IDATIUS *in chronico ad A. HONORII XXIV.* (418.) Vandali Silingi, in Bætica per Walliam, regem, omnes extincti. These Wars are likewise mentioned by SIDONIUS, in the Panegyrick, which he wrote in Honour of the Emperor Anthemius, when he speaks in Praise of his Son-in-

(3) IDATIUS *in chronico (ad A. 418.)* Alani, qui Vandalis & Suevis potentabantur, adeo cæsi sunt a Gothis, ut, extincto Atace, rege ipsorum, pauci, qui superfuerant, abolito regni nomine, Gunderici regis Vandalorum, qui in Gallæcia resederat, se patrocínio subjugarent.

Wallia makes
Toulouse the
Royal Resi-
dence of the
Wisi-Gothick
Kindgom.

§. XLII. BUT, about the Year 419 (1), *Wallia* took actual Possession of the Province of *Aquitania secunda*, with some other Cities between the *Garonne* and the Sea (2); which the *Romans*, by the late Peace, had allotted the *Goths* (3). *Wallia* made Choice of *Toulouse* for the Royal Residence, which was afterwards, during 88 Years, the Residence of the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths*. These Countries obtain'd from thence the Name of *Gothia*, which was long after appropriated to one Part of them (4); And the modern Appellation of *Languedoc*, is derived from that of the *Goths* (5). The *Goths* seem, in Consideration of this, to have allowed the *Romans* a Share in those Countries, which they took in *Spain*; but to have reserv'd for themselves that Part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, which lies on the Sea-Side, adjoining to the *Pyrenean* Mountains; which some *Spanish* Historians conjecture to have been named *Catalonia* from the *Goths* and *Alani*, who inhabited it (6). The Be-

§ XLII. (1) *Annum probat* TILLEMONT, p. 1343.

(2) PROSPER in chron. consul. MAXIMO & PLINTA COSS. (A. 419.) Constantius pacem firmat cum Vallia, data eidem ad habitandum secunda Aquitanica, & quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum.

(3) IDATIUS in chronico ad. A. HONORII XXIV. Gothi, intermisso certamine, quod agebant, per Constantium ad Gallias revocati, sedes in Acquitania, & Tolosa usque ad oceanum acceperunt. Among these Cities was likewise Bourdeaux: PAULINUS therefore means this, when he mentions, in his Eucharisticon, that his Sons left him and went to Bourdeaux, v. 498.

———— Natis abeuntibus a me:
Non equidem paribus studiis, nec tempore eodem,
Succensis pariter sed libertatis amore,
Quam sibi majorem contingere posse putabant
Burdigalæ, GOTHICO QUANQUAM
CONSORTE COLONO.

When the Romans assign'd these Provinces to the *Goths*, the ancient Inhabitants were not, on that Account, expell'd or depriv'd of their civil Rights and Estates; as appears from Paulinus's Words. The *Goths* enter'd upon the Rights of Sovereignty, and the

Effects and Revenues belonging to the Emperors. A particular Contract was perhaps made, about the Lands, with the Inhabitants (as we find the same related of the Burgundians, Ostro-Goths, and other German Nations.) If a Goth, moreover, desired to have the House or Mannor of a Provincial, he was obliged to purchase them in a legal Manner. Thus Paulinus relates, v. 575, that a Goth bought a Piece of Ground of him, at a Time when he stood in Need of Money.

Emitorem ignotum mihi si de gente Gothorum
Excires, nostri quondam qui juris agellum
Mercari cupiens, pretium transmitteret ultro:
Haud equidem justum, verumtamen accipienti
Votivum, fateor.

(4) Testamentum Caroli Magni: septimania five Gothia: add. PETRUS de MARCA in Marca Hispanica passim.

(5) Conf. JACOBUS SIRMONDUS in notis ad Sidonium, p. 38. But CATEL rejects this Derivation, in his Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc, p. 39. seq.

(6) HIERONYMUS PAULUS, in descriptione urbis Barcinonensis, p. 842. Inde existimatum est a non vulgaribus, propter consistentem tum maxime in ea regione Alanam & Gothorum gentem, inceptos appellari GOTALANICOS populos, qui nunc CATALAUNI dicuntur.

ginning

ginning of the Kingdom, erected by the *Goths* in *Spain* and *Gaul*, seems likewise to be properly dated from the Time of the Peace made with the *Romans*, by Virtue of which, it obtained its Form and Establishment. *Spanish* Historians never omit this Circumstance of Antiquity, when they treat of the Preference of their Kings, as Successors of the *Gothick* Conquerors (7). The Confines of this new *Gothick* Kingdom, were soon considerably extended, and the *Wisi-Goths* arriv'd to such Renown, that they were, for some Time, superior to all the other *German* Nations, in Power and Form of Government (8).

§. XLVIII. As to the Condition of the remaining Part of *Gaul*, the *Armorici* had followed the Example of the *Britons*, and took the Advantage of the late Divisions of the *Roman* Empire, to secure their own Liberties (1); on which Occasion, *Honorius* and *Valentinian III* †, were continually at War with them. The *Romans* had, themselves, assign'd the *Bar Gundians* a certain District, on the *Rhine*: But we find, nevertheless, in the *Notitia Imperii* (2), which seems to have been written about this Time.

The State of *Gaul*. Constitution of the seven *Gallick* Provinces. The City of *Triers* destroyed.

(7) GREGORIO LÓPEZ MADERA *Excelencias de la Monarquia de Espanna*, f. 28. De donde es cierto, que entre los Reynos que duran hasta aora, los que han permanecido, y se pueden llamar verdaderamente reynos, tiene el de Espanna desde los mismos Godos la may orantiguedad; alegandose a esto la justificacion de su entrada, para ser desde su principio reyno verdadero y legitimo, por lo que arriba dexamos tratado. Y assi se deve de justicia a sus successores, nuestros catolicos, reyes el primer lugar y precedencia, pues es su reyno, respeto de su antiquissima fundacion, y de su restauracion, (que assi la podemos llamar) el mas antiguo de los, que hasta aora permanecen, &c. He illustrates the Position, that the latter Spanish Kings, since Pelagio, ought to be look'd on as the true Successors of the Gothick Kings. fol. 84.

(8) POLDUS d'ALBENAS, in his Discours Historique de Nimes, p. 109. pleases himself with the Reflection, that, tho' those Countries were destin'd to be taken by Strangers, yet they fell to the Share of the most valiant.

Les Goths occidentaux furent les plus excellents,

& les orientaux non tant illustres — — —
Ce que nous est quelque soulas d'avoir esté vaincus des plus braves, comme Enee console son ennemy, qu'il mourroit de sa main.

§. XLIII. (1) ZOSIMUS, Lib. 6. c. 15. See the Passage above in § XXX. not. 1.

† RUTILIUS, in the Account of his Travels, says, that about the same Time (viz. A. 516) Exuperantius settled all Matters among the *Armorici*, v. 213.

Cujus *Aremoricas* pater *Exuperantius* oras
Nunc postliminium pacis amare docet.
Leges restituit, libertatemque reducit
Et servos famulis non finit esse suis.

But the next Book will shew, that *Ætius* was constantly at War with these People, in *Valentinian's* Reign.

(2) In the *Notitia Imperii*, the State of *Belgica Prima* and *Secunda* is still entire: As we find likewise, that of *Germania Prima*, p. 2002.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis, Ducis Mo-
CONTIACENSIS

Præfectus

Time (3), that the *Roman* Constitution subsisted still in *Germania Prima*. *Germania Secunda*, on the other Hand, was probably, lost (4), and after *Jovinus's* Time, in a great Measure, subject to the *Franks* (5). For about the Year 420 (6), *Castinus* march'd towards the *Rhine*, against the *Franks* (7): But they were, notwithstanding this, at the Beginning of the Reign of *Valentinian III*, in firm Possession of the left Banks of the *Rhine* (8). The City of *Triers* had, about this Time, been already taken twice by the *Franks* (9). *Honorius* had, indeed, in the Year 418, by an Ordinance, directed to the *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum* (10), provided, concerning the other Provinces, that the former Constitution of the VII Provinces (11), so call'd, should be re-instated, and that the annual Conventions should be regularly held at *Arles*: But this Decree was soon after broken, when *Novem Populi* and *Aquitania II*, came by Cession to the *Wisi-Goths*, and they extended themselves yet more and more.

Præfectus militum Pacensium, SALETIONE.
Præfectus militum Menapiorum, TABERNIS.
Præfectus militum Anderecianorum, VICO JULIO.

Præfectus militum Vindicum, NEMETES.
Præfectus militum Martensium, ALTA RIPA.
Præfectus militum secundæ Flaviæ, VANGIONES.
Præfectus militum Armigerorum, MOGONTIACO.
Præfectus militum Bigensium, BINGIO.
Præfectus militum Balistariorum, BODOBRICA.
Præfectus militum Defensorum, CONFLUENTIBUS.

Præfectus militum Acincensium, ANTONACO.
And, p. 1948, we find the COMES TRACTUS ARGENTORATENSIS taken Notice of.

(3) *In an Inscription, which was found not far from Sisteron in Provence, and was written about this Time, the Brother of Dardanus, Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum, is call'd CL. LEPIDUS EXCONSULARIS GERMANIÆ. See SIRMOND in not. ad SIDONIUM, p. 59.*

(4) *In the afore-cited Notitia Imperii, we meet with no farther Dux Germaniæ secundæ: conf. PANCIROLUS in notis, p. 1992, and only one Præfectus Lætorum Langentium at Tungris.*

(5) *They took Treves a third Time, about the Year 420, v. TILLEMONT, p. 1340.*

(6) Mons. TILLEMONT demonstrates, p. 1457. and 1458, that this Computation is right.

(7) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS *hist. Franc. Lib. 2. c. 9.* Iisdem diebus præfectus tyrannorum Decimius Rusticus Agrætius ex primicerio notariorum Jovini, multique nobiles apud Arvernos capti a ducibus Honorianis, & crudeliter interempti sunt. Treverorum civitas a Francis direpta, incensaque est secunda inruptione. Cum autem Asterius codicillis imperialibus patriciatum sortitus fuisset, hæc adjungit: Eodem tempore CASTINUS, domesticorum comes, expeditione in FRANCOS suscepta, ad Gallias mittitur.

(8) *See in the next Book, § VII.*

(9) *See the Passage from Gregor. Turonensis in the foregoing 7th Note. Valesius places, in the Times of Honorius, all that Salvianus relates of the calamitous State of the City of Triers: But it appertains properly to that last Destruction related by him, and to the Wars of the Franks which we shall relate in the next Book.*

(10) *V. hæc constitut. ap. Sirmondum in notis ad Sidonium: p. 147. conf. de eadem Pagius ad A. 418. 78.*

(11) PAGIUS treats of this Constitution, ad A. 401. n. 36.

§ XLIV. THE Mention made hitherto, in this Book, of the *Franks*, Transactions of the *Franks*. has related to their Transactions with *Stilico*; their Battles with the *Van-* Of King *Pharamond*: dals and *Alani*; and the Services they did *Constantine* and *Jovinus*, in *Gaul*. Whether he may be accounted the Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*. Till then the *Rhine* separated them from the *Roman* Dominions. But in the Sequel we shall likewise find *Franks* on the left Side of the *Rhine*, who, as I observed before, had gain'd a firm Footing in *Gaul*, ever since the Times of *Jovinus*: About the Year 420, *Pharamond*, King of the *Franks*, appears in History (1); and is, by an Author, who liv'd in the Beginning of the 7th Century, said to be the Son of King *Marcomer*, of whom Mention is made above (2). Some Writers introduce this *Pharamond*, as the first King of the *Franks*, or, at least, as the Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, who united the several Nations under his Scepter (3). *Henschenius* (4), on the contrary, will allow of no such Person, and doubts, whether that Name is mention'd in any genuine Annals, written before the 9th Century; and neither *Gregorius* nor *Fredegarius* take any Notice of him. *F. Pagi* has indeed answer'd *Henschenius* (5); but it is nevertheless very hazardous, to ground the Beginning of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, on a single Passage of one Chronicle, the Veracity of which, is besides so much called in Question (6): For tho' we do allow, that a Person, named *Pharamond*, reigned about this Time among the *Franks*; yet they go evidently too far, who call him in general the first King of the *Franks*, since we have already, ever since *Maximinian's* Time, met with the Names of many Kings of the *Franks*, in History. Those who affirm him to have been the first King, who united the whole Nation under his Government, are likewise mistaken; since the *Franks* were subject to several Dukes or Kings, 'till *Clovis's* Times. As long, therefore, as *Pharamond's* Memory may be call'd in Question, *Valesius's* Account of his Actions, is likewise confined within the Bounds of a bare

§. XLIV. (1) PROSPER in *chron. a PITHOEO edito: ad A. XXVI. HONORII. Faramundus regnat in Francia.*

(2) AUTOR de GESTIS FRANCORUM, p. 693. Tunc defuncto Sunnone, & accepto consilio, in uno primatu eorum unum habere principem, petierunt consilium a Marchomiro, ut regem unum haberent sicut & ceteræ gentes. At ille dedit eis consilium, & elegerunt Faramundum, filium ipsius Marchomiri.

(3) PAGIUS himself says, ad A. 418, not. 81. Monarchiæ Francicæ fundamenta, hoc circiter anno jacta.

(4) HENSCHENIUS in exegesi de episcopatu Tungrensi & Trajectensi, c. 10. where he endeavours to render the Chronicon Prosperi, publish'd by Pithoeus, in which this Passage of Pharamond is to met be with, suspected.

(5) PACIUS in critica annal. Baronii ad A. 418. n. 81.

(6) These Doubts are mention'd in a Remark de l' Epoque de la Monarchie Francoise; in the Memoires de Literature, T. 1 p. 370.

Conjecture

Conjecture (7). His Sepulcher was even formerly shewn on the *Franckenberg*, which is the highest among that Ridge of Mountains, which separates *Alsatia* from *Lorrain*: But *F. Mabillon*, who has collected all that has been said about this Sepulcher, has, likewise, at the same Time, demonstrated the Insufficiency of these Relations (8). We find more genuine Monuments of another King of the *Franks*, named *Theodomer*, who lived about these Times: But yet we have not sufficient Circumstances that we can depend on, to illustrate them (9). For those among the *Franks*, who first wrote any History of them, have been as negligent in their Remarks on the Origin of that Nation, as their Posterity has been desirous of a more accurate Knowledge of it.

When the
Salique Laws
were made?

§. XLV. IF we might give Credit to those who will have a *Pharamond*, his Reign would be more famous for the Promulgation of the *Salique* Laws (1), than for all the Wars, attributed to him by *Valesius*: But

(7) VALESIIUS *l. c. T. 1. p. 120.* Hoc solum affirmare possumus, si Honorio XI, & Constantio II. COSS. regnare Faramundus ocepit, principatu ejus, & forsitan etiam ductu, Francos in Galliam eruptionem fecisse, & Augustum Trevirorum (sicubi ante dictum est) tertium captam diripuisse, ac incendisse. Præterea ex PROSPERI fastis, chronicoque colligimus, Faramundum partem Galliæ Rheno proximam, possessionis causa occupavisse, quam primo regni anno, Chlodio, ejus filius, amiserit.

(8) *In an Enquiry into the Burying Places of the ancient Kings of the Franks.* v. *Memoires de Literature*, T. 4. p. 370.

(9) FRIGERIDUS *apud GERGORIUM TURONENSEM*, *Lib. 2. c. 9.* Nam & in consularibus legimus, THEODEMEREM, regem Francorum, filium RICHIMERIS quondam, & Asciam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos. *Valesius supposes this to be the same Ricimer, who became so famous in Theodosius's Reign: But that Conjecture is no otherways supported, than by the Likeness of the Names. A Medal is likewise extant, with this Circumscription:*

THEUTEMEREX,
and le Blanc, p. 44. attributes it to that Theode-

mir, whom Gregory mentions: Fredegarius relates indeed, in the Historia Francorum Epitomata, c. 9. some Circumstances, with more Accuracy than Gregory. For, after having related Castinus's Expedition against the Franks, he proceeds thus. Franci electum a se regem, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum, inquirentes diligenter, ex genere Priami Phrygi, & Francionis super se creant, nomine THEODEMEREM, FILIUM RICHEMERIS, qui in hoc prælio, quod supra memini, a Romanis interfectus est. Substituatur filius ejus CHLODIO in regnum. But this Author is so negligent and fabulous in the ancient History, before his Time, that we cannot rely on his Testimony.

§. XLV. (1) *The Author of the Gesta Francorum, after having related Pharamond's Election, proceeds thus: Tunc & legem habere cœperunt, quem consiliarii eorum priores gentiles, his nominibus WISOVAST, WISOGAST, AROGAST, SALEGAST, in villabus Germaniæ, ex sunt BODECHEIM, SALECHEIM; & WILDECHEIM tractaverunt. Sigebertus Gemblacensis places this in the Year 422, apud Pistorium T. 1. p. 493. Franci uti cœperunt legibus, & legem Salicam dictaverunt per quatuor gentis suæ proceres, electos ex pluribus, his appellatos nominibus, USOGAST, BOSOGAST, SALAGAST, WIDI-*

But, in the Preface to these Laws, no Mention is made of *Pharamond*; and we only find it there remark'd, that the *Franks*, while they were yet *Pagans*, after a previous Consultation, caused a perpetual Law to be drawn up, by certain Deputies, and enter'd into mutual Obligations for the Observation of it; that afterwards, when this Nation embraced the *Christian* Faith, it was amended in some Respects, and brought into its present Form, by *Childebert* and *Clotarius* his Sons (2). *Valesius* indeed suspects the Truth of this Account, and questions, whether the *Franks* had any written Laws before *Clovis's* Reign, and whether the *Salique* Laws were not at first established by that Prince? But his Conjecture is not of such Force, to induce us to discredit the said Preface, and ancient Tradition, so far as not, at least, to believe that the *Salique* Laws are more ancient than *Clovis's* Time. The Nature of them, as they contain nothing that seems above the Knowledge and Capacity of those Times, may serve as a Testimony of their Antiquity. The *German* Nations had, many Hundred Years before their Settlement in the *Roman* Provinces, their own Laws and Customs (3); whence

WIDIGAST: in villis Germaniæ S A L E-
CHEIM, BODACHEIM, WINGEHEIM,
hi quatuor proceres, per tres mallos convenientes,
causarum origines sollicitè tractantes, de singulis,
discutiendo, sicut LEX SALICA declarat, judicare
decreverunt. *Not to mention now, many others,
who follow this Opinion.*

(2) PROLOGUS LEGIS SALICÆ: Gens Fran-
corum inclyta, autore deo condita, fortis in armis,
firma pacis fœdere, profunda in consilio, corpore
nobilis & incolumis, candore & forma egregia,
audax, velox, & aspera, nuper ad catholicam
fidem conversa, immunis ab hæresi, dum adhuc
teneretur barbarie, inspirante deo inquirens scien-
tiæ clavem, juxta morum suorum qualitatem desi-
derans justiciam, custodiens pietatem, dictaverunt
SALICAM LEGEM proceres ipsius gentis, qui
tunc temporis apud eandem erant rectores. Sunt
autem electi de pluribus viri quatuor, his nomini-
bus, WISOGAST, BODOGAST, SALOGAST
& WINDOGAST, in locis, quibus nomen SA-
LAGHEVE, BODOGHEVE, & WINDO-
GHEVE. Qui per tres mallos convenientes,
omnes causarum origines sollicitè discurrendo,
tractantes de singulis, judicium decreverunt hoc
modo. At ubi deo favente CLODOVEUS, co-
matus, & pulcher, & inclytus rex Francorum

primus recepit catholicum baptismum, quidquid
minus in pacto habebatur idoneum, per præcellos
reges CLODOVEUM, & CHILDEBERTUM
& HLOTARIUM fuit lucidius emendatum,
ET PROCURATUM DECRETUM HOC.

(3) VALESIIUS *rerum Francicarum*, T. i. p. 119.
Mihi quidem similitudo nominum cum latorum le-
gis, tum locorum, in quibus condita dicitur, sus-
pecta semper fuit: neque existimavi, cum Bur-
gundiones, Vesigothi, Ostrogothi, & Langobar-
di non prius leges scriptas habuerint. quam hi in
Gallia, illi in Italia confedissent, legem Salicam
in Germania Francis fuisse descriptam: [quæ uti-
que, Faramundo regante, Germanicis conscribi
litteris, & a subsequentibus regibus post occupa-
tam Galliam lingua latina verti debuit. At hu-
jus conversionis nemo mentionem fecit. Quare
ut Gundobadus Burgundionibus, Vesigothis Theo-
doricus posterior, aut ut aliqua arbitrantur, Euri-
cus, Ostrogothis Theodoricus, Lotharius Lango-
bardis, regnis jam diuturnitate confirmatis, jura
latine describere: sic Chlodoveus regnum primo,
deinde & legem Salicam, quam in præmio legis
correxisset tantum dicitur, videtur condidisse: cujus
filius Theodoricus legum Francorum, cognomi-
ne Ripuariorum, Alamannorum, ac Bajoariorum
autor fuit.

N n n

likewise

likewise their Kings are frequently call'd *Judices*. These Customs, as described by *Tacitus*, are apparent throughout all the *Salique Laws* (4), and the unciviliz'd Manners of that Nation is evident, by their tending principally to prevent Murder, Rapine, Violence and other Crimes whereby the Publick Tranquility of a Nation is chiefly disturb'd, and which are the first Foundations of Laws. The most probable Conjecture, therefore, is, that the *Salii* who were one of the first Nations of the *Franks*, who pass'd the *Rhine*, brought their Laws into some Form, before *Clovis's* Time. So many Persons of Distinction, of that Nation, who were in the Service of the *Romans*, at Court, and in the Army, and there learnt the Advantage of Order and Policy, might easily induce a Nation to bring their establish'd Customs, as it were, into a certain Law: And whatever Obscurity and Uncertainty the more particular Circumstances of Time and Place, in which those *Salique Laws* were made, may labour under, it is nevertheless a laudable Indication of ancient Liberty, that they were made by the Advice, and with the Consent of the whole Nation: And the *Franks* are certainly to be commended, that they chose rather to make a common Law themselves, according to their Exigencies, and agreeable to the Maxims of their State, than to borrow the Statutes of other Nations, which were perhaps not adapted to their Condition, or which one Part of the Nation might have made Use of, to lay a Yoke on the other. When *Clovis* afterwards subdued the greatest Part of *Gaul*, and brought the whole Nation of the *Franks* under his Dominion, the *Salique Laws* were, in some Articles, amended, and came in such Esteem, that the ancient *Romans* could not have a greater Regard for their Twelve Tables, than the *Franks* had for these *Leges Salicae* (5).

Honorius
makes *Constantius* his
Partner in the
Empire.

§ XLVI. *HONORIUS*, at Length, admitted *Constantius*, A. 421 (1), to a Share in the Empire (2): *Olympiodorus*, indeed, observes, that he did it with some Reluctance (3): But *Constantius* had, for several Years,

(4) See above, Lib. 2. § 38.

(5) See the *ABBE' de VERTOT's discours sur l'origine des loix Saliques, in the Memoires de Literature, T. 4. p. 333, & 336.*

§ XLVI. (1) This Computation is confirm'd by *TILLEMONT*, not. 46, ad vit. *Honorii*.

(2) *PHILOSTORGIUS*, Lib. 12. n. 10. *Honorius* imperator *Constantium* magistrum militum, ob affinitatis honorem ad imperiale sceptrum &

tronum adscivit, cum jam *Placidia* ipsi ad *Valentinianum* filium edidisset, cui & nobilissimi dignitatem *Honorius* tribuit. Ceterum *Constantii* imagines (ut moris erat iis, qui ad imperium recenter promoti erant, agere) mittuntur in orientem. Verum *Theodosius* inaugurationi non acquiescens, eas non suscepit. Quare cum *Constantius* sese ob hanc injuriam ad bellum pararet, mors vitam, curasque sistens mutationem præbuit, cum imperasset menses sex.

(3) *OLYMPIODORUS*, p. 12. D. *Constantius* Hono-

Years, and especially after his Marriage with *Placidia*, presided in the Administration. *Placidia* was, at the same Time, declared *Augusta*, and *Valentinian*, who then was probably about two Years of Age, created *Cæsar* (4): *Constantius* seem'd therefore design'd alone to gather the Fruits of so many Wars: But when *Honorius* sent his Picture to the East, *Theodosius* would neither acknowledge him nor *Placidia*, in that Dignity. *Constantius* therefore armed himself, and every necessary Preparation was made for a Civil War between the two Lines of the Imperial House, (which seem'd to be the only Misfortune *Honorius's* Reign had not experienced) when *Constantius* died, the same Year, at *Ravenna* (5). His Death, indeed, paved the Way to a Peace between the two Courts, but deprived *Honorius* of the principal Support of his Government, which was, soon after, by his Imbecility, involv'd in fresh Difficulties.

§ XLVII. THE Dissentions of the German Nations, who had settled in Spain, had almost given the Romans an Opportunity, the more easily to execute their Designs, of recovering what they had lost. After the Overthrow of the *Alani* and *Silingi*, of which we have given an Account above, only the *Vandals*, properly so call'd, and the *Suevi*, remained in that Country. A Difference happen'd now, between *Gundaric*, King of the *Vandals*, and *Hermanaric*, King of the *Suevi*, which induced the former to declare War against the latter, in Hopes, perhaps, of subduing the *Suevi*, and to obtain afterwards, with more Ease, the Dominion of Spain (1). He had already enclosed the *Suevi*, in the Mountains, between

War of the
Vandals and
Suevi in Spain.

N n n 2

Leon

Honorii in augustali imperio collega fuit, ab illo quidem ipso, pene repugnante constitutus. Placidia quoque augusta a fratre & marito dicta est: deinde ad Theodosium, qui fratre Honorii genitus orientis partibus augustus imperabat, de Constantii imperatoris electione nuncius mittitur, minimeque receptus est. Hinc morbum Constantius contraxit, suscepti pœnitens imperii, quod non jam ut antea, eundi redeundique quo & quando vellet, libertas esset: neque ludicris, ut moris ejus erat, operam dare jam imperatori permitteretur. Igitur septimo imperii mense (quemadmodum & insomnium sic indicaverat, sextus abiit, septimus inchoatur,) pleuritide extinctus est. Extincta simul cum ipso in oriente ira, atque expeditione, quam, quod ad imperii societatem admittus non esset, animo agitabat.

(4) OLYMPIODORUS. See the Quotation in the preceding third Note. Some place the Promotion of Placidia and Valentinian, after Honorius's Decease, in the Year 424. MARCELLINUS, in chr. VICTORE & CASTINO COSS. Placidia mater Valentiniani augusta nuncupata est. Valentinianus; Cæsar creatus, Theodosii imp. Eudoxiam filiam sibimet desponsavit.

(5) See the foregoing third Note.

§ XLVII. (1) IDATIUS, in chronico ad A. HONORII XXV. (419.) says, Inter Gundericum Vandalorum, & Hermericum Suevorum reges certamine orto, Suevi in NERVASIS MONTIBUS obsidentur a Vandalis. MARIANA says, Lib. 5. p. 192. that these Montes Nervasi were situate between Leon and Oviedo. Hos Montes Legionem inter & Ovetum, A R V A S hoc tempore vocari,

Leon and Oviedo, when the Approach of *Asterius*, whom *Idatius* calls *Comes Hispaniarum*, oblig'd him to quit *Gallicia*, and to retire into *Bætica*, after having lost some Men at *Braga*, which Place then belonged to *Gallicia* (2).

The Vandals
beat the Ro-
man General
Castinus.

§ XLVIII. *CASTINUS*, who, as *Comes Domesticorum*, command-
ed, A. 421, the Army against the *Franks*, and was afterwards created
Magister Militiæ, marched out against them, with a formidable Army,
Part of which consisted of powerful Auxiliaries from the *Goths* (1). *Bo-
nifacius*, a renowned General, who had before defended *Marseilles* against
Ataulph, was to be next to him in Command. But *Castinus*'s Arrogance
was so intolerable to him, that he declin'd this Expedition, and went to
Africa (2), where, after some Years, he enter'd into those Treaties with
the *Vandals*, the Consequence of which was the Loss of that whole Pro-

vocari, pervetusto monasterio nobiles, quidam
arbitrantur, & Ptolemæo Narbasos esse. POX-
ARDO likewise calls them, in his *Corona Gotica*,
p. 45. Montes Ervasos entre Leon, y Oviedo.

(2) *IDATIUS* ad A. HONORII XXVI. (420.)
Vandali, Suevorum obsidione dimissa, instante
Asterio, Hispaniarum comite, & sub vicario Mau-
rocello, aliquantis Bracaræ in exitu suo occisis,
relicta Gallæcia, ad Bæticam transierunt.

§ XLVIII. (1) *IDATIUS*, ad A. HONORII
XXVIII. (422.) *Castinus*, magister militum, cum
magna manu, & auxiliis Gothorum, bellum in
Bætica Vandalis infert; quos cum ad inopiam vi-
obsidionis arctaret, adeo ut se tradere jam para-
rent, inconsulto publico certamine confligens,
auxiliorum fraude deceptus, ad Tarraconam vic-
tus effugit. *SALVIANUS*, L. 7. p. 165. relates this
Affair with some other Circumstances, and does not
mention, that the Auxiliaries acted in the least trea-
cherously: For, after having previously related, L.
7, the bad Success of *Litorius* against the *Goths*,
he proceeds, p. 142. thus: Non dissimiliter autem
illud etiam apud *Wandalos*: ad quos cum in
Hispania sitos nostra pars pergeret, tantamque ad
debellandos eos præsumptionis fiduciam ferret,
quantam etiam proxime ad *Gothos*, pari super-
biæ fastu, pari exitu corruerunt. Venitque super
exercitum nostrum illud prophetæ dictum: Ob-
ruet dominus confidentiam tuam, & nihil habebis

prosperum. Considebamus enim in sapientia no-
stra & fortitudine, contra Dei mandata, dicentis:
Non gloriatur sapiens in sapientia sua, nec fortis
in fortitudine sua: sed in hoc gloriatur qui glori-
atur, scire & nosse me, quia ego sum Dominus.
Non immerito itaque victi sumus. Ad meliora
enim se illi subsidia contulere, quam nostri. Nam
cum armis nos atque auxiliis superbiremus, a
parte hostium nobis liber divinæ legis occurrit.
Ad hanc enim præcipue opem timor & perturbatio
tunc *Wandalica* confugit, ut seriem nobis cœlestis
eloquii opponeret, & adversum venientes æmulos
suos sacri voluminis scripta, quasi ipsa quodam-
modo divinitatis ora, referaret. Hic nunc requi-
ro, quis hoc unquam a nostris partibus fecerit,
aut quis non inrisus fuerit si putasset esse facien-
dum? inrisus utique, sicut a nostris omnia ferme
religiosa ridentur.

(2) *PROSPER* in chronica consulari: HONORIO
XIII. & THEODOSIO X. Coss. (A. 422.) says,
Hoc tempore exercitus ad Hispanias contra
Vandalos missus est, cui *Castinus* dux fuit: qui
Bonifacium virum bellicis artibus præclarum in-
epto & injurioso imperio ab expeditionis suæ soci-
etate avertit. Nam ille periculosum sibi atque
indignum ratus eum sequi, quem discordem super-
bientemque expertus esset, celeriter se ad portum
urbis, atque inde ad Africam proripuit: idque
reipublicæ multorum laborum initium fuit.

vince.

vince. *Castinus* met, at first, with all the Success he wish'd ; but, when they came to a pitch'd Battle, Fortune forsook him : The *Vandals* defeated the *Roman* Army, and *Castinus* himself fled to *Tarragona* (3). The *Vandals* became hereupon the more famous, as they had vanquish'd the united Forces of the *Romans* and *Goths*.

§ XLIX. THE Wounds, which *Italy* had received from foreign Na-^{The Death of} tions, scarce begun to heal, when they had like to have been torn open ^{*Honorius*. A} again, in a more dangerous Manner. *Honorius* had, for some Time, lived ^{Comparison} in so great a Confidence with his Sister *Placidia*, that the Court began to ^{between the} murmur at it : But *Placidia*'s Female Retinue soon ruin'd all, and *Hono-* ^{*German* and *Roman* Powers} *rius*'s Excess of Love was converted into as great a Degree of Hatred. The Court was divided into Factions, as were also the Lieutenants of the Provinces, among whom *Bonifacius* adher'd constantly to *Placidia*'s Party, and, at *Ravenna*, they came to actual Hostilities. *Placidia* had still many *Goths* and other Foreigners in her Service, and *Honorius*'s Party was apprehensive of some Intrigues from that Quarter. *Honorius* had, however, still the Advantage of her, and *Placidia* was obliged, together with her Children, to quit the Court (1). *Honorius* himself died soon after †† A. 423. M. at *Ravenna* (2), in the 39th Year of his Age. His Reign is, as it were, ^{Augusto.} the Theatre on which the *German* Power struggled with that of the *Romans*. Historians impute, in a great Measure, the Decay of the *Roman Empire* to his Imbecility (3). And indeed, no one can possibly form to himself so advantageous an Idea of *Honorius*, as of *Alaric*, *Ataulph* and some other *German* Heroes, who, during this Period, founded new Kingdoms. The *Germans*, in these Occurrences, in general, display'd as great Proofs of their *Genius*, as of their Valour. If it should be objected, that they were yet, in some Measure, savage and ungovernable, I reply, that so

(3) See the preceding first Note.

§ XLIX. (1) OLYMPIODORUS, p. 13. D. says : Honorii erga sororem insita affectio tanta fuit, ex quo Constantius ejus maritus vita decessit, ut perdit nimis amando, & assidue os ejus osculando, turpis apud multos consuetudinis suspicionem non effugerit. Sed hic amor in tantum brevi vertit odium, allaborantibus Spadusa atque Elpidia, Placidiae nutrice, quibus illa tribuebat plurimum, adjutante item ipsas Leonteo illius curatore, ut & seditiones Ravennae frequenter existerent (adhærebat enim ipsi adhuc barbarorum turba, cum ex Adaulphi, tum ex Constantii imperatoris conjugii) & vulnera etiam utrimque

inferrentur. Donec tandem ad eas ipsas inimicitias, & priori amor par nunc odium, Constantinopolim Placidia, fratre prævalente, cum liberis ablegatur. Solus Bonifacius fidem illi servans, cum ex Africa, cui præerat, pecuniam, ut poterat, submitit, tum ad alia ei obsequia præsto fuit. Qui post etiam, ut ad imperium hæc rediret, nihil non fecit, tulitque. PROSPER, in chron. A. Honorii 31. says only, in few Words ; Placidia cum infidias fratri tenderet, deprehensa est, & Romam exilio delegata. CASSIODORUS, in chron. Marianus & Asclepiodotus consules. His coſſ. Placidia augusta a fratre Honorio, ob suspicionem invitatorum hostium, cum Honorio & Valentiniano filiis ad orientem mittitur.

many

many Vices, then unknown to the *Germans*, were in Vogue among the *Romans*, that it would not be an improper Question, which of the two Nations were properly the *Barbarians*? The ancient Inhabitants of the conquer'd Countries ridicul'd sometimes, among themselves, the Manner of Speech, Habits, and Open-heartedness of their new Lords; but when it came to the Point, the *Roman* embroider'd Cloaths were oblig'd to truckle to the *German* Skins. I have, already, given some Instances, that after the first Apprehensions were over, the Provinces themselves were pleas'd with the Revolution, of which I shall give more Examples in the Sequel.

Conversion of
the *German*
Nations.

§ L. As for the State of Religion among the *German* Nations, during this Period, the *Franks*, *Alemanni*, *Saxons*, and other Nations, who remained behind in *Germany*, were still involved in the Obscurity of *Paganism*. Of the *Wisi-Goths*, I observed before, that they were Profelytes to *Arianism*. The *Vandals* seem likewise to have been *Christians*, before they pass'd the *Rhine*; but it is almost uncertain, whether they were then already fallen into the Errors of *Arius*, or were first seduced to that Schism by *Genferic* (1). The *Burgundians* were not baptiz'd, 'till they were in *Gaul* (2): And the *Suevi*, in all Appearance, were likewise not converted to the *Christian* Faith, 'till they invaded the *Roman* Provinces. We find, at least, no Tokens of their Conversion, excepting those, which only concern the *Marcomanni* (3): But whether these Nations were very much edified, by their Conversion, is a Question: For, when the Teachers were no longer contented with gaining Converts by Conviction, and good Example, but by Force drew People into their Churches, many *Pagan* Superstitions, at the same Time, crept in. Whoever reads the

(2) V. TILLEMONT, p. 1366.

(3) VALESIIUS has contracted all that can be said on this Head, in the following Declaration, L. 3. p. 118. Quem hominem, ut ex ortu tot tyrannorum, & ex tot gentium incurfionibus intelligitur: & a suis & a barbaris ob defidiam contemptum, omni Gallia ac Hispania propemodum amissa, in Italia latuisse, de salute magis quam de imperio sollicitum, nec umquam Alpes transire ausum esse, nemo non mirabitur: qui animadverterit Fl. Valerium Constantium, & insequentes imperatores, aut imperatoribus absentibus cæsares, raro Gallia excessisse; in repellendis continuis Francorum & Alamannorum bellis occupatos, &c.

§ L. (1) IDATIUS relates Genferic's Apostacy from the Catholick Church into the Errors of Arianism. See his Words below, B. 9. § 5. not. 1. The Spaniards, on the contrary, produce, in their Ecclesiastical History, several Persons who suffer'd for the Catholick Faith among the Vandals, whilst they liv'd in Spain: But others have made several Objections to these Accounts. Conf. RUYNART in commentario de persecutionis Vandalicæ ortu, &c. cap. 2.

(2) See above, § 38.

(3) See above, B. 7. § 39.

Accounts

Accounts given by *Austin*, *Jerom*, and particularly *Salvianns*, of the *Christians* of their Time, would be ready to imagine, that the Churches, by Reason of the many Controversies about Articles of Faith, had but little Time left to think of the Reformation of Manners (4).

(4) ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS, *in dedicatoria* ac pœne tot erant symbola, quot professores. *tom. II. operum Hieronymi, ad archiepiscopum* Admiscebant sese rebus hisce, ita ut sit, privata. *Canuariensem, speaks thus of this Matter.* At illa hominum studia, & sub fidei prætextu, impie-
tate in chartis erat fides potius, quam in animo, similitates exercebantur.



T H E

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H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K IX.

The History of the G E R M A N S, to the Conclusion of
the War with the H U N N S.

SECT. I. **T** H E *Beginning of* Valentinian's Reign. II. Theodoric, *King of the Wisi-Goths, makes War with the Romans. A Peace ensues.* III. The Vandals *pillage the Balearian Isles; and take Hispalis and Carthagenæ.* IV. Boniface *decoys the Vandals to Africa.* V. Genseric *goes to Africa.* VI. The Juthungi *invade Rætia. Commotions in Noricum.* VII. Ætius *marches to the Rhine, against the Franks. Of King Clodius.* VIII. *Transactions of Hermanaric with the ancient Inhabitants of Gallicia.* IX. *Success of the Vandals in Africa.* X. *Changes at the Court of Rome. Ætius takes Refuge among the Hunns; but returns to Court.* XI. The Burgundians *invade Belgica, but are defeated by Ætius.* XII. *An Army of Alemanni serve the Romans against the Armorici, in Gaul.* XIII. *A fresh War with the Wisi-Goths. Ætius employs the Hunns against them.* XIV. The Wisi-Goths *beat the Roman General, Litorius. A Peace ensues.* XV. The Alani *obtain a settled Habitation in the Country about Valence.* XVI. Genseric *takes Carthage.* XVII. *Persecutes the Orthodox Christians, in Africa.* XVIII. *Makes an Attempt upon Sicily.* XIX. *The Peace with the Vandals is renewed.* XX. Herma-

Hermanaric resigns the Crown to Rechila, his Son. The Suevi extend themselves throughout Bætica. XXI. Clodio takes Cambray. Is beaten by Ætius, on the Frontiers of Artois. The State of Triers, Mentz and Cologn. XXII. Continuation of the History of the Hunns. XXIII. Attila's Descent, Court and Character. XXIV. His Preparations against Gaul. XXV. Of the German Nations, which were in his Army; what Route he took? XXVI. Contentions among the Franks, in which he interfered. XXVII. Makes an Inroad into Gaul, reaches Orleans. XXVIII. The Battle of Chalons on the Marne. Attila's Overthrow. XXIX. The Event of the Civil Broils among the Franks. Of King Meroveus. XXX. Whether Attila was ever in the present Thuringia? Origin of the Thuringians. XXXI. Attila invades Italy. Origin of the City of Venice. XXXII. Valentinian enters into a Treaty with Attila. Pope Leo goes to him as Ambassador. A Peace made with the Hunns. XXXIII. Attila makes War with the Alani; and is defeated by the Wisi-Goths. XXXIV. What occasion'd the Saxons going to Britain. XXXV. Foundation of the Saxon Kingdoms in that Island.

§ I. **A**S the preceding Book has treated of the Foundation of the German Kingdoms in the Roman Provinces, the Continuation of their History; the Transmigration of the Vandals into Africa; the Wars of the Hunns, and the Settlement of the Angles and Saxons in Britain, points out, as it were, a new Period. These Occurrences all happen'd, during the Reign of Valentinian III, in the West. After the Death of Honorius, John assumed the Imperial Title: But the Grecian Court took the Part of Valentinian, for whom Boniface likewise declared in Africa. John was but just set aside, when those Hunns arrived, on whom he had very much depended. Ætius had undertaken to procure him these Auxiliaries; but now, finding his Design was frustrated, he made Use of these Hunns to make good Terms for himself: For the Court promised to forget his late Procedure, if he could persuade the Hunns to return Home. Ætius prevail'd, and soon became the principal Support of this new Government. Valentinian went thereupon to Rome, where, on the 23d of October, 425, Helion, a Patricius and Magister Officiorum, whom Theodosius had sent thither for that Purpose, presented him the Imperial Crown (*).

The Beginning of Valentinian's Reign

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§ II. THE

§ I. (*) SOCRATES, L. 7. c. 24. Theodosius in Italiam iter facere maturabat, ut consobrinum hunc suum consobrinum, cæsarem renunciatum, declararet imperatorem, suaque prudentia Italos, ad partes occidentis misit, rerum administratione ne tyrannis facile obsecundarent, coram erudiret, matri Placidia concredita. Postea dum ille ipse Thessalonicam profectus, morbo, ne longius iret, prepe-

Theodoric, King of the Wisi-Goths, makes War with the Romans. A Peace ensues.

§ II. THE speedy Quelling of this Commotion was the more advantageous to *Valentinian*, because *Theodoric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, who had, in the mean Time, succeeded *Wallia*, declared War against the *Romans*. We do not find his Motives; but only, that in the Year 425, the *Goths* besieged *Arles*, and *Ætius* relieved that City (1): But the Peace and Alliance was probably soon after renewed (2); for, we find that, in the Year 427, a good Understanding subsisted between those two Nations, and that the King of the *Goths* assisted the *Romans*, in Person, in their War with the *Vandals* in *Spain* (3).

The Vandals take Hispalis and Carthage.

§ III. THE latter were the more encourag'd by their late Victory over the *Romans*, because the Defence, on their Part, by Reason of the Divisions in the Empire, after the Decease of *Honorius*, was greatly weaken'd.

præpeditus fuit. Per Helionem igitur, patricium, corona imperatoria ad consobrinum missa, ille ipse Constantinopolim revertitur. OLYMPIODORUS, p. 15. Remissa est Constantinopoli a Theodosio Placidia cum liberis, adversus Joannem tyrannum: & illa quidem augustæ nomen, Valentinianus vero nobilissimi titulum iterato suscepit. Submissus quoque exercitus, bellicque imperator utriusque militiæ, Ardaburius nimirum cum filio Aspare, addito & tertio Candidiano. Ad Thesalonicensem cum ventum esset, Helion officiorum magister a Theodosio missus, Valentinianum in ipsa illa urbe cæsaris veste induit, annos natum non amplius quinque. Cum autem ad Italiam pervenissent, Ardaburius a tyranni militibus capitur, missusque ad illum amicitiam cum eodem init. Ejus interim filius, Aspar, una cum Placidia in magna rerum desperatione luctuque versabantur. Sed Candidianus, multis occupatis urbibus, partaque rebus bene gestis nominis claritate, luctum dissipavit, animosque reddidit. Cæso dein Joanne tyranno, Placidia una cum Cæsare filio Ravennam iniit. Helion vero magister & patricius Romam invasit, omnibusque eo confluentibus, Valentinianum jam septennem veste induit imperatoria. PAGIUS, ad A. 424. n. 4. and A. 425. n. 2--6. takes Notice of the other Passages of the Ancients; and in particular confirms from thence the Circumstance, that Valentinian assumed the Purple at Rome.

ODOSIO IX. & VALENTINIANO COSS. (A. 426.) says: Arelas, nobile oppidum Galliarum, a Gothis multa vi oppugnatum est, donec, imminente Ætio, non impuniti abscederent.

(2) SIRMONDUS, in notis ad Sidonium, p. 57. and PAGIUS, ad A. 427. n. 20, apply to this Peace the following Passage, which we find in Sidonii Panegyricus Aviti. (Carm. 7.) v. 214. seq.

— Ducis hinc pugnas, & fœdera regum
Pandere Roma libet. Variis incussa procellis
Bellorum, regi Gethico, tua Gallia, pacis
Pignora jussa dare est: inter quæ nobilis,
obses

Tu, Theodore, venis, quem pro pietate
propinqui

Expetis, in media pelliti principis aula
Tutus, Avite, fide, probat hoc jam Theodori altum

Exemplum officii, res mira & digna relatu
Quod fueris blandus regi placuisse feroci.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 33. says: Videns Vallia Vandalos in suis finibus, id est, Hispaniæ solo, audaci temeritate ab interioribus partibus Galliciæ (ubi eos fugaverat [dudum Ataulfus] egressos, cuncta in prædas vastare, eo tempore, quo HIERIUS & ARDABURIUS CONSULES (A. 427.) processissent, nec mora, mox contra eos movit exercitum. PAGIUS observes, that we must read Theodoric, instead of Wallia.

§ II. (1) PROSPER, in chron. consulari: THE-

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They ravag'd the *Balearian* Islands, and, about the Year 425, took *Hispalis*, now *Sevil*, the Capital of *Betica*, and *Carthagera* (1). As therefore every Thing went to their Wish, in *Spain*, it seems somewhat strange, that they should, so soon after, leave that Country, and go over into *Africa*.

§. IV. ACCORDING to *Procopius*, the Motive that induced them to this Transaction, was as follows: During *Valentinian's* Minority, when *Placidia* was at the Helm, the Administration was chiefly lodg'd in the Hands of *Ætius*, who was *Magister militum*; and *Boniface* Lieutenant in *Africa*. The Jealousy, subsisting between these two Ministers, prov'd as fatal in its Consequences, as they might both have been advantageous in the State, had it been govern'd by a Prince, capable of keeping them within Bounds. *Ætius*, who was excellent at Dissimulation, insinuated to the Empress, that *Boniface* was projecting Innovations, and persuaded her to recall him: At the same Time, under the Pretence of Friendship, he secretly warned *Boniface*, that his Enemies had set the Empress against him, and that, if he came to Court, his Life would be in Danger. When *Boniface* was therefore sent for to *Ravenna*, giving Credit to the Admonition given him by *Ætius*, he fell into the Snare laid for him by his pretended Friend, and involv'd the Province, entrusted to his Care, in his own unhappy Fate. He refused to obey this Order, and endeavour'd to put himself into such a Posture of Defence, not to be brought to a Compliance by Force. He invited *Gundaric* and *Gaijeric*, the two Princes of the *Vandals*, who then reigned in *Spain*, to come to *Africa*, on Condition, that they should divide the Province among them into three equal Shares, and if either should be attack'd, that they should stand by one another (1). He had been before well acquainted

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§ III. (1) *IDATIUS ad annum primum Valentiniani*. Vandali Balearicas insulas deprædantur. Deinde Carthagine Spartaria, & Hispali everfa, & Hispaniis prædatis, Mauritaniam invadunt.

§ IV. (1) *PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, L. 1. c. 3.* Duo Romani duces erant, *Ætius* & *Bonifacius*, validi ambo, bellicæ rerum peritia secundi ætatis suæ nemini. His æmulatus circa civile regimen intercedebant. Cæterum tanta erat animi magnitudo, virtutesque aliæ, ut, si quis utrumvis Romanorum ultimum dicat, a vero non sit abiturus. Ita omnis Romana laus in illos

duos confluerat. Horum alterum, *Bonifacium*, *Placidia* toti præfecit Africæ: dolebat id *Ætio*, sed minime displicere sibi rem ostendebat. Nondum enim in apertum odia proruperant, sed sub persona amicitiae tegebantur. Profectum jam in Africam *Bonifacium* criminari apud *Placidiam* *Ætius* cœpit ut regni appetitiorem, & ipsi & imperatori Africam erepturum. Nec rem exploratu difficilem. Si enim Romam *Bonifacium* vocaret, non venturum. Hæc ut audiit femina, laudatum *Ætii* consilium sequitur. At occupat jam *Ætius* clam scribere *Bonifacio*, matrem imperatoris insidias ipsius in exitium struere, ejus rei indicium prædixit, fore ut sine causa subito re-

vocare-

acquainted with the *Vandals*, which proved, perhaps, on this Occasion, of Advantage to him: For, by a Letter written to him by *S. Austin*, it appears, that he, not long before, fetch'd a Wife from that Country, who had so great an Influence over him, that tho' at her Nuptials she was obliged to profess the *Catholic* Faith, the Daughter, he had by her, was nevertheless baptized by the *Arians* (2).

Genferic goes to Africa.

§ V. *GUNDARIC* died, *A.* 428, before the Matter was ripe (1). His Brother, *Genferic*, who, tho' a natural Son, obtain'd the Dominion of the whole Nation, alone undertook the Expedition (2). This Prince was

vocaretur. Hæc erant, quæ literis ipsius continebantur. Quibus neutiquam spretis Bonifacius, simul aderant, qui ipsum ad imperatorem accirent, negavitse aut imperatori, aut matri ejus pariturum, *Ætii* monita silentio premens. His *Placidia* intellectis, tam *Ætium* fidissimum principi credidit, quam suspectum habuit Bonifacium. Hic vero nec parem se imperatoris potentiae sentiens, nec salutem sperans, si Romam proficisceretur, consultare cœpit, quomodo Vandalos sibi adjungeret, qui *Africae* propinquam *Hispaniam* obtinebant. Mortuo ibi *Gotigisclo*, filii successerant duo, natus justa matre familias *Gontharis*, *Gizerichus* autem nothus: quorum ille ætate & ingenio secors; alter vero ad bella plurimum exercitus, & solertiae eximius. Missis igitur in *Hispaniam* Bonifacius de amicorum numero potissimis, cum ambobus *Godigisclo* filiis æquum iniit fœdus, ut cuique ipsorum tertia pars *Africae* cederet; quod si quis bello impeteretur, commune periculum esset. Hæc pacti, Vandalis fretum ad *Gades* transvecti, in *Africam* venerunt. *PAGIUS* ad *A.* 427. n. 2 & 3. and *RUYNART*, in *hist. persecutionis Vandalicæ*, confirm this Relation by farther Testimonies.

(2) *AUGUSTINUS*, *epist.* 220. c. 4. p. 618. Cum te esse in hoc proposito sciremus, navigasti, uxoremque duxisti. Sed navigasse obedientiae fuit, quam, secundum apostolum, debebas sublimioribus potestatibus: uxorem autem non duxisses, nisi susceptam deferens continentiam, concupiscentia victus esses. Quod ego cum comperissem fateor miratus obstupui: dolorem autem meum

ex aliqua parte consolabatur, quod audivi, te illam ducere noluisse, nisi prius catholica fuisset facta: & tamen hæresis eorum, qui verum filium Dei negant, tantum prævaluit in domo tua, ut ab ipsis filia tua baptizaretur. *We find besides, in this Epistle, likewise some Tokens, that Boniface had then broke with the Court.*

§ V. (1) This Computation is confirmed by *PAGIUS* ad *A.* 428. n. 2. But *Procopius* himself could not obtain a perfect Knowledge of the Circumstances of the Death of *Gundaric*, or *Gontharis*, as he always calls him. He says, *Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 184. D.* Jam enim *Gontharis* diem obierat, fratre autore mortis, ut fama est: cui refragantes Vandalis, in *Hispania* a Germanis captum in prælio, crucique affixum *Gontharin*, & Vandalos a *Gizericho*, cum solus regnaret, ductos in *Africam* fuisse, ferunt: sic a Vandalis ipsis accepti. *IDATIUS*, in *chron. ad A. VALENTINIANI IV.* *Gundericus*, rex Vandalorum, capta *Hispania*, cum impie elatus, manus in ecclesiam civitatis ipsius extendisset, mox dei judicio, dæmone correptus interiit. Cui *Gaisericus* frater succedit in regno. Qui, ut aliquorum relatio habet, effectus apostata de fide catholica, in *Arianam* dictus est transisse perfidiam.

(2) *PROCOPIUS*, *L. 1. c. 3. p. 184. A.* Mortuo *Godigisclo*, dominatum susceperunt ejus filii, *Gontharis*, ex justa uxore natus, & *Gizerichus* nothus: verum ille adhuc puer, & natura parum industrius, hic in armis optime exercitatus, ac mortalium omnium solertissimus. *Sidonius Apollinaris*,

was (3) one of the most renowned among those, who promoted the Subversion of the *Roman Empire* in the *West*, and discover'd Qualities, as excellent, in overthrowing, as the ancient Heroes had done in founding it. His whole Reign confirms the Character given of him by *Procopius* and *Jornandes*. They describe him of a middling Stature, and lame of one Foot; of profound Knowledge and few Words; Moderate; an Enemy of Pomp; Valiant and Experienced in all the Arts of War; no Undertaking appear'd too great to him, if it could serve, either to confirm, or to extend his Power; and he excell'd particularly in the Art of uniting or

linaris, in panegy. Majoriani (carm. 5.) represents Africa as speaking thus: v. 56.

—— Venio pars tertia mundi
Infelix felice uno. FAMULA SATUS
olim
Hic PRÆDO, & dominis extinctis, bar-
bara dudum
Sceptra tenet, tellure mea, penitusque fu-
gata
Nobilitate furens, quod non est, non amat
hospes.

(3) *The Account* Mareschalcus Thurius gives of Genferic, in the *Annales Herulorum*. Lib. 2. c. 18. is very defective, if compar'd with the *Ancients*. Genfericus, homo magnanimus & inter hæc sævus, successit. Eudoxiam cum filiabus binis Roma abduxit, quarum alteram Trasimundo filio suo conjugem dedit. Treviros quoque eum cœpisse quidam scribunt, martyrio ibi multos consecrasse, ac dein in Aphricam reversum vita ibi functum, anno ut putant regni septimo ac trigesimo, relicto domi Visilao inter cæteros filios. Lib. 3. c. 20. he has somewhat amended it: Genfericus illi successit, homo longe prudentissimus, qui cum Vandalorum millibus octo Hispanias intravit, Carthaginem urbem, olim potentissimam iterum cæpit, anno quingentesimo trigesimo quinto posteaquam cœperat esse Romanis subiecta, ibique annos triginta septem regnavit. Erat tunc in Hispaniis Vallias rex, Vandalorum hostis acerrimus, regnum & ipse affectans, qui Bonifacii comitis interventu, ab Honorio principe missi, sic pacati, ut ordine, cæterum re inturbata, reg-

narent, imperio ad Genfericum primo relato. Egyptum ergo ille ac Ethiopiam sibi subjugavit. Siciliam classe ingressus vastavit, a qua in Aphricam rursus transfretavit. Depravatus inter hæc impietate Ariana, fidem omnino Christianam molitus est subvertere, a quo quum Hippona urbs obsidione sævissima cingeretur, divus Aurelius Augustinus in fata concessit. Mox subacta Aphrica universa, Siculos & Apulos adiit, flamma ac ferro viam sibi aperuit, quem Eudoxa, Theodosii junioris filia, Valentiniani cæsaris defuncti conjux, in Italiam adversus Maximi tyrannidem accersit. Urbem vacuum ingressus, quamvis natura sanguinarius a cede temperavit, sacris pepercit, igne abstinuit. Leonis, pontificis tum summi monitis placatus, tredecim tantum diebus prædandam concedens, Maximo sub faxis interempto, abducta in Aphricam Eudoxa quam conjugem accepit, abductis & filiabus binis Eudocia & Placidia, e quibus illam Honorifico filio collocavit, hanc Olibrio imperatori Romano post facto. In Aphrica dein obiit, quum regnasset annos octo ac quatraginta, de quo Sidonius Apollinaris:

—— Hinc Vandalus hostis
Urget, & in nostrum numerosa classe quot-
annis
Militat exitium.

It appears yet more surprizing, when we read, L. 3. c. 16. that Stilico stil'd himself, after Rhadagaisus's Overthrow, Rex Vandalorum, and, L. 3. c. 26. that he makes Placidia a Princess of the Vandals.

dividing

dividing other Nations, just as it would contribute to his several Ends (4). He was hardly in Motion, when *Hermigarius*, a Prince of the *Suevi*, invaded the Country, which the *Vandals* had, 'till then, possess'd in *Spain*. But *Genferic* returned, and, when *Hermigarius* fled, he pursued and overtook him, not far from *Emerita*, at present *Merida*, and defeated him. *Hermigarius* was drown'd, in his Flight, in the River *Anas*, now call'd *Guadiana* (5). *Genferic* then continu'd his March to the *Streight* which divides *Africa* from *Spain*, from whence he went over to *Africa*, in the Month of *May*, *A.* 429. The Rumour of his Arrival caused so great a Terror, that the Bishops and Divines were preparing for their Flight before he landed; as appears from a Letter of *S. Austin*, Bishop of *Hippon*, in Answer to the Query, Whether it was lawful for a Bishop, or other Priest, to fly, on the Arrival of the *Vandals* (6). *Victor* says, that his whole Army consisted only of 80,000 Souls (7); and, according to *Procopius's* Account,

(4) *PRŌCOPĪUS's* Words have already been cited, not. 2. *Jornandes de rebus Getic. c. 33.* describes him in the following Relation: *Erat namque Gizericus, jam Romanorum clade in urbe notissimus, statura mediocris, equi casu claudicans, animo profundus, sermone rarus, luxuriæ contemtor, ira turbidus, habendi cupidus, ad sollicitandas gentes providentissimus, semina contentionum jacere, odia miscere paratus. Talis Africæ republicam, precibus Bonifacii, ut diximus, invitatus intravit, ubi, a divinitate (ut fertur) accepta autoritate, diu regnans, ante obitum suum filiorum agmen accitum ordinavit, ne inter ipsos de regni ambitione esset dissensio; sed ordine quisque & gradu suo fieret sequens successor, & rursus ei posterior ejus.*

(5) *IDATIUS in chronico ad annum VALENTINIANI V.* *Gaifericus rex de Bæticiæ provinciæ litore cum Wandalis omnibus, eorumque familiis, mense Maio ad Mauritaniam, & Africam, relictis transit Hispaniis. Qui priusquam pertransiret, admonitus, Hermigariam Suevum vicinas in transitu suo provincias deprædari, recursu cum aliquantis suis facto, prædantem in Lusitania consequitur. Qui haud procul de Emerita, quam cum S. Martyris Eulaliæ injuria spreverat, multis per Gaifericum cæsis, ex his quos secum habebat, arrepto, ut putavit, Euro velocius fugæ subsidio,*

flumine, Ana, divino brachio præcipitatus, interiit.

(6) *AUGUSTIN. in ep. 228. ad Honoratum data A. 428* *Quid est ergo, quod in epistola tua priore posuisti? Dicis enim, si in ecclesiis persistendum est, quid simus nobis vel populo profuturi non video, nisi ut ante oculos nostros viri cadant, fœminæ constuprentur, incendantur ecclesiæ, nos ipsi in tormentis deficiamus, cum de nobis quaeritur quod non habemus.*

(7) *POSSIDIUS in vit. S. Augustini, cap. 28.* *Divina, inquit, voluntate & potestate provenit, ut manus ingens diversis telis armata & bellis exercitata immanium gentium Vandalorum, & Alanorum, COMMIXTAM SECUM HABENS GOTTHORUM GENTEM, ALIARUMQUE DIVERSARUM PERSONAS, ex Hispaniæ partibus transmarinis, navibus Africæ influxisset & irruisset, universa per loca Mauritaniarum, etiam ad alias nostras transiens provincias & regiones, omni sæviens crudelitate & atrocitate, cuncta quæ potuit exspoliatione, cædibus, diversisque tormentis, incendiis, aliisque innumeralibus & infandis malis depopulata est: nulli sexui, nulli parcens ætati, nec ipsis dei sacerdotibus & ministris, nec ipsis ecclesiarum ornamentis, seu instrumentis, vel ædificiis. And lower, Videbat ille homo dei, SANCTUS AUGUSTINUS,*

Account, of those only 50,000 were Soldiers (8); But, by *Possidius*, we find that, besides the *Vandals* and *Alani*, there were likewise *Goths* and other *Germans* in his Service (9).

§ VI. THE Frontiers of *Rætia* seem'd, after the Departure of the *Vandals* and *Suevi*, to have been out of Danger, on the Side of the

The *Juthungi* invade *Rætia*. Commotions in *Noricum*.

TINUS, civitates excidio perditas, pariterque cum ædificiis villarum habitatores, alios hostili nece extinctos, alios effugatos, virginesque sacras, & quosque continentes ubique dissipatos; & in his alios tormentis defecisse, alios gladio interemtos esse, alios in captivitate, perdita animi & corporis integritate ac fidei, malo more ac duro, hostibus deservire; hymnos dei & laudes de ecclesiis deperisse ædificia ecclesiarum quam plurimis locis ignibus concremata, solemnia quæ deo debentur de propriis locis defuisse sacrificia, sacramenta divina vel non quæri, vel quærenti qui tradat non facile reperiri; in ipsas montium silvas & cavernas petrarum & speluncas confugientes, vel ad quasque munitiones, alios fuisse expugnatos & interfectos, alios ita necessariis sustentaculis evolutos atque privatos, ut fame contabescerent, ipsosque ecclesiarum præpositos & clericos, qui forte dei beneficio vel eos non incurrerant, vel incurrentes evaserant, rebus omnibus exspoliatos atque nudatos, egentissimos mendicare; nec eis omnibus ad omnia, quibus fulciendi essent, subveniri posse: vix tres superstites ex innumerabilibus ecclesias, hoc est Carthaginensem, Hipponensem, & Cirtensem, quæ dei beneficio excisæ non sunt, & earum permanent civitates, & divino & humano fultæ præsidio, licet post ejus obitum urbs Hipponensis incolis destituta ab hostibus fuerit concremata.

(8) VICTOR VITENSIS *de persecutione Vandalica*, Lib. 1. c. 1. Sexagesimus nunc, ut clarum est, agitur annus, ex quo populus ille crudelis ac sævus Vandalicæ gentis Africæ miserabilis attigit fines, transvadans facili transitu per angustias maris, qua inter Hispaniam, Africamque æquor hoc magnum & spatiosum, bisseis milibus angusto se limite coarctavit. Transiens igitur quantitas universa, calliditate Geiseri ducis, ut famam terribilem suæ faceret gentis, ilico

statuit omnem multitudinem numerari, quam huic luci ad illam usque diem uterus profuderat ventris. Qui reperti sunt senes, juvenes, parvuli, servi, vel domini, octoginta millia numerati. Qua opinione divulgata, usque in hodiernum a nescientibus armatorum tantis numerus æstimatur, cum sit nunc exiguus & infirmus. Invenientes igitur pacatam quietamque provinciam, speciositatem totius terræ florentis, quaquaversum, immutatis agminibus impetabant, devastando depulabantur, incendio atque homicidiis totum exterminantes. Sed nec arbutis fructiferis omnimode parcebant; nec forte quos antra montium, aut prærupta terrarum, vel seclusa quæque occultaverant, post eorum transitum illis pabulis nutrentur: & sic iterum, atque iterum tali crudelitate furentibus, ab eorum contagione nullus remansit locus immunis. Præsertim in ecclesiis basilicisque sanctorum, cœmeteriis vel monasteriis sceleratius sæviebant, ut majoribus incendiis domos orationis magis, quam urbes, cunctaque oppida concremarent. Ubi forte venerabilis aulæ clausas repererant portas, certatim ictibus dextralium, aditum referabant.

(9) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico*, Lib. 1. c. 5. Contributis in cohortes Vandalis & Alanis duces Gizericus non minus LXXX. præfecit, quos chiliarchos, seu mille virorum tribunos ideo nominavit, ut habere sub signis LXXX. bellatorum millia crederetur. Ac superiori quidem tempore Vandali atque Alani non excedere dicebantur L millia: deinde tamen, qua liberorum procreatione, qua societatis coitione cum aliis barbaris, eorum numerus maxime crevit. Porro in unum Vandalorum nomen Alani, cæterique barbari sua vocabula confuderunt, exceptis Mauris, quorum adeptus obsequia Gizericus a morte Valentiniani, in Siciliam atque Italiam, quotannis vere novo se invehebat.

Germans:

Germans: But, in the Year 430 (1), we find *Ætius* employed in an Expedition against the *Juthungi*, and quelling some Commotions in *Noricum*, in that as well as the next ensuing Year. *Avitus*, who afterwards attain'd to the Imperial Dignity, accompanied him in both Expeditions; and this it was, that occasioned *Sidonius* to mention them, in the Poem, compos'd in Honour of him (2).

Ætius
marches to
the *Rhine*,
against the
Franks.
Of King
Clodio.

§ VII. *ÆTIUS* was thereupon successful in an Expedition against the *Franks*. Some ancient Historians say, that he drove them back again out of the Country, which they at that Time possess'd, on the left Banks of the *Rhine* (1); which confirms the Conjecture, that in the Times of *Jovinus*, a Body of *Franks* cross'd the *Rhine* and established themselves there (2). According to *Idatius's* Account, he made a Peace with them in the Year 432 (3). More modern Historians generally place the Beginning of King *Clodio's* Reign about this Time (4): But if *Clodio* at this Time acceded to the Throne, and, in the Beginning of his Reign, was unfortunate in War with the *Romans*, he must either have retained; by Virtue of a Peace, a District in *Germania Inferior*, perhaps in the same Manner as the *Romans* granted another to the *Burgundians* in *Germania Superior*, or else must have recover'd himself again: We shall find him, some Years afterwards, making Incurfions as far as *Cambray*.

Transactions
of *Hermanaric*
with the an-
cient Inhabi-
tants of *Galli-*
cia.

§. VIII. THE Inhabitants of *Gallicia* had enter'd into certain Treaties with the *Suevi*, after they had settled themselves in their Country. Now

§ VI. (1) *IDATIUS ad A. VALENTINIANI VI. (430.)* Per *Ætium* comitem non procul de Arelate quædam Gothorum manus extinguatur, Anaulpho optimate eorum capto. *Jothungi* per eum similiter debellantur, & *Nori*. In the following Year he relates: *Ætius*, dux utriusque militiæ, *Noros* edomat rebellantes. Rursum *Suevi* initam cum *Gallæcis* pacem libata sibi occasione conturbant. Ob quorum deprædationem *Idatius* episcopus ad *Ætium* ducem, qui expeditionem agebat in *Galliis*, suscipit legationem.

(2) See not. 2 of § XI.

§ VII. (1) *PROSPER in chronico consulari FELICE & TAURO COSS. (A. 429.)* Pars *Galliarum* propinqua *Rheno*, quam *Franci* possident occupaverant, *Ætii* comitis armis recepta. *CASSIODORUS ad eundem annum*: *Ætius* multis

Francis cæsis, quam occupaverant, propinquam *Rheno Galliarum* partem recepit. *Idatius's Testimony relating to this may be seen below, § VIII. not. 2.*

(2) See in the foregoing Book, § XLIII. and XLIV.

(3) *IDATIUS ad A. Valentiniiani VIII.* Superatis per *Ætium* in certamine *Francis*, & in pace susceptis, *Censorius* comes legatus mittitur ad *Suevos*, supradicto secum *Idatio* redeunte.

(4) *PROSPER in chronico a Pithæo edito.* *Clodius* regnat in *Francia*. *Sigebertus* places the Beginning of this Reign, in the Year 430. *Pagius ad A. 428. n. 10. imagines that he begun to reign yet sooner.*

as under these Circumstances, in which the *Spaniards* and *Suevi* were, with Regard to each other, frequent Opportunities arose for Misunderstandings between them; so a new Treaty was indeed concluded, *A.* 430, but soon after broken (1). The *Gallicians* had Recourse to *Ætius* (2), who was at that Time in *Gaul*, and sent the Bishop *Idatius* (3), whose Chronicle, in this Part of our History, must be our surest Guide, to him. *Ætius*, after having humbled the *Franks*, so far took their Part, that, *A.* 432, he sent an Ambassador to King *Hermanaric* (4). How far this Embassy succeeded is uncertain: For that King did not make Peace with the *Gallicians* till the next Year, at the Intercession of several Bishops, after *Censorius's* Return (5). *Hermeric* himself sent an Ambassador to the Emperor; but to no Purpose (6).

§ IX. WE must here look back on the War in *Africa*. *Placidia* ^{Progress of the Vandals in Africa.} being apprized of *Boniface's* Innocence, endeavour'd to put a Stop to all Hostilities (1), and seems to have sent *Darius* to *Africa*, for that Purpose, as appears from the Encomiums given him by *St. Austin* (2). But *Boniface* could not now, by fair Means, prevail on the *Vandals* to return; and when the *Romans* attempted to force them to it, the *Vandals* carried the Day. They thereupon besieged *Hippon*, a famous strong City on the Coasts of *Numidia*: The Siege lasted 14 Months, and the *Van-*

§ VIII. (1) *IDATIUS ad A. Valentiniani VI.* (430.) *Suevi sub Hermerico rege medias partes Gallæciæ deprædantes, per plebem, quæ castella tutiora retinebat, acta suorum partim cæde, partim captivitate, pacem quam ruperant, familiarum quæ tenebantur, redhibitione instaurant. This Passage is, in some Measure, illustrated by Isidorus, who, in the Historia Suevorum, contracts the Transactions of several Years, in script. rerum Goth. p. 231. Vandalis autem transeuntibus Africam, Galliciam soli Suevi sortiti sunt, quibus præfuit Emericus annis quatuordecim. Galleci autem in parte provinciæ regno suo utebantur, quos Emericus assidua vastatione deprædans, tandem ob morbi dolorem pacem eis dedit.*

(2) *IDATIUS ad A. VII. Valentiniani.* *Rursum Suevi initam cum Gallæcis pacem libita sibi occasione conturbant, ob quorum deprædationem Idatius episcopus ad Ætium ducem, qui expeditionem agebat in Galliis, fuscipit legationem.*

(3) *Episcopus LEMICENSIS, others call him*

Episcopus Lucensis. Cardinal d' Aguirre, T. II. conciliorum Hispaniæ, p. 169 imagines, that he was Bishop of Lugo in Galicia; and took his Title of Lucensis from the City; that of Lemicensis from the Country, which was formerly call'd Lemica (now Lemia) and where the Capital Montforte di Lemos is. Antonius in Bibliotheca Hispan. vet. T. 1. p. 193, styles him Episcopus Lemicensis, and pretends that he was Bishop of Ponte de Lima, which Place was called Lemica.

(4) *IDEM. See above § VII. not. 3.*

(5) *IDEM ad A. Valentiniani IX.* *Regresso Censorio ad palatium, Hermericus pacem cum Gallæcis, quos prædabatur, assidue, sub inter-ventu episcopali, datis sibi reformat obsidibus.*

(6) *IDEM. IB.* *Symphosius episcopus per eum ad comitatum legatus missus, rebus incassum frustratur arreptis.*

§ IX. (1) *PROCOPIUS L. 3. p. 184. C.*

(2) *AUGUSTINUS ep. 229.*

P p p

dals

dals were, at last, obliged to raise it (3). *St. Austin*, of whom a Sermon is still extant, in which he administer'd Comfort to his Countrymen, under the Calamities of this War (4), liv'd to see this Siege, but died in the third Month of it. In the mean Time, a considerable Number of Troops were sent from *Rome* and *Bizantz*, to *Africa*, the latter of which were commanded by *Aspar*, *Magister militum*: But, when they came to a second Battle, *Boniface* and *Aspar* were again defeated by the *Vandals*. *Valentinian* found himself therefore at last oblig'd to make a Peace with them, at *Hippon*, in the Year 435, and to leave them in Possession of their Conquests in *Africa* (5). *Procopius* indeed says, that *Genseric* agreed to the Payment of a Tribute, and gave his Son *Honorius* for an Hostage (6). But, if we consider the Advantages obtain'd by *Genseric*, it is hardly probable.

Changes at
the Court of
Rome.

Ætius takes
Refuge among
the *Hunns*;
but returns to
Court.

§ X. DURING this War in *Africa*, great Changes happen'd in the Court at *Ravenna*. *Ætius* had indeed, by many fortunate Exploits and Negotiations, acquired great Honour and Esteem; but that rais'd a Suspicion at Court, that he would become too powerful. *Placidia* resolv'd therefore to humble one Faction by Means of another, and sent for *Boniface*, to whom, as I observed before, she was fully reconciled, from *Africa*, in Order to promote him to the Dignity of *Magister militum*, and set him in Opposition to *Ætius*. *Ætius* was belov'd by the Army, and had Reason to hope for any Assistance from the foreign

(3) PROCOPIUS, *l. c. p. 185. A.* Demum multo elapso tempore, postquam nec vi Hippo- nem regiam, nec conventionem in suam redigere potestatem valuerunt, illos ab obsidione fames abstraxit. *add. POSSIDIUS in vit. Augustini, c. 29.*

(4) AUGUSTINI *sermo de tempore barbarico, T. 6. p. 453.*

(5) PROSPER *in chronico consulari* Theodosio XV. & Valent. IV. Coss. (435.) Pax facta cum Vandalis, data eis ad habitandum per Trigetium, in loco Africæ Hippone III. idus Febr. CASSIODORUS *in chronico* to this very Year Theodosio XX. & Valentiniano VI. Coss. His Coss. pax facta cum Wandalis: data eis ad habitandum Africæ portione. ISIDORUS *says of this Peace, in hist. Vandalorum*: Cui [*scil. Genseric*] Valentinianus junior occidentis imperator, non valens subsistere, pacem mittit, & partem Africæ,

quam Vandali possederant, tanquam pacifico, dedit, conditionibus ab eo sacramenti acceptis, ne quid ultra invaderet.

(6) PROCOPIUS, *Lib. 1. c. 4. p. 186. B.* Tum autem acie victis Aspare & Bonifacio. sibi felicitatem e memorabili providentia Gizericus asseruit. Etenim veritus, ne, si alter contra ipsum exercitus Roma ac Byzantio mitteretur, non iisdem viribus Vandali, nec pari uterentur fortuna; cum ea sit rerum humanarum conditio, ut opem deo subtrahente ruant; & paritur cum corporibus senescant ac debilitentur, idcirco non elatus successu, sed metu provido animum & moderationem componens, pacem cum Valentiniano hac lege pepigit, ut ex Africa tributum annum imperatori mitteret: cujus pacti conventi obsidem e suis unum liberis tradidit Honoricum. Igitur Gizericus, re fortiter gesta in prælio, victoriam firmissime retinuit, itaque crevit amicitia, ut Honoricum filium receperit,

Nations,

Nations, whom the *Romans* had long been forc'd to employ. We have already given some Instances of the Friendship he supported with the *Hunns*: But his Wife seems to be descended from a *Gothick*, and probably a Royal House (1). He was therefore resolved not to give Way tamely, and, as it were, himself to lay his Head at the Feet of his Enemy; but had Recourse to Arms, for his Support. A Battle thereupon ensued, in which *Ætius* was indeed overcome; but *Boniface* was so sorely wounded, that he expired some few Days after. He was succeeded by *Sebastian* his Son in Law; but *Ætius* retreated among the *Hunns* in *Pannonia*, and so manag'd Matters, that, in the Year 434, he returned to Court, and *Sebastian* was sent into Exile (2).

§ XI. HE thereupon commanded the *Roman* Army, with as much The *Burgundians* invade *Belgica*; but are defeated by *Ætius*.
Glory as before: For when *Gundicar*, King of the *Burgundians*, about this Time invaded *Belgica*, he, in several bloody Battles, in the Year 435 and 436, subdued him (1). We find by *Sidonius's* Panegyrick, that *Avitus* was personally at these Expeditions, and that the *Hunns*, *Sarmatæ*, and several other *German* Nations, viz. *Heruli*, *Salii* and other *Franks*, fought, on the Side of the *Burgundians* (2).

§ X. (1) *SIDONIUS*, *carm.* V. v. 203. introduces her as saying:

Quid faciam infelix? nato quæ regna parabo
Excluso sceptris Geticis?

(2) See the Passages of the several Historians relating to this, in *Pagius*, ad A. 432. n. 18. & 20. and ad A. 434. n. 21.

§ XI. (1) *IDATIUS* ad A. *Valent.* XII. *Burgundiones* qui rebellaverant, a Romanis duce *Ætio* debellantur: And ad A. XIII. *Burgundionum* caesa viginti millia. *PROSPER* in *chron.* consulari contracts the whole Relation. *Theodosio* XV. & *Valentiniano* IV. Coss. (435.) Eodem tempore *Gundicarium*, *Burgundionum* regem, intra *Gallias* habitantem, *Ætius* bello obtrivit, pacemque ei supplicanti dedit, qua non diu potitus est: siquidem illum *Hunni* cum populo suo ac stirpe deleverunt, *CASSIODORUS* ad. e. a. *Cundicharium* *Burgundionum* regem *Ætius* bello subegit, pacemque ei reddidit supplicanti, quem non multo post *Hunni* peremerunt.

(2) *SIDONIUS* *carmine* VII. v. 230.

Ætium interea, *Scythico* quia sæpe duello
Edoctus, sequeris: qui quanquam celsus in
armis

Nil sine te gessit, cum plurima tu sine illo.
Nam post *Jothungos*, & *Norica* bella, subacto

Victor *Vindelico*, *BELGAM*, *BURGUNDIO* QUEM *TRUX*

PRESSERAT, absolvit junctus tibi. Vincitur illic

Cursu *Herulus*, *Chunus* jaculis, *Fancusque* natatu,

Sauromata clypeo, *Salius* pede, falce *Gelonus*,

Vulnere vel si quis plangit, cui flectere perisse est,

Ac ferro perarasse genas, vultuque minaci
Rubra cicatricum vestigia defodisse.

Sirmondus images indeed, in his Annotations, that the *Goths* likewise, at that Time, assisted the *Burgundians*; But it appears from *Sidonius*, that the *Gothick* War did not break out till after the *Burgundian*.

An Army of
Alemanni
serves the Ro-
mans against
the *Armorici*
in Gaul.

§ XII. I observed above, that the *Gallick Nations* in *Armorica*, laid hold of their Freedom, when, in the Times of *Honorius* and *Constantine*, they saw *Gaul* in the utmost Confusion (1): *Ætius* had a Mind now to reduce them to their former Subjection, and made Use of the Assistance of *Eocharich*, a King of the *Alemanni*, who invaded *Armorica*, and laid the Country waste (2). *Pagius* supposes that Prince and his Subjects to have possess'd a District on the *Loire*, in like Manner as the *Burgundians* and other *German Nations* had obtained in the *Roman Provinces* (3): But it is likewise possible, that he only assisted the *Romans*, pursuant to a Treaty made with *Ætius*, and was in particular employed against these People, and might ly encamp'd for some Time, in the Countries about the *Loire*, without having erected a separate establish'd Kingdom there, of which we find no other Tokens.

A fresh War
with the *Wisi-*
Goths.

§. XIII. THE *Wisi-Goths*, about the Year 436, were again involv'd in a War, after having lived in Amity with the *Romans*, for ten Years. We do not find, which Party were the Aggressors; but this we know, that the *Goths* besieged *Narbonne* this Year, and that the *Romans* relieved it the next (1). This War fell heavier upon the *Romans*, because those Inhabitants of the Provinces of *Gaul*, who were still subject to the *Romans*, were, by heavy Taxes, and other Oppressions, almost reduced to

§ XII. (1) See § XLIII. of the preceding Book.

(2) CONSTANTIUS in vita S. Germani L. 2. c. 5. Offensus superbæ insolentia regionis, vir magnificus, Ætius, qui tum rempublicam gubernabat, EOCHARICH, ferocissimo Alamannorum rege, loca illa inclinanda, pro rebellionis præsumptione permiserat. quæ ille aviditate barbaricæ cupiditatis inhiaverat. Sirmondus reads Alanorum instead of Alamannorum: But Pagius ad A. 435, not. 39. refutes this Conjecture.

(3) Pagius here quotes a Passage from the Life of S. Eugendus, Abbas monasterii Jurensis, in the County of Burgundy, written by a Monk of the same Monastery, who was his Disciple, and inserted by F. Mabillon in sec. I, Benedictin. He begins n. 47, the Relation of a new Miracle, in the following Words: Quadam die dum diros metuunt, ac vicinos Alemannorum incurfus, qui inopinatis viantibus non congressione in cominus, sed ritu superventuque solerent irruere bestiali, e limite

Tyrrheni maris potius, quam de vicinis Herienfium locis, coctile decernunt petere fal. Pagius supposes these Alemanni to have been the same, who dwelt upon the Loire, and confutes F. Mabillon, who in his Annotations on this Passage, imagines the Alemanni to have been comprehended under the Name of Franks.

§ XIII. (1) PROSPER in chronico consulari Isidoro & Senatore Coss. (A. 436.) Gothi pacis placita perturbant, & pleraque municipia vicina sedibus suis occupant, Narbonnensi oppido maxime infesti: quod cum diu obsidione & fame laboraret, per Litorium comitem ab utroque periculo liberatum est. Siquidem per singulos equites binis tritici modiis advectis, strenuissime & hostes in fugam vertit, & civitatem annona implevit. Idatius ad A. XII. Valentiniani (436) Narbona obsideri cœpta per Gothos. and in the next Year: Narbona obsidione liberatur, Ætio duce & magistro militum. and ad A. XIV. Gothorum cæsa octo millia, sub Ætio duce.

Despair

Despair, and therefore assembled in a Body (which were again call'd *Bagaude*, a Name long before known on Occasion of the like Commotions) and took to Arms (2). *Ætius* therefore lifted several Thousands of *Hunns* (with whom he liv'd in a constant good Understanding (3), in Order to employ them against the *Goths*: But these Auxiliaries were as great a Burden to the Countries and Cities they pass'd thro', as if they had actually fallen into the Enemies Hands (4).

§ XIV. THE War, in the mean Time, was carried on with various Success, 'till *Litorius* the Roman General, led the *Hunns* himself against the *Goths* (1), who retreated as far as *Tbolouse*. Their King *Theodoric*, who knew himself not to be a Match for the Roman General, caused Offers of a Peace to be made him, by some Bishops, and daily Prayers to be said, in the mean Time, in his Army: But *Litorius* was determined to try the Event of a Battle. Some Advantages he had, not long before, obtained over the People of *Armorica*, now flatter'd his Inclinations to excel *Ætius* in the Field, and he was besides so weak, as

The Wife-Goths beat the Roman General Litorius. A Peace ensued.

(2) SALVIANUS *presbyter, de gubernatione dei, L. 5. p. 91.* De Bagaudis nunc mihi sermo est: qui, per malos iudices & cruentos spoliati, afflicti, necati, postquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdidierunt. Et imputatur his infelicitas sua, imputamus his nomen calamitatis suæ, imputamus nomen, quod ipsi fecimus. Et vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos, quos esse compulimus criminosos. Quibus enim aliis rebus Bagaudæ facti sunt, nisi iniquitatibus nostris, nisi improbitatibus iudicum, nisi eorum proscriptionibus & rapinis, qui exactio- nis publicæ nomen in quæstus proprii emolumenta verterunt, & indictiones tributarias prædas suas esse fecerunt? qui in similitudinem immanium bestiarum non texerunt traditos sibi, sed devorarunt, nec spoliis tantum hominum, ut plerique latrones solent, sed laceratione etiam, &, ut ita dicam, sanguine pascebantur: ac sic actum est, ut latrociniis iudicum strangulati homines & necati, inciperent esse quasi barbari, quia non permittebantur esse Romani. Adquieverunt enim esse, quod non erant, quia non permittebantur esse, quod fuerant; coactique sunt vitam saltem defendere, quia se jam libertatem videbant penitus perdidisse. Aut quid aliud etiam nunc agitur,

quam tunc actum, id est, ut qui adhuc Bagaudæ non sunt, esse cogantur. Quantum enim ad vim atque injurias pertinet, compelluntur, ut velint esse. Sic sunt ergo, quasi captivi iugo hostium pressi. Tolerant supplicium necessitate, non voto. Animo desiderant libertatem, sed summam sustinent servitutem.

(3) PROSPER *in chronico consulari, Ætio II. & Sigisuldo Coss. (A. 437)* Bellum adversus Gothos, Chunis auxiliantibus, geritur.

(4) SIDONIUS: *See the Passage in the next § not. 1.*

§ XIV. (1) SIDONIUS *in panegyri. Aëtii (carm. VII) v. 246.*

Litorius Scythicos equites tum forte, subacto Celfus Armorico, Gethicum rapiebat in agmen

Per terras Arverne tuas: qui proxima quæ- que

Discursu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis, Delebant, pacis fallentes nomen inane.

to

to repose too much Confidence in some *Pagan* Sorcerers (2), who notwithstanding the Rigour of the Laws against them, and all other Remains of *Paganism*, were nevertheless countenanc'd by some Persons of Distinction, who only made a feign'd Profession of the *Christian* Religion: But this did but add to his Disgrace, when he was overcome, taken Prisoner, and carried in Triumph, thro' the Streets of *Tholouse* (3).

(2) *These Circumstances are related by Prosper: Theodosio XVII. & Festo Coss. (A. 439.) Litorius, qui secunda ab Ætio patricio potestate Hunnis auxiliaribus præerat, dum Ætii gloriam superare appetit, dumque auspiciis responsis, & dæmonum significationibus fidit, pugnam cum Gothis imprudenter conferuit: fecitque intelligi, quantum illa quæ cum eo periit manus prodesse potuerit, si potioribus consiliis, quam sua temeritate uti maluisset: quando tantam ipse hostibus cladem intulit, ut, nisi inconsideranter prælians in captivitatem incidisset, dubitandum foret, cui potius parti victoria adscriberetur. Cassiodorus, Theodosio XVII. & Festo. His Coss. bellum adversus Gothos, Hunnis auxiliaribus geritur, & Litorius, dux Romanus, ubi eis capitur.*

(3) *These Circumstances, which are partly verifi'd by Prosper and Cassiodorus, are related more largely by Silvianus, Presbyter Massiliensis, in his Treatise de Providentia Dei, which he wrote a few Years after this Battle, Lib. 7. p. 140. Denique probavit hoc bello proximo infelicitas nostra. Cum enim Gothi metuerent, præsumebamus nos, in Chunis spem ponere, illi in deo: cum pax ab illis postularetur, a nobis negaretur: illi episcopos mitterent, nos repelleremus: illi etiam in alienis sacerdotibus deum honorarent, nos etiam in nostris contemneremus: prout actus utriusque partis, ita ut rerum terminus fuit. Illis data est in summo timore palma, nobis in summa elatione confusio. Ut vere & in nobis, tunc & in illis evidenter probatum sit illud domini nostri dictum: Quoniam qui se exaltat, humiliabitur; & qui se humiliat, exaltabitur. Illis enim exaltatio data est pro humilitate, nobis pro elatione dejectio. Namque agnovit hoc ille dux nostræ partis [Litorius scilicet] qui eandem urbem hostium, quam eodem die victorem se intraturum esse præsumpsit, captivus intravit, [Tolosam]. Probavit scilicet, quod Propheta dixit: Quia non est hominis via ejus:*

neque viri est, ut ambulet, & dirigat gressus suos. Nam quia viam suam juris sui existimavit; nec gressum directionis habuit, nec viam salutis invenit. Effusa est, ut legimus, abjectio super principem, seductus est in invio, & non in via: & ad nihilum deductus est, velut aqua decurrens. In quo quidem, præter ipsam rerum infelicitatem, præsens judicium dei patuit, ut quicquid se facturum usurparat, pateretur. Nam quia sine divinitatis auxilio ac dei ductu capiendum a se hostem credidit; ipse captus est, consilii ac sapientiæ summam usurpavit, ignominiam temeritatis incurrit: vincula, quæ aliis paravit, ipse sustinuit. Et quod, rogo, evidentius dei judicium esse potuit, quam ut habens prædatoris fiduciam, præda fieret? triumphum præsumens, triumphus esset? circumdaretur, corriperetur, alligaretur, retorta tergo brachia gereret; manus, quas bellicosas putabat, vinctas videret; puerorum ac mulierum spectaculum fieret, illudentes sibi barbaros cerneret, irrisum sexus promiscui sustineret? & qui maximum habuerat supercilium fortis viri, mortem subiret ignavi? Atque utinam hoc ipsum breve remedium malorum esset, non diuturna toleratio. Ille autem, quantum ad pœnarum longitudinem pertinet, longo tempore & diuturna in ergastulo barbarorum tabe consumptus, in hanc miseriam redactus est, ut (quod plerumque homines etiam pœnis ipsis gravius atque acerbius putant) in miserationem hostium deveniret. Et cur hoc? absque dubio, nisi quia (ut jam dixi) illi deo humiles, nos rebelles: illi crediderunt in manu dei esse victoriam, nos in manu nostra, immo in sacrilega atque impia, quod est pejus, nocentiusque quam nostra. Denique ipse rex hostium quantum res prodidit ac probavit, usque ad diem pugne stratus cilicio preces fudit, ante bellum in oratione jacuit, ad bellum de oratione surrexit; priusquam pugnam manu capefferet, supplicatione pugnavit: & ideo fidens processit ad pugnam, quia jam meruerat in oratione victoriam.

The whole Country, as far as the *Rhone*, lay now expos'd to the *Goths*, and *Theodoric* was not wanting to make Advantage of so fair an Opportunity. The Inhabitants seem'd the more inclin'd to the *Goths*, the less a Discipline was observ'd in the *Roman Army* (4). During this general Consternation, *Avitus*, who was then *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, found Means to persuade *Theodoric*, by friendly Proposals, to a Peace; and from the Circumstances we may easily infer, that the *Romans* made very advantageous Concessions to them; we are not, therefore, to have great Regard to the Adulations of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who, in the *Poem* he compos'd in Honour of *Avitus*, after he was advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, attributes all the Advantage of that Treaty to this Prince (5).

§ XV. As I have mention'd the Fate of all those Nations, who, at the Beginning of this Century, pass'd over the *Rhine*, I must not now forget that of those *Alani*, who remain'd at that Time in *Gaul*, under the Conduct of their Duke, *Goar*, when the other Company wander'd into *Spain*. I observ'd in its proper Place, what Share they had in *Jovinus's* Rebellion (1), and that, for a Time, they adhered to *Ataulphus*; but went over to the *Romans*, during the Siege of *Bazas* (2). They remain'd probably, from that Time, under the Subjection of the *Romans*, and obtain'd, in the Year 440, of *Ætius*, the Country about *Valence*, in the present *Dauphiny*, for an establish'd Habitation (3); perhaps, with a View, that they might serve for a Barrier to the *Romans* against the

The *Alani* obtain a settled Habitation, in the Country about *Valence*.

(4) See not. 1.

(5) SIDONIUS in panegyrico in Avitum carm. 7. v. 299.

Nil prece, nil pretio, nil milite, fractus agebat

Ætius, capto terrarum damna patebant

Litorio: in Rhodanum proprios producere fines.

Theudoridæ fixum: nec erat pugnare necesse

Sed migrare Getis: rabidam trux asperat iram;

Victor, quod sensit Scythicum pro mœnibus hostem,

Imputat: & nihil est gravius, si forsitan unquam

Vincere contingat, trepido. Postquam undique nullum

Præsidium, ducibusque tuis nil, Roma, relictum est.

Fœdus, Avite, novas; sævum tua pagina regem

Lecta domat. Jussisse sat est te, quod rogat orbis,

Credent hoc unquam gentes populi que futuri?

Littora Romani cassat, quod barbare vincis.

§ XV. (1) B. VIII. § XXXIV.

(2) IBIDEM, § XXXVII.

(3) PROSPER in chronico imperiali: ad annum quadringentesimum quadragesimum. Pacatis motibus Galliarum, Ætius ad Italiam regreditur. Deserta Valentiniæ urbis rura, Alanis, quibus SAMBIDA præerat, partienda traduntur. We shall find a farther Account of these *Alani* in the Sequel, and of their King *Sangibanus*.

Goths.

Goths. Those Countries were before not a little deserted, and the *Alani* now entirely drove away the Remainder of the Inhabitants, who would not passively suffer them to deal with them and their Effects at their own Pleasure (4).

*Genferic takes
Carthage.*

§ XVI. ABOUT the same Time, the War broke out again in *Africa*. *Genferic* took *Carthage*, in the Month of *October*, in the Year 439, which City, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, rose almost with greater Splendour, out of her Ruins, than she had before appear'd in, while she contended with *Rome* for the Sovereignty (2). What Inducement he had, or pretended to have for breaking the Peace is not known. This War happen'd very unseasonably for the *Romans*. They were not only unprovided; but had likewise, by their Injustice and Oppression, lost the Love and Zeal of the Subject; on which depend the most certain Means of restoring a State; insomuch, that many, who saw no Remedy for, nor a Prospect of any End of their Sufferings themselves, incited the *Vandals*, as it were, to alleviate their Distress, by reducing those, by whom they had hitherto been oppress'd, into the same State of Misery with

(4) *IBIDEM ad A. 442.* *Alani*, quibus terræ Galliæ ulterioris cum incolis dividendæ a patricio *Ætio* traditæ fuerant, resistentes armis subigunt: & expulsis dominis, terræ possessionem vi adipiscuntur.

§ XVI. (1) *PROSPER in chron. consul.* *Theodosio XVIII. & Festo Coss. (A. 439) says:* *Ætio* rebus, quæ in Galliis componebantur, intento, *Genfericus*, de cujus amicitia nihil metuebatur, decimo quarto kal. Nov. *Carthaginem* dolo pacis invadit, omnesque opes ejus, excruciatibus diverso tormentorum genere civibus, in jus suum vertit. Nec ab ecclesiarum spoliatione abstinens, quas & sacris vasibus exinanitas, & sacerdotum administratione privatas, non jam divini cultus loca, sed suorum jussit esse habitacula. In universum captivi populi ordinem sævus, sed præcipue nobilitati & religioni infensus: ut non discerneretur, hominibusne magis, an deo bellum intulisset. *MARCELLINUS in chron.* *Theodosio XVII. & Festo Coss. (439) relates it as on the 23d of October.* Hoc tempore *Genfericus*, rex *Wandalorum*, *Africæ* civitates, *Carthaginem*que metropolim, cum suis satellitibus occupavit X. kal. Nov. *IDATIUS affirms it to have been the 19 of the same Month.* *Carthagine* fraude decepta XIV. kal. Nov. om-

nem *Africam* rex *Gaifericus* invadit. *The Passages of Victor, Vitenis, and Isidorus will be quoted below § XVIII.*

(2) *SALVIANUS de gubernatione dei, Lib. 7. p. 148.* Una tantum universarum illic urbium princeps & quasi matre contentus sum, illa scilicet *Romanis* arcibus semper æmula, armis quondam & fortitudine, post splendore & dignitate. *Carthaginem* dico, & urbi *Romæ* maxime adversariam, & in *Africano* orbe quasi *Romam*: quæ mihi ideo in exemplum ac testimonium sola sufficit, quia universa penitus quibus in toto mundo disciplina reipublicæ vel procuratur, vel regitur, in se habuit. Illic enim omnia officiorum publicorum instrumenta, illic artium liberalium scholæ, illic philosophorum officinæ, cuncta denique vel linguarum gymnasia, vel morum. Illic quoque etiam copiæ militares, & regentes militiam potestates, illic honor proconsularis, illic quotidianus judex & rector, quantum ad nomen quidem proconsul, sed quantum ad potentiam consul, illic denique omnes rerum dispensatores, & differentes inter se tam gradu quam vocabulo dignitates, omnium, ut ita dicam, platearum & compitorum procuratores, cuncta ferme & loca urbis, & membra populi gubernantes.

themselves.

themselves. The Inhabitants of the Provinces were so little excited, by the Danger apparent from the Neighbourhood of the *Vandals*, to Fortitude and necessary Preparations, that *Salvianus*, a famous Priest of *Mar-seilles*, who wrote his Book, *de gubernatione Dei*, soon after the taking of *Carthage*, could hardly find Terms sufficient to express the Effeminacy, Luxury, and other Vices, which reign'd in that great City (3).

§ XVII. As lavish as *Salvianus* is, otherwise, in his Praises of the Moderation of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, they lost as much of their Re-known by the Persecutions they rais'd against the *Orthodox Christians*. The Controversies between the *African* Clergy were carried on with so much Heat, that those of the *Orthodox* Faith, who had the Court on their Side, had at last Recourse to Force, and induc'd the Emperors to issue very severe Edicts. *S. Austin* himself had so retracted his former Opinion, that no Force ought to be employ'd in Point of Faith, that the Laws against the *Donatists* appear'd hardly rigorous enough to him (1). This Method of making Converts now turn'd to their own Disadvantage. *Genseric* was a zealous *Arian*, and plac'd as much Faith in the Doctrine of that Sect, as *Honorius* and *Valentinian* did in that of the *Roman* Church. As Compulsion had therefore once been introduc'd, in Matters of Religion, the Party which now bore the Sway had Recourse to the same Arguments to spirit up *Genseric* to the enforcing his Errors, in Opposition to the true Believers, as the latter had made use of to obtain the Edicts the Emperors had issued in their Favour. No wonder, therefore, if those very Means, which before were turn'd against the Here-

Persecutes the
Orthodox
Christians in
Africa.

(3) SALVIANUS *de gubernatione dei*, Lib. 7. p. 145. Unde &, quod Vandali ad Africam transierunt, non est divinæ severitati, sed Afrorum sceleri, deputandum. He then complains at large of the Vices which reign'd in Africa, and when he mentions Carthage; p. 149, proceeds thus, Video enim, quasi scaturientem vitiis civitatem: video urbem omnium iniquitatum genere ferventem, plenam quidem turbis, sed magis turpitudinibus, plenam divitiis, sed magis vitiis, vincentes se invicem homines nequitia flagitiorum suorum, alios rapacitate, alios impuritate certantes, alios vino languidos, alios cruditate distentos, hos fertis redimitos, illos unguentis oblitos, cunctos vario luxus marcore perditos, sed pene omnes una errorum morte prostratos, non omnes violentia temulentos, sed omnes peccatis ebrios. Populos putares non sani status, non sui sensus, non animo

incolumes, non gradu, quasi more Baccharum crapulæ catervatim inservientes. Jam vero illud ejusmodi, aut quam grave, genere quidem dispar, quia majus: proscriptiones dico orphanorum, viduarum afflictiones, pauperum cruces: qui gemiscentes quotidie ad deum, finem malorum impre-cantes, & quod gravissimum est, interdum vi nimix amaritudinis etiam adventum hostium postu-lantes, aliquando a deo impetrarunt, ut ever-sionem tandem a barbaris in commune tolerarent, quam soli ante a Romanis toleraverant. Sed esto, hæc omnia prætermittantur, quia & in toto ferme aguntur orbe Romano, & spondi, me de his malis nec pauca dicturum.

§ XVII. (1) Philippus à Limborgh, in his Historia Inquisitionis, c. 6. has collected those Passages, which serve to prove this.

Q q q

ticks,

ticks, were now retorted and employ'd against those of the *Orthodox* Faith (2).. This Persecution arose immediately after the Conclusion of the first Peace (3). None were employ'd at Court, but such as profess'd the Religion of their King; the *Orthodox*, in many Places, were depriv'd of their Books, and at last even of their Churches, and the greater Number, which had little more than the outward Appearance of *Christians* (4), was soon hurried away with the Current. But some, of the first Distinction, and particularly those Divines who remain'd steadfast in their Faith, were oblig'd to fly their Country; among whom was *Quodvultdeus*, Bishop of *Carthage*, who retir'd to *Naples* (5). This Persecution

(2) VICTOR VITENSIS complains of this, *de persecut. Vandal. Lib. 4. c. 1.* Nesciens quoque quid loqueretur, neque de quibus affirmabat, legem, quam dudum Christiani imperatores nostri contra eos & contra alios hæreticos pro honorificentia ecclesiæ catholicæ dederant, adversum nos illi proponere non erubuerunt, addentes multa de suis, sicut placuit tyrannicæ potestati.

(3) Conf. HONORATI ANTONINI, *Constantinæ in Africa episcopi, epistola cohortatoria ad Arcadium pro fide exsulantem, sub Genserico, Vandalorum rege Ariano.*

(4) SALVIANUS gives the following Account of the Church of *Carthage*. *Lib. 8. p. 163.* Sed quia de impuritate Afrorum jam multa diximus, nunc de blasphemiiis saltem pauca dicamus. Professa enim illic jugiter plurimorum paganitas fuit: habebant quippe intra muros patrios intestinum scelus, Cœlestem illum scilicet, Afrorum dæmonem dico: cui ideo, ut reor, veteres pagani tam speciosæ appellationis titulum dederunt, ut quia in eo non erat numen, vel nomen aliquod esset, & quia non habebat aliquam ex potestate virtutem, haberet saltem ex vocabulo dignitatem. Quis ergo illi idolo non initiatus? quis non a stirpe ipsa, forsitan etiam a nativitate, devotus? Nec loquor de hominibus sicut vita, ita etiam professione ac vocabulo pagani, & qui sicut profani erant errore, sic nomine: tolerabilior quippe est, & minus nefaria gentilitas in hominibus professionis suæ. Illud perniciosius ac scelestius, quod multi eorum, qui professionem Christo dicaverant, mente idolis ferviebant. Quis enim non eorum, qui Christiani appellantur, Cœlestem illum, aut post Christum

adoravit, aut, quod pejus est, multo ante, quam Christum? Quis non dæmoniorum sacrificiorum nidore plenus divinæ domus intravit, & cum factione ipsorum dæmonum Christi altare conscendit; ut non tam innanis criminis fuisset, ad templum domini non venire, quam sic venire? *And a little lower:* At inquis, non omnes ista faciebant, sed potentissimi quique ac sublimissimi. Acquiescamus hoc ita esse, sed cum ditissimæ quæque ac potentissimæ domus turbam faciant civitatis, vides, perpaucorum potentium sacrilega superstitione urbem cunctam fuisse pollutam. Nemini autem dubium est, omnes dominorum familias aut similes esse dominis, aut deteriores, quamvis hoc usitatus, ut deteriores, &c. *And L. 6.* Circumsonabant armis muros Cathaginis populi barbarorum, ecclesia Carthaginensis insaniebat in circis, luxuriabat in theatris, &c.

(5) VICTOR *de persec. Vandal. L. 1. c. 5.* Tum vero memoratæ urbis episcopum, id est, Cathaginis, deo & hominibus manifestum, nomine Quodvultdeum, & maximam turbam clericorum navibus fractis impositos, nudos atque expoliatos expelli præcepit: quos deus miseratione bonitatis suæ prospera navigatione Neapolim, Campaniæ perducere dignatus est civitatem. Senatorum autem atque honoratorum multitudinem primo exilio crudeli contrivit, postea transmarinas in partes projecit. Pulso namque episcopo, ut præfatum sumus, cum clero venerabili, illico ecclesiam nomine restitutam, in qua semper episcopi commanebant, suæ religioni mancipavit, atque universas, quæ intra muros fuerant civitatis, cum suis divitiis abstulit.

became

became afterwards still more rigid in the Reign of *Humoric*, *Genferic's* Son. *Victor*, Bishop of *Vita*, who likewise felt its Weight, gave a Description of it, about the Year 487, with all the Bitterness, that his own Sufferings, and those of his Brethren, could dictate to him (6).

§ XVIII. THE *Vandals* thereupon extended themselves, almost without Resistance, throughout *Africa*. These Countries were, at that Time, in a flourishing State, and had, by their Navigation and Traffick, acquir'd great Riches from foreign Countries. *Genferic* resolv'd, therefore, upon a farther Pursuit of those Advantages, which the Nature and Situation of the Country, as it were, offer'd him; and to accustom his *Vandals* still more and more to Navigation, of which they had already got some Knowledge in *Spain*. The first Attempt they made was on *Sicily*, in which Island, among other Undertakings, not recorded by Historians, they besieg'd *Palermo*, about the Year 440 and 441 (1), and took *Lilybæum*, at present *Capo Boco* (2). *Theodosius* indeed equipp'd a Fleet, to succour the *West*; which serv'd for no other Purpose, but to prey upon the Vitals of *Sicily* (3). The *Vandals* not only subdued a Part of that Island, but likewise afterwards took *Sardinia* and *Corfica* (4): And render'd themselves as formidable in the *Mediterranean*, as formerly the *Carthaginians* were.

Makes an Attempt on *Sicily*

Q q q 2

§ XIX.

(6) PETRUS FRANCISCUS CHIFLETIUS elucidationum in Victorem Vitensem, c. 8. and 9. *imagines*, that Victor Vitenfis was Primas Proviçiæ Byzacenæ, and retir'd, after having suffer'd Persecution, to Constantinople, and there wrote his Book de Persecutione Vandalica. But F. Ruinart demonstrates, in his Preface, § VI. & seq. that this Conjecture is liable to great Difficulties.

§ XVIII. (1) ISIDORUS in *hist. Vanaal.* p. 226. Cui [*Geiserico*] Valentinianus, occidentis imperator, non valens obistere, pacem mittit, & partem Africæ, quam Vandali possederant, tanquam pacifico tradidit, conditionibus ab eo sacramenti acceptis, ne quid amplius invaderet. Ille autem sacramenti religione violata, Carthaginem pervadit, Siciliam deprædatur, Panormum obsidet, Arianam pestilentiam per totam Africam intromittit, sacerdotes ecclesiæ expellit, martyres plurimos efficit. IDATIUS in *chronico ad A. Valentiniani XVI.* (440) Gaisericus, Siciliam deprædatus, Panormum diu obsedit: qui damnati a catholicis episcopis Maximini, apud Siciliam Arianorum ducis,

adversum catholicos præcipitantur instinctu, ut eos quoquo pacto in impietatem cogeret Arianam. Nonnullis declinantibus, aliquanti durantes in catholica fide consummavere martyrium.

(2) PASCHASINUS, episcopus Lilybetanus, mentions this Calamity in a Letter, which he wrote to Pope Leo, in the Year 443, about the Cyclis Paschalis, inter opera S. Leonis p. 209. Apostolatus vestri scripta, diacono Panormitanæ ecclesiæ, Silano, deferente percepi, quæ nuditati meæ atque ærumnis, quas amarissima captivitate faciente incurri, solatium in omnibus atque remedium attulerunt.

(3) PROSPER in *chronico consulari* Cyro Cos. (441) says: Theodosius imperator bellum contra Vandalos movet, Ariobindo & Anfila atque Germano ducibus, cum magna classe directis: qui longis cunctationibus negotium differentes, Siciliæ magis oneri, quam præsidio fuerunt.

(4) VICTOR, *Lib. I. c. 4.* Gives a brief Account of Genferic's Conquests. Post has truces impietati-

The Peace
with the *Van-*
dals con-
cluded.

§ XIX. ABOUT the same Time, the *Huns* and other *Eastern* Nations, making a terrible Inroad on the Dominions of *Theodosius* (1), and thereby preventing the Court of *Constantinople* from lending any Assistance to that of *Ravenna*; *Valentinian* was, at Length, oblig'd to make a Peace with the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, that he might be in a Capacity to maintain *Italy* (2). He left *Genferic*, if not all, at least the greatest Part of the Countries he had conquer'd. How far the Dominions of the *Vandals* in *Africa* extended, at that Time, may be concluded from *Victor's* Account, that *Genferic* retain'd *Getulia*, with a Part of *Numidia*, and the two Provinces *Byzazyna* and *Abaritana* for himself: And shared two others, *viz. Zeugitana* and *Proconsularis*, among his Army (3). In this they proceeded as in the Establishment of other *German* Kingdoms. The Conquerors took Possession, not only of the Rights and Revenues of the Sovereignty, together with the Estates, which probably had belong'd to the Imperial Treasury, but the Inhabitants were likewise obliged to give up to them a Part of their Lands. These Districts were, in *Africa*, call'd *Sortes Vandalicæ*, and *Procopius*, on this Occasion, observes, that those Lands, which fell to the Share of the *Vandals*, were exempt from all Taxes; without Doubt, because they were assign'd them in Payment for future Services they were oblig'd to

ris infanias, ipsam urbem maximam, Carthaginem, Geisericus tenuit & intravit; & antiquam illam ingenuam ac nobilem libertatem in servitutem redegit. Nam & senatorum urbis non parvam multitudinem captivavit. Et inde proposuit decretum, ut unusquisque auri, argenti, gemmarum, vestimentorumque pretiosorum quodcunque haberet, afferret; & ita in brevi avitas atque paternas opes tali industria abstulit rapax. Disponens quoque singulas quasque provincias, sibi Byzacenam, Abaritanam, atque Getuliam, & partem Numidiæ reservavit: exercitui vero Zeugitanam & proconsularem funiculo hereditatis divisit: Valentiniano adhuc imperatore, reliquas, licet jam exterminatas provincias defendente: post cujus mortem, totius Africæ ambitum obtinuit, nec non & insulas maximas, Sardiniam, Siciliam, Corsicam, Ebusum, Majoricam, Minoricam, & alias multas superbia sibi consueta defendit. Quarum unam illarum, id est, Siciliam, Odoacro, Italiæ regi postmodum, tributario jure concessit: ex qua ei Odoacer singulis quibusque tem-

poribus, ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam tamen sibi reservans partem.

§ XIX. (1) MARCELLINUS *ad consulatum Cyri* (A. 441) says: Persæ, Saraceni, Zanni, Isauri, Hunni, finibus suis egressi, Romanorum sola vastarunt. Missi sunt contra hos Anatolius & Aspar, magistri militiæ, pacemque cum eis unius anni fecerunt. Joannes, natione Vandalus, magister militiæ, Arnegiseli fraude, in Thracia interemtus est. Hunnorum reges numerosis suorum cum millibus in Illyricum irruerunt; Naissum, Singidunum, aliasque civitates, oppidaque Illyrici plurima exciderunt.

(2) PROSPER *in chronico consulari*, Dioscoro & Eudoxia Coss. (A. 442.) Cum Geiserico autem ab augusto, Valentiniano, pax est confirmata, & certis spatiis Africa inter utrumque divisa est.

(3) See the Passage from Victor, in § XVI. Not. 1.

perform

perform in War (4). *Valentinian* likewise obtained some Alleviation for the *Catholicks*; and for the Church of *Carthage*, in particular, the Privilege of electing their own Bishop (5): But the *Catholic* Bishops were oblig'd to use the utmost Caution in their Discourses and Sermons, not to make such Mention of the Names of *Pharoah*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Holofernes*, as could be applied to the King of the *Vandals*, lest they should thereby render themselves suspected, and be in Danger of Banishment (6). *Genferic* found another particular Advantage in this Peace: For a Conspiracy formed against him was soon after discover'd, which he was now in a better Condition to suppress, than if he had still been involv'd in a War with the *Romans* (7).

§ XX. WHILST the *Vandals* were thus enlarging their Dominions in

(4) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico*, Lib. 1. c. 5. p. 189. Si qui inter Afros nobilitate & opibus florebant, eos ipsorumque latifundia ac rem omnem familiarem, cum onere servitutis, ad dicit filiis suis, Honorico atque Genzoni; quorum frater natus minimus, Theodorus, jam ante obierat, nulla nec virili nec sequioris sexus relicta prole. Agros cæteris ademit Afris, plurimos sane & optimos, ac Vandalis divisit; unde VANDALORUM SORTES etiamnum vocantur. Redactis ad summam inopiam veteribus prædiorum dominis, retenta libertate, integrum erat, quo liberet concedere. Quoscunque Gizericus fundos filiis suis ac Vandalis assignaverat, immunes omnino omnes iussit esse: quidquid soli non adeo frugibus commodum iudicavit, id pristinis possessoribus reliquit, tantis vectigalibus obrutum, ut sua quamvis prædia obtinerent, inde tamen ad eos nihil rediret.

(5) VICTOR, Lib. 1. c. 8. Post hæc factum est, supplicante Valentiniano augusto, Carthaginensi ecclesiæ, post longum silentium desolationis, episcopum ordinari, nomine Deogratias.

(6) IDEM, L. 1. c. 7. Si forsitan quispiam, ut moris est episcoporum, dum dei populum admoneret, Pharaonem, Nabuchodonosor, Holofernem, aut aliquem alium similem nominasset, objiciebatur illi, quod in personam regis illa dixisset; & statim exilio tradebatur. Hoc enim

persecutionis genus agebat hic aperte, alibi occulte, ut piorum nomen talibus insidiis interiret: qua de re plurimos sacerdotum tunc novimus relegatos, sicut Urbanum Girbensem, Crescentem, metropolitanum Aquitanie civitatis, qui centum viginti episcopis præerat, Habetdeum Theudalensem, Eustrathium Suffectanum, & Tripolitanos duos, Vices Sabratenum, Cresconium Oensem, & Adrumetinæ civitatis Felicem episcopum, ob hoc quod suscepisset quendam Joannem monachum transmarinum; sed & alios multos, quos longum est enarrare. Quibus tamen in exilio positis, dum obitus obvenisset, non licebat alios eorum civitatibus ordinari episcopos. Inter hæc tamen dei populus in fide consistens, ut examen apum cereas ædificans mansiones crescendo, mellis fidei calculis firmabatur; ut impleretur illa sententia: Quanto magis eos affligebant, tanto magis multiplicabantur, & invalescebant nimis.

(7) PROSPER, DIOSGORO & EUDOXIA COSS. (442.) In Geisericum, de successu rerum etiam apud suos superbientem, quidam optimates ipsius conspiraverunt. Sed molitione detecta, multis ab eo suppliciis excruciat, atque extincti sunt. Quumque idem audendum etiam ab aliis videretur, tam multis regis suspicio exitio fuit, ut hac sui cura plus virium perderet, quam si bello superaretur.

Africa

Hermanaric
 resigns the
 Crown to
Rechila his
 Son.
 The *Suevi*
 extend them-
 selves
 throughout
Bætica, &c.

Africa (1), the *Suevi* extended themselves, in their Room, in *Spain*. *Hermanaric* their King, who led this Nation into *Spain*, and, for above thirty Years, had bravely defended his Kingdom against the *Romans* and *Goths*, found himself, at Length, obliged, after a tedious Fit of Sickneſs, to resign his Crown to *Rechila*, his Son (2), and died three Years afterwards (3). This Prince continued to extend the Power of the *Suevi*, more and more, in *Spain*. He took *Merida* (4), and *Hiſpalis*, and reduced to his Subjection, all *Bætica*, with the Province of *Carthagera* (5). At the ſame Time, he kept his Ground againſt the *Romans* (6), and, in the Year 446, beat *Vitus*, their General, who, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Goths*, attempted to reduce thoſe Countries again to their Obedience (7). During theſe inteſtine Broils, the Churches in *Spain* likewise bore their Share of the Calamity. *Turribius*, Biſhop of *Aſtorga*, complains, that ſeveral Errors crept in, eſpecially that of the *Priſcillianiſts*, becauſe the Biſhops could not, in theſe melancholy and perilous Junctures, with any Safety, hold their Conventions (8). In *Rechila's* Reign, *Spain* ſeems to have been

§ XX. (1) *Mariana was of Opinion that the Silingi, who, as we obſerved before, were a Vandalick People, remained in Spain, and that Bætica received from them the Appellation of Vandalicia* L. 5. c. 3. p. 193. *Silingi remanſerunt in Hiſpania, eaque potiſſima Bæticae parte, ubi Hiſpalis ſita eſt. Unde, quoniam Vandalis contributi erant, illiſque confuſi, conſequenti tempore Bæticae nomen Vandaloniae appellatione, non iſſdem proſus finibus mutatum eſt. But we meet with no Tokens of this in the Ancients.*

(2) *IDATIUS ad A. XIV. VALENTINIANI (438.) Hermericus rex, morbo oppreſſus, Rechilam filium ſuum ſubſtituit in regnum, qui Andevotum, cum ſua quam habebat manu, & Singilonem Bæticae fluvium aperto Marte proſtravit, magnis ejus auri & argenti opibus occupatis. Singilo is by the Ancients call'd Singulis, at preſent el Xenil. Iſidorus in chr. Suevorum mentions this Andevotus as a Roman General. Hic, jubente patre ab eo miſſus, Undebotum, Romanæ militiæ ducem, cum ſuis omnibus copiis ad Singilium, Bæticae fluvium, inito bello proſtravit, magnis ejus auri argentique copiis occupatis.*

(3) *IDATIUS ad A. XVII. Rex Suevorum, diuturno per annos ſeptem morbo adſiſtus, moritur Hermericus.*

(4) *IDEM ad A. XV. Valentiniani (439.) Rechila, rex Suevorum, Emeritam ingreditur.*

(5) *IDEM ad A. XVII. Valentiniani. Rex Rechila, Hiſpali obtenta, Bæticam, & Carthaginenſem provincias, in ſuam redigit poteſtatem.*

(6) *IDATIUS takes Notice of this Hoſtility, ad A. Valentiniani. Cenſorius comes, qui legatus miſſus fuerat ad Suevos, reſidens Mirtyli, abſeſſus a Rechila, in pace ſe tradidit. Mirtylis is the preſent Mertola in Portugal.*

(7) *IDEM ad A. Valentiniani XXII. Vitus, magiſter utriuſque militiæ factus, ad Hiſpanias miſſus, non exiguae manus ſultus auxilio, cum Carthaginenſes vexaret, & Bæticos, ſuccedentibus cum rege ſuo illic Suevis, ſuperatis etiam in congreſſione, qui ei ad depredandum in adjutorium venerant Gothiſ, territus miſerabili timore, diffugit. Suevi exin illas provincias magna deprædatione ſubvertunt.*

(8) *TURRIBIUS in epiſtola ad Idatium & Ceponium, epiſcopos, inter opera S. Leonis, p. 232. Quod quidem per mala temporis noſtri, ſynodorum conventibus decretiſque ceſſantibus, liberius crevit: & impiſſime, quod eſt cunctis deterius, ad unum altare diverſis fidei ſenſibus convenitur.*

in a somewhat more peaceable State : For a Letter is extant from Pope *Leo* to the before-mentioned *Turribius*, written in the Year 447, in which he gives him Notice, that he had summon'd all the Bishops of *Spain* to a national Convention, and intreats him, if that could not be done, that the Bishops of *Gallicia*, at least, would not fail of coming in due Time (9).

§ XXI. ABOUT this Time, *Clodio*, King of the *Franks*, begins to be mention'd in History. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who liv'd at that Time, in *Gaul*, gives us an Account of his Irruptions into *Belgica secunda*, how *Ætius* defeated him, on the Borders of the *Atrebates*, *ad vicum Helenæ*, where *Vieux-Hedin* (1) was afterwards situate, and that *Majoranus* was in this Expedition (2). He mentions, at the same Time, a certain great Nuptial Festival which the *Franks* were just celebrating, when the *Romans* fell upon them (3). The Account *Tacitus* gives us, of the Stature of

Clodio takes
Cambray. Is
beaten by *Æ-*
tius on the
Frontiers of
the *Atrebates*.
The State of
Triers, Mentz,
and *Cologn*.

(9) *LEO, epist. 15. cap. 17. p. 231.* Dedimus itaque literas ad fratres & coëpiscopos nostros, Tarraconenses, Carthaginenses, Lusitanos, atque Gallicos : [*s. Gallecos*] eisque concilium synodi generalis indiximus. Ad tuæ dilectionis sollicitudinem pertinebit, ut nostræ ordinationis autoritas ad prædictarum provinciarum episcopos deferatur. Si autem aliquid quod absit obstiterit, quo possit celebrari generale concilium, Galliciae saltem in unum convenient sacerdotes.

§ XXI. (1) *vid. SIRMONDUS in notis ad SIDONIUM APOLLINAREM, p. 120.*

(2) *SIDONIUS in panegyrico Majoriani, A. 458. dicto. v. 212. seqq.*

Pugnastis pariter, Francus qua CLOJO
patentes

Attrebatum terras pervaserat. Hic coëunte,
Claudebant Angusta vias, arcuque subactum
VICUM HELENAM, FLUMENQUE
simul sub tramite longo

Artus suppositis trabibus transmiserat agger.

(3) *IDEM, l. c. v. 218. seq.*

— Fors ripæ colle propinquo,

Barbaricus resonabat hymen, Scythicisque
choreis

Nubebat flavo similis nova nupta marito,

Hos ergo, ut perhibent, stravit, crepitabat
ad ictus

Cassis, & oppositis hastarum verbera thorax
Arcebat squammis, donec conversa fugatus
Hostis terga dedit. Plaustris rutilare videres
Barbarici vaga festa tori, convectorumque passim
Fercula, captivasque dapes, citroque ma-
dente

Ferre coronatos redolentia festa lebetas.

Ilicet increfcit Mauros, thalamique refringit
Plus ardens Bellona faces. rapit effeda victor,
Nubentemque nurum. non sic Pholætica
monstra

Atque Pelethronios Lapithas Semeleius Evan
Miscuit, Æmonias dum flammant orgia
matres

Et venerem Martemque cient, ac prima
cruentos

Consumunt ad bella cibos, Bacchoque rotato
Pocula tela putant, cum crudesciente tumultu
Polluit Æmathium sanguis Centauricus O-
thrym.

Nec plus nubigenum celebrentur jurgia fra-
trum :

Hic quoque monstra domat, rutili quibus ar-
ce cerebri

Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque
cervix

Setarum per damna nitet : tum lumine glauco
Albet

of the *Germans*, of their close Habits, and Manner of pleating their Hair; of their Turnaments, and other Customs, cannot be more clearly illustrated, than by the Description he, on that Occasion, gives of the *Franks*. The Testimony of this authentick Writer is the more agreeable, as it serves to confirm the Account we meet with, in *Gregorius Turonensis*, of this Prince. He says (4), that *Clodio* resided at *Disbargum* (5), and from thence invaded *Belgica secunda*, took the City of *Cambray*, and subdued all the Country to the *Somme*. *Salvianus*, who wrote soon after the Year 441, represents the City of *Triers*, after it was a fourth Time taken by the Enemy, as only a Heap of Ruins. He says, he was himself an Eye-witness of that Calamity, and rebukes the Inhabitants, who continued to lead a secure and voluptuous Life; especially some Persons of Distinction, who entreated the Emperor to restore to that City their Privilege of exhibiting publick Spectacles (6.) This fourth Destruction cannot be

Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis,
Pro barba tenues perarantur pectine cristæ.
Strictius assutæ vestes procera coërcent
Membra virûm, patet his altato tegmine
poples,
Latus & angustam suspendit balteus alvum.
Excussisse citas vastum per inane bipennes,
Et plagæ præscisse locum, clypeosque rotare
Ludus, & intortas præcedere saltibus hastas,
Inque hostem venisse prius. puerilibus annis
Est belli maturus amor, si forte premantur
Seu numero, seu forte loci, mors obruit illos,
Non timor. Inviçti perstant, animoque su-
persunt.
Jam prope post animam.

(4) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 9. Ferunt, tunc Chlogionem utilem ac nobilissimum ingente sua regem Francorum fuisse, qui apud DISPARGUM, castrum, habitabat, QUOD EST IN TERMINO THORINGORUM. In his autem partibus, id est, ad meridionalem plagam habitabant Romani usque Ligerim fluvium, &c. Chlogio autem, missis exploratoribus ad urbem Camaracum, perlustrata omnia ipse secutus, Romanos præterit, civitatem adprehendit: in qua paucum tempus residens, usque Suminam fluvium occupavit. De hujus stirpe quidam Meroveum regem fuisse asserunt, cujus filius fuit Childericus.

(5) Gregorius mentions this Castle in the Passage cited in the foregoing Note. But since, in other Copies, we read, in Termino Tongrorum, instead of in Termino Thoringorum, the Learned differ in their Conjectures about the Situation of Dispargum: Those, who place it on the right of the Rhine, as well as others, who look for it in Germania secunda, where the Tongri dwell, appeal to Gregorius's Words. But, as it is dubious, whether he wrote Tongrorum or Thoringorum, all the Proofs which they pretend to shew, are uncertain. We shall observe below that the Romans drove the Franks back again over the Rhine.

(6) SALVIANUS was himself a Spectator of this Calamity in Triers: de gubernatione dei, Lib. 6. p. 21. Vidi siquidem ego ipse Treveros domi nobiles, dignitate sublimes, licet jam spoliatos atque vastatos, minus tamen everfos rebus fuisse quam moribus. Quamvis enim depopulatis jam, atque nudatis, aliquid supererat de substantia, nihil tamen de disciplina. Adeo graviores in semet hostes externis hostibus erant, ut licet a barbaris jam everfi essent, a se tamen magis everterentur. Lugubre est referre, quæ vidimus, senes honoratos, decrepitos Christianos, imminente admodum jam excidio civitatis, gulæ ac lasciviæ servientes. Quid primum hic accusandum est? quod honorati, an quod senes, an quod Christiani, an quod periclitantes?

be more properly plac'd, than in this last War of the *Franks* : In which likewise *Mentz* and *Cologne* suffer'd greatly. He speaks of *Mentz*, as a

tantes ? Quis enim hoc fieri posse credat, vel in securitate a senibus, vel in discrimine a pueris, vel unquam a Christianis ? Jacebant in conviviis obliiti honoris, obliiti ætatis, obliiti professionis, obliiti nominis sui, principes civitatis cibo conferti, vinolentia dissoluti, clamoribus rabidi, bacchatione furiosi, nihil minus quam sensus sui ; immo quia prope jugiter tales, nihil magis quam sensus sui. Sed cum hæc ita essent, plus multo est quod dicturus sum, finem perditioni huic nec civitatum excidia fecerunt. Denique expugnata est quater urbs Gallorum opulentissima. *He makes farther Mention of it, p. 124. sqq.* Denique id breviter probari potest, excisa ter continuatis everfionibus summa urbe Gallorum, cum omnis civitas bustum esset, malis & post excidia crescentibus. Nam quos hostis in excidio non occiderat, post excidium calamitas obruebat ; cum id, quod in excidio evaserat morti, post excidium non superesset calamitati. Alios enim impressa altius vulnera longis mortibus necabant : alios ambrustos hostium flammis etiam post flammam poena torquebat. Alii interibant fame, alii nuditate, alii tabescentes, alii rigentes : ac si in unum exitum mortis per diversa moriendi genera corruebant. Et quid plura ? Excidio unius urbis affligebantur quoque aliæ civitates. Jacebant siquidem passim, quod ipse vidi atque sustinui, utriusque sexus cadavera nuda, lacera, urbis oculos incessantia, avibus canibusque laniata. Lues erat viventium, foetor funereus mortuorum. Mors de morte exhalabatur. Ac sic, etiam qui excidiis supradictæ urbis non interfuerant, mala alieni excidii perferebant. Et quid post hæc inquam, quid post hæc omnia ? Quis æstimare hoc amentiae genus possit ? Pauci nobiles, qui excidio superfuere, quasi pro summo deletæ urbis remedio, circenses ab imperatoribus postulabant. Vellem mihi hoc loco, ad exequendam rerum indignitatem, parem negotio eloquentiam dari ; scilicet, ut tantum virtutis esset in querimonia, quantum doloris in causa. Quis enim æstimare possit quid primum in his de quibus diximus accusandum sit, inreligiositas, an stultitia, an luxuria, an amentia ? Totum quippe in illis est. Quid enim

inreligiosius quam petere aliquid in injuriam dei ? aut quid stultius, quam quid petas non considerare ? aut quid tam perditum, quam in luctu res desiderare luxuriæ ? aut quid amentius, quam in malis esse, & malorum intelligentiam non habere ? Quanquam in iis omnibus nulla res minus culpanda est, quam amentia : quia voluntas crimen non habet, ubi furore peccatur. Quo magis hi de quibus loquimur accusandi sunt, quia sani insaniebant. Circenses ergo Treveri desideratis ? & hoc vastati, hoc expugnati, post cladem, post sanguinem, post supplicia, post captivitatem, post tot everfæ urbis excidia ? quid lacrymabilius hac stultitia ? quid luctuosius hac amentia ? fateor, miserrimos esse vos credidi, cum excidia passi estis ; sed miserriores vos video, cum spectacula postulatis. Putabam enim, vos in excidiis rem tantum atque substantiam ; nesciebam etiam sensum atque intelligentiam perdidisse. Theatra igitur quæritis, circum a principibus postulatis ! cui quæso statui, cui populo, cui civitati ? urbi exustæ ac perditæ, plebi captivæ, & interemtæ, quæ aut perit, aut luget ? de qua etiam si quid superest, totum calamitatis est ; quæ cuncta aut mœstitudine est anxia, aut lacrymis exhausta, aut orbitate prostrata : in qua nescias pene, cujus sit fors peior ac durior, interfectorum an viventium ? tantæ enim sunt miseriæ superstitum, ut infelicitatem vicerint mortuorum. Ludicra ergo publica Trever petis ? ubi quæso excercenda ? an super busta & cineres, super ossa & sanguinem peremtorum ? quæ enim urbis pars his malis omnibus vacat ? ubi non cruor fusus, ubi non strata corpora, ubi non concisorum membra lacerata ? ubique facies captæ urbis, ubique horror captivitatis, ubique imago mortis. Jacent reliquæ infelicissimæ plebis super tumulos defunctorum suorum, & tu circenses rogas ? Nigra est incendio civitas, & tu vultum festivitatis usurpas ? lugent cuncta, tu lætus es ? insuper etiam inlecebris flagitiosissimis deum provocas, & superstitionibus pessimis iram divinitatis inritas ? non miror plane, non miror, tibi evenisse mala quæ consecuta sunt. Nam quia te tria excidia non correxerant, quarto perire meruisti.

City buried in her own Ruins (7), and of *Cologne*, as a Place, then actually in the Enemy's Hands (8).

Continuation
of the History
of the *Hunns*.

§ XXII. As the Invasion of the *Hunns* had prevented *Theodosius* from attempting any thing to the Purpose on the *Vandals* in *Africa*; and *Attila* will now have so great a Share in the *German* History, I must here briefly resume the History of the *Hunns*, after having, in its proper Place, related their Irruptions into *Europe*, and Victories over the *Goths* (1). It is indeed, impossible, to observe here an exact Order; because the *Hunns* were not all govern'd by one King; nor is it so absolutely requisite for our Purpose. About the Year 428, *Attila* begun to reign, with his Brother *Bleda*. The same Year, *Theodosius* concluded with the *Goths*, at *Margus*, a City of *Mæsia*, on the *Danube*, the Treaty (2), which he had already

(7) IDEM, *Lib. 6. p. 113.* Et ideo rectissime ad nos dominus deus dicit: *Propter spurcitiam exterminati estis exterminio. Et rursus: exterminabuntur, inquit, aræ hujus risus.* Sed videlicet responderi hoc potest, non in omnibus hæc Romanorum urbibus agi. Verum est. Etiam plus ego addo, ne illic quidem nunc agi, ubi semper acta sunt antea. Non enim hoc agitur jam in MOGONTIACENSIIUM civitate; sed quia excisa atque deleta est. Non agitur Agrippianæ; sed quia hostibus plena. Non agitur in Treverorum urbe excellentissima; sed quia quadruplici est everfione prostrata.

(8) See the Quotation from *Salvianus* in the foregoing Note. He takes Notice of the City of *Cologne*, p. 122, without naming it, having before lamented the Fate of *Triers*. Quid in alia non longe, sed prope ejusdem magnificentiae civitate? nonne eadem & rerum ruina pariter & morum? nam præter cetera, cum duobus illic præcipuis & generalibus malis, avaritia & ebrietate, omnia concidissent, ad hoc postremo rabida vini aviditate perventum est, ut principes urbis ipsius ne tunc quidem de conviviis surgerent, cum jam hostis orbem intraret. Adeo etiam deus ipsis evidentem, ut credo, manifestare voluit cur perirent, cum per quam rem ad perditionem ultimam venerant, eam ipsam agerent, cum perirent. But that *Cologne* remain'd in the Enemy's Hands appears farther from a Letter of *Salvianus*, wherein he recommends a young Person,

who was a Native of *Cologne*, to his Friend: *epistola 1. p. 170.* Adolescens, quem ad vos misi, *Agrippinæ* cum suis captus est, quondam inter suos non parvi nominis, familia non obscurus, domo non despicabilis, & de quo aliquid fortasse amplius dicerem, nisi propinquus meus esset. Hoc enim fit, ut minus dicam, ne de me ipso dicere videar, de illo plura dicendo. Matrem ergo is de quo dico, *Agrippinæ* viduam reliquit, probam, honestam, & de qua forsitan audacter dicere valeam, vere viduam. Nam præter cæteras castimoniae sapientiaeque virtutes, est etiam fide nobilis, quæ omnibus semper ornatibus ornamento est: quia sine hac nihil tam ornatum est, quod ornare possit. Hæc ergo, ut audio, tantæ illic inopiae atque egestatis est, ut ei nec residendi nec abeundi facultas suppetat: quia nihil est, quod vel ad victum vel ad fugam opituletur. Solum est, quod mercenario opere victum quæritans, uxoribus barbarorum locatitias manus subdit. Ita licet per dei misericordiam vinculis captivitatis exempta sit, cum jam non serviat cenditione, servit paupertate.

§ XXII. (1) See above Book VII. § 16.

(2) PRISCUS p. 47. B. Cum autem, mortuo *Rua*, Hunnorum regnum ad *Attilam* pervenisset, senatus decrevit, *Plintham* legationem ad *Attilam* exequi, He then relates, how the Peace was concluded at *Margus*: Itaque placuit, profugos e *Scythis*, etiam qui multo ante profugerant, una cum captivis

already begun with King *Rua*, *Attila's* Predecessor; and, among other Conditions, granted them an annual Subsidy of 700 Pounds of Gold. The Renown and Power of the *Hunns* first came, in the Reign of these two Princes, to a very great Height. - How far their Dominions extended *Northwards* cannot be justly assign'd: But as to the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, in the Year 442, they both made an Irruption into *Thrace* and *Illyricum* (3). *Bleda* lost his Life, *A.* 445, and the Cause of his Death is in History imputed to *Attila* (4). In the Year 447, *Attila* again invaded *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, and at that Time penetrated as far as *Thermypole* (5). *Priscus* mentions another Treaty of Peace, by which the Emperor was oblig'd to augment the annual Subsidy to 2100 Pounds of Gold (6): And that was, perhaps, the Peace which followed this War. The Court of *Constantinople* had formed a Design on *Attila's* Life; but he detected the whole Affair, and the ancient *Romans* could not, on the like Occasion; have expressed themselves with greater Magnanimity, than he did in the Reproaches he made the Emperor *Theodosius*, on this Account (7). *Priscus* on this Occasion, represents the State of the

R r r 2

Eastern

captivis Romanis, qui non soluto redemptionis pretio, ad sua redierant, dedi: aut pro uno quoquo captivo Romano, his qui eum bello ceperant, octo aureos dari, Romanos belli societatem cum barbara gente, quæ bellum cum Hunnis gerat, non facere. Conventus ad mercatus paribus legibus celebrari, & in tuto Romanos & Hunnos esse. Ut foedera rata maneant & observentur, tributum nomine, septingentas auri libras uno quoque anno Scytharum regibus, a Romanis pendi; cum antea tributum annuum non fuisset, nisi trecentarum quinquaginta librarum. His conditionibus pacem Romani & Hunni pepigerunt.

(3) MARCELLINUS COMES gives the following Account of this. Eudoxio & Dioscoro Coss. (422). *Bleda* & *Attila* fratres, multarumque gentium reges, *Illyricum*, *Thraciamque* depopulati sunt.

(4) IDEM, *l. c.* *Valentiniano VI.* & *Nomo* Coss. (445). *Bleda*, rex Hunnorum, *Attilæ*, fratris sui insidiis interimitur.

(5) IDEM, *l. c.* *Ardabure* & *Callepio* Coss. (447). Ingens bellum & priore majus per *Attilam* regem nostris inflictum, pene totam Europam,

excisis, invasisque civitatibus, atque castellis conrasit. Et post pauca: *Attila* rex usque ad *Thermopolim* infestus advenit. *Arnegisclus* magister militiæ, in ripensi *Dacia*, juxta *Utum* amnem, ab *Attila* rege, viriliter pugnans, plurimis hostium interentis, occisus est.

(6) PRISCUS, *p.* 34. *C.* Post *Chersonensem* pugnam, *Romani* cum *Hunnis* pacem per *Anatolium* legatum fecerunt, & in has condiciones convenerunt. Profugos *Hunnis* reddi, sex mille auri libras pro præteritis stipendiis solvi. Duo mille & centum, in posterum singulis annis, tributum nomine pendi, pro unoquoque captivo Romano, qui in *Romanorum* fines, non soluto redemptionis pretio, evasisset, duodecim aureorum mulctam inferri. Quæ si non solveretur, qui captivum recepisset, restituere teneri. *Romanos* neminem ex barbaris ad se confugientemmittere. In has quidem foederum leges, *Romani* sponte consensisse videri volebant: sed certe, necessitate coacti.

(7) PRISCUS, *p.* 39. *A.* *Theodosium* quidem clari patris, & nobilis esse filium; *Attilam* quoque nobilis parentis esse stirpem, & patrem ejus

Eastern Empire, as so wretched (8), that it seems Matter of Doubt, whether the Subjects had not more Reason to wish themselves under the Government of the *Hunns* than that of the *Romans*: And no Wonder if now the *Hunns*, and soon after, the *Goths* dealt with these Provinces according to their own Will and Pleasure.

Attila's Ex-
traction,
Court and
Character.

§ XXIII. THIS was the same *Attila* (1), who, for some Time, was the Terror of *Europe*: And yet as famous as his Name was at that Time, as obscure is his History now (2). Some Authors, whose Relations are founded

ejus Mundiuchum acceptam a patre nobilitatem integram conservasse. Sed Theodosium tradita a patre nobilitate excidisse, quod tributum sibi pendendo, suus servus esset effectus. Non igitur justam rem facit, qui præstantiori, & ei quem fortuna dominum demonstravit, tanquam servus scelestus & improbus, clandestinas insidias paret. Neque se prius criminari illum eo nomine destitutum, quam eunuchus ad supplicium sit traditus.

(8) PRISCUS, p. 34. D. In has quidem fœderum leges, Romani sponte consensisse videri volebant: sed certe, necessitate coacti. Superante enim metu, qui Romanorum ducum mentes occupaverat, quantumvis duras, & iniquas conditiones sibi impositas (quo pacis consequendæ studio tenebantur) lubentibus animis susceperunt. Imo & tributis collationi cesserunt, quod illis fuit gravissimum, & maxime molestum. Regii enim thesauri, & privatorum facultates, in absurda spectacula, in vanos honorum ambitus & titulos, in delicias & voluptates, consumptæ fuerant tam profusis sumptibus, ut eos nemo sanæ mentis, vel in maxime affluentibus divitiarum copiis sustineret, aut toleraret. Præterea armorum, & rei militaris studium neglexerant, ut non solum Scythiis, sed & reliquis barbaris, qui proximas imperii Romani regiones incolebant, quoad tributorum pensitationem parerent. Itaque tributa & pecunias, quas ad Hunnos deferri oportebat, quibus exactio mandata erat, omnes conferre cœgerunt: nulla etiam eorum immunitatis habitatione, qui terræ onere, tanquam nimis gravi

ad tempus, sive imperatorum benignitate, seu judicium sententia, levati erant. Conferebant etiam aurum indictum, qui altius repetita temporum memoria, in senatum adscripti fuerant, ultra quam facultates ferre poterant, & multis splendida, & illustris fortuna vitæ commutationem attulit. Conficiebantur enim illæ pecuniæ, cum acerbitate & contumelia, pro arbitrio, & ut scripto unumquemque adnotaverant, quibus hujus rei cura ab imperatore erat demandata. Ex quo, qui antiquas, & a majoribus acceptas divitias possidebant, mundum uxorum; & pretiosam suam suppellectilem, in foro palam & publice venum exponebant. Ab hoc bello, tam atrox, & acerba calamitas Romanos excepit, ut multi sibi violentas manus attulerint, aut aptato collo laqueo, vitam finierint.

§. XXIII. (1) PRISCUS always calls him Attilas. Otrokosci, in originibus Hungaricis, P. 2. p. 39. imagines, that in the Hunnick Tongue he was called Athila, the Signification of which is Magnas: And that the Name is still in Use among the Hungarians, but pronounced Atzel, instead of Athel. Attila is in the ancient German Songs and Chronicles, call'd King Etzel.

(2) NICOLAUS OLAHUS, Archbishop of Gran, a learned Prelate, wrote Attila's Life, but had not the best Materials to work upon. Sabellicus is one of the principal Authors he refers to. He appeals at the same Time to ancient Songs, and an old Chronicon Hungaricum; but the Proofs he draws from thence sufficiently demonstrate it to be full of Fables.

founded on the ancient Songs of his Exploits, (which remain'd among the *Hunns* and *Germans* (3), and were, perhaps, compos'd long after his Death) or who perhaps invented many Circumstances themselves, have almost chang'd it into a Romance (4). By good Luck, some Fragments are still extant of the *Gothick* History, written by *Priscus*, (who was Ambassador at *Attila's* Court from *Theodosius*) from which the most credible Circumstances are deducible. As to his Extraction, according to *Priscus*, he himself boasts of the Nobility of it (5). The whole Power of the *Hunns*, after his Brother's Decease, was united under him, and extended over the *Ostro-Goths*, and many other *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations, who had before been under their Dominion, from the Danube, and the Black-Sea, very far *Northwards*. He possess'd likewise, a vast Tract of Land, on the Left of that River; *Priscus* makes the Length to be from the *Sau* to *Novi* in *Thrace*, and the Breadth 15 Days Journey: He relates, moreover, that *Naissus*, at present *Nissa*, in *Servia*, was the last Place, where the Subjects of the *Roman Empire* and the *Hunns* were allow'd to traffick with one another (6). This

Fables. Philippus Callimachus borrow'd his Account of Attila from Olahus. Besides these, one Juvenus Cælius Callanus Dalmata de vita Attilæ is famous; whom Dr. Fabricius mentions in his Bibliotheca Latina, p. 702, and observes, that this Book was printed in Quarto at Ingoldstadt, 1604.

(3) LAZIUS de migrationibus gentium, mentions, p. 603, some ancient German Poems on Attila's Exploits; and Otrokosci here and there refers to such old Hungarian Songs; particularly, P. I. p. 133.

(4) La guerra d'Attila flagello di dio, tratta dallo archivo dei prencipi d'Esti. Ferrara, 1568, 4to. It is, indeed, said in the Preface, that Thomas, Secretary to Nicetas, Patriarch of Aquileia, wrote this History in Latin, and that Nicolaus la Casola, a Native of Bologna, translated it into the Provincial Tongue, and dedicated it to Bonifacius of Este; from whence this Italian Translation was afterwards taken: But we need not read much of it to perceive, that it is a meer Romance, written in Honour of the House of Este. Monsieur Corneille, in the Tragedy of Attila, notwithstanding the Freedom always allow'd to Poets, has not

taken so much Liberty as the Author of this Book, which nevertheless he publishes as a History.

(5) See Not. 7. of the preceding Sect.

(6) PRISCUS, p. 37. B. Edecon, vir Scythæ, qui maximas res in bello gesserat, venit iterum legatus cum Oreite. Hic genere Romanus, Pæoniam regionem, ad Saum sitam, incolebat, quæ ex fœdere inito, cum Aëtio Romanorum occidentaliū duce, barbaro parebat. Itaque Edecon in palatium admissus, imperatori literas Attilæ reddidit, in quibus de transfugis non redditis querebatur, qui nisi redderentur, & Romani a colenda terra abstinere, quam bello captam suæ ditioni adjecerat, ad arma iturum minabatur. Ea vero, secundum Istrum a Pæonibus, ad Novas usque Thraciæ in longitudinem extendebatur. Latitudo autem erat quindecim dierum itinere. Neque vero forum celebrari, ut olim, ad ripam Istri, sed in Naissō, quam urbem a se captam & dirutam, quinque dierum itinere expedito homini ab Istro distantem, Scytharum & ditionis limitem constituebat. Legatos quoque ad se venire jussit, controversa disceptaturos, non ex quolibet hominum genere & ordine, sed ex consularibus illustriores, quos mittere libuerit, quorum excipiendorum gratia, in Sardicam discederet.

Difference

Difference of the Nations, subject to him, occasioned corrupted *Latin* to be spoken at his Court, besides the *Hunnick* and *Gothick* Tongues †. The chief Residence of his Kingdom was in the Countries on the Right of the *Danube*. From the Account, which *Priscus* has transmitted to us of his Journey thither, as Ambassador, it appears, that *Attila's* Camp was, at that Time, on the Right of the *Danube*, opposite to the present *Widin*; and that the Ambassy had then 15 Days Journey to his Residence (7). His Court consisted of a great number of contiguous Buildings of Wood, and were so spacious, so regular, and so neat, that they might be said to excell many Cities. *Priscus* has left us many particular Circumstances of this Court (8). He makes

† See Not. 8. *Priscus* says *elsewhere*; (p. 59. B.) *Intra sua, barbaricam linguam colunt, & affectant; neque tam Hunnorum, quam Gothorum, aut etiam Aufoniorum, hi scilicet, quibuscum Romanis frequentius est commercium. Otrokosci imagines, p. 126, that Lingua Aufoniorum, here, signifies the Language still us'd in Wallachia.*

(7) *Otrokosci endeavours to rectify this Itinerary, and concludes, p. 180. Magna itineris hujus emensio videtur locum nobis ostendere circa FASZ-BIRINY, aut plane ipsum oppidum.*

(8) *PRISCUS, p. 66, 67, 68. Reversus nobis in tentorium, ecce ad nos Orestis pater, vos ambos, inquit, ad convivium invitat Attilas, fiet vero illud ad nonam diei. Tempore condito observato, ut venimus, & una quoque Romanorum occidentalium legati, stetimus in limine cœnaculi, coram Attila. Hic pincernæ, ut mos est in illis regionibus, calicem tradiderunt, ut ante accubitus, vota faceremus. Quo facto, & calice degustato, ipsa folia in quibus nos sedentes cœnare oportebat, ingressi sumus. Hic præparata erant omnia sedilia, circa parietes cubiculi, ab utraque parte disposita: in medio sedebat Attilas, in lecto, e regione cujus erat & alter Attilæ lectus, pone quem erant quidam gradus, qui ad ejus cubile ferebant, linteis candidis, & variis tapetibus, venustatis & ornatus gratia, contectum, simile cubilibus, quæ Romani & Græci nubentibus adornare pro more habent. Tum convivarum primum ordinem, ad Attilæ dextram*

federe constituerunt, secundum ad lævam: in quo nos & Berichus, vir apud Scythas nobilis; sed Berichus superiore loco. Nam Onesegius in cathedra, ad dextram regii thori, & e regione Onesegii, duo ex Attilæ filiis sedebant. Senior enim in eodem, quo pater throno, non prope, sed multum infra accumbebat, oculis præ pudore, propter patris præsentiam, semper in terram coniectis. Omnibus ordinè sedentibus, qui Attilæ erat a poculis, ingrediens, pateram vini tradit. Hanc ubi suscepit, priorem ordine salutavit, salutatione honoratus surrexit, neque prius eum sedere fas erat, quam merum degustans, aut etiam ebibens, poculum pocillatori redderet. Sediti autem Attilæ, ex more, qui convivio intererant, pocula suscipientes, & post salutationem degustantes, honorem exhibebant. Uni cuique vero unus pocillator aderat, quem pincerna Attilæ exeunte, introire suo ordine oportuit. Secundo sedente, & reliquis deinceps ad hunc modum honore affectis, Attilas nos ex Thracum instituto, ad parium poculorum certamen provocavit. Tum omnibus salutationis honore delato, pincernæ recesserunt. Mensæ vero juxta Attilæ mensam erant erectæ, excipiendis tribus & quatuor, aut etiam pluribus convivis idoneæ, quorum unusquisque poterat, minime transgressis sedium ordinibus, cultello, ex ferculis, quod sibi libitum erat, desumere. Deinde primus in medium accessit Attilæ minister, discum carnibus plenum ferens. Post ipsum, qui reliquis ministrabant

makes, at the same Time, Mention of *Attila's* two Wives, to both which he paid his Court (9), and likewise of several Sons, who were then with him.

ON

strabant panem & opsonia mensis apposuerunt. Sed cæteris quidem barbaris, & nobis cœna omni eduliorum genere referta & instructa, præparata erat, & in discis argenteis reposita, Attilæ in quadra lignea, & nihil præter carnes. Moderatum pariter in omnibus reliquis sese præbebat. Convivis aurea & argentæ pocula, quibus bibebant, suppedabantur, Attilæ poculum erat ligneum. Frugalis admodum illius vestis, nihil, quo ab aliorum vestibus dignosci posset, habebat, nisi quod erat pura & impermixta. Neque ejus ensis erat aliqua illustri elegantia conspicuus, neque calceorum barbarorum ligamina, neque ejus equi fræna, ut reliquorum Scytharum, auro, aut lapidibus, & aliis hujusmodi pretiosis gemmis erant ornata. Ut opsonia primorum ferculorum fuere consumpta, surreximus, neque prius quisquam nostrum, ad sedem suam est reversus, quam sibi traditam pateram vini plenam, servato quem supra diximus ritu, Attilam saluum & incolumem precatus, ebibisset. Eo ad hunc modum honore culto, sedimus. Tum nova fercula cuique mensæ sunt illata, quæ alia continebant esculenta, ex quibus ubi omnes, quoad satis esset, comedissent, modo quo supra, in pedes erecti, ebibito calice, sedes nostras repetivimus. Adveniente vespere, sublati epulis, duo viri Scythæ coram Attila prodierunt, & versus a se factos, quibus ejus victorias, & bellicas virtutes canebant, recitarunt. In quos convivæ oculos vultusque defixerunt. Et alii quidem versibus delectabantur, aliis bellorum recordatio animos exfuscitabat, aliis manabant lachrymæ, quorum ætas affecta reddiderat corpus effœtum, & imbecillum, ex quo eorum pugnandi ardor & cupiditas quiescere cogebatur. Post cantus & carmina, Scythæ nescio quis, mente captus, absurda & prodigiosa, nec sani sensus quicquam habentia, resonans, & deblatterans, risum omnibus commovit. Postremo Zerchon Maurusius introivit. Edecon enim illi

persuaserat, ut ad Attilam veniret, omnem operam & studium pollicitus, quo uxorem reciperaret. Hanc enim cum illi Bleda studeret, in barbarorum regione acceperat, quam in Scythia, ab Attila ad Aëtium dono missus, reliquerat. Sed hac spe frustratus est, quia Attilas illi succensuit quod ad sua emigrasset. Itaque tunc arrepta festivitatis occasione progressus, & forma & habitu, & pronuntiatione & verbis confuse ab eo prælatis, modo Ausoniorum, modo Hunnorum, modo Gothorum linguam intermiscens, omnes lætitia & hilaritate effudit, & effecit, ut in risum, qui sedari & extinguere non poterat, prorumperent. Sed Attilas semper eodem vultu, omnis mutationis expers, & immotus permanfit, neque quicquam facere, aut dicere, quod jocum aut hilaritatem præ se ferret, conspectus est: præterquam quod juniorem ex filiis introeuntem, & adventantem, nomine Irnach, placidis & lætis oculis est intuitus, & cum gena traxit. Ego vero cum admirarer Attilam, reliquos suos liberos parvi facere, ad hunc solum advertere, & animum adjicere, unus ex barbaris, qui prope me sedebat, & Latinæ linguæ usum habebat, fide prius accepta, me nihil eorum quæ dicerentur evulgaturum, dixit, vates Attilæ vaticinatos esse, ejus genus quod alioquin interitum erat, ab hoc puero restauratum iri. Ut vero convivium ad multam noctem serunt, minime diutius nobis compotationi indulgendum esse duximus, sed frequentes exivimus.

(9) PRISCUS, p. 63. A. Postridie ad domum Attilæ interiora septa me contuli, dona ferens ejus uxori, quæ Cerca vocabatur. Ex ea tres illi liberi. Senior jam tum Acatirorum, & reliquarum gentium, qua Scythia ad Pontum patet, regno potiebatur. Intra illa septa erant multa ædificia, partim ex tabulis sculptis, & eleganter compactis,

ON the Medals, invented of *Attila* (10), he is scarce allow'd a Human Form: And as to his Genius, modern Writers generally represent him, as so savage, that he himself took Pride in his Cruelty, and, among other odd Titles, assumed that of the *Scourge* of God (11). In opposition to this, let us examine the Character left us of him by *Jornandes*, and, perhaps, borrow'd from *Priscus's* History; he was of a short Stature, had broad Shoulders, a large Head, small Eyes, and a flat-Nose. His chief Passion was an impetuous Ambition for Sovereignty; but, withal, he was as beneficent to those, whom he once took into his Protection, as he was terrible to his Enemies (12). As the Description

compactis, partim ex trabibus, opere puro & in reſtitutionem affabre dolatis & politis, quæ erant interjeſtæ, lignis ad tornum elaboratis, exſtructa & compoſita. Circuli autem a ſolo incipientes, in altum aſſurgebant, certa proportionem & meſura. Hic habitabat Attilæ uxor, ad quam a barbaris, qui circa januas erant, naſtus aditum, ipſam deprehendi in molli ſtragula jacentem. Erat autem pavementum tapetibus ſtratum, & ſuper ipſis gradiebamur. Eam ſamulorum multitudo in orbem circumſtabat, & ancillæ ex adverſo humi ſedentes, telas coloribus variegabant, quæ veſtibus barbarorum ad ornatum inferuntur. Cerca ſalutata, & muneribus traditis, egreſſus, expectans, dum Onefegius regia exiret (jam enim e domo ſua illuc venerat) reliqua ædificia, ubi Attilas commorabatur, perluftravi. *And farther,* p. 68. D. Interea Reccam, Attilæ uxor, quæ ejus res domeſticas curabat, nos etiam ad cœnam invitavit. Ad eam, ut erat multis Scythiæ principibus comitata, accedentes, contigit nobis etiam humanitate frui. Illa vero nos excepit mellitis, & jucundis conſabulationibus, & magnifico epularum apparatu. Tum unusquiſque eorum, qui aderant, ſurgens, Scythica comitate, poculum plenum nobis porrexit, & eum, qui biberat amplexus, & oſculatus, illud excepit. A cœna nos in tentorium noſtrum recipientes, ſomnum cepimus.

(10) V. RUDOLFI ROTHII *diff. de Attila rege. conf.* 1. C. Eckardi *obſervatio de nummis*

Attilæ regis in Actis eruditorum A. 1720, p. 214. Toppeltinus mentions a Statue of this King, in originibus Transylvaniae, p. 84. Attilæ tamen ſtatua intonſa viſitur.

(11) OLAHUS: Titulus Attilæ, quo utebatur, erat: Athila filius Bendegigicz, nepos magni Nemroth, in Engadi nutritus. Dei gratia Hunnorum, Medorum, Gothorum, Danorum rex: metus orbis. Cui poſterioribus temporibus, propter verba eremitæ adjecit, flagellum dei. *He is ſecounded by Michael Ritiſ, L. 1. de regibus Hungariæ, p. 841.* In epiſtolis, diplomatibusque ita ſe inſcribebat. Atila, filius Bendecuci, nepos magni Nembroth, nutritus in Engaddi. Dei gratia rex Hunnorum, Medorum, Gothorum, Dacorum, metus orbis & flagellum Dei. *This Author relates, that, when Attila beſieg'd Orleans, he ſent a Part of his Troops to Spain againſt the Sultan Miroman. Theſe Titles are taken from the ſame Chancery, from whence Olahus obtain'd Attila's Coat of Arms. tap 3.* Inſigne tam in ſcuto, quam velis gerebat Aſturem avem, coronam in capite geſtantem.

(12) JORNANDES, c. 35. Vir in concuſſionem gentis natus minando, terrarum omnium metus, qui nescio qua forte terrebat cuncta, formidabili de ſe opinione vulgata. Erat namque ſuperbus inceſſu, huc atque illuc circumferens oculos, ut elati potentia ipſo quoque motu corporis appareret. Bellorum quidem amator, ſed ipſe manu temperans,

Description of his Person agrees with what is generally known of the exterior Appearance of the *Hunns* (13), so does the Account of the Qualities of his Mind perfectly answer to his Actions, their most certain Mirrour. *Priscus*, in general, describes him as a Prince of great Austerity, and intersperses some Circumstances, which discover a Cruelty of Temper. As the Passions of Love and Anger are almost always equally impetuous, in Persons of a fiery Disposition, *Attila* gave himself up to the latter, in Proportion as Severity was the more necessary, to keep so savage a Nation within Bounds. His own Ambition, and the common Bent of the Nation, which knew no other Means of acquiring Fame, prompted him to War. He took Advantage, at the same Time, of the Superstition of his Subjects, to make them place the greater Confidence in his Arms: For he caused a Rumour to be spread, that he was in Possession of the Sword of I know not what ancient Hero, whom his Posterity, at that Time, rever'd as the God of War (14): But as we must not always imagine, that the Founders of Kingdoms arriv'd at that Pitch of Fortune, meerly by Dint of the Sword; so we find in *Attila*, likewise, many other Talents, which, in a *Scythian Hero*, ought to raise the greater Esteem and Admiration in us; because, what in the *Greeks* and *Romans* was the Effect of the most careful Education, was, in them, the meer Product of Nature. He was not so very savage, but that some Sparks of Natural Religion, which are seen in the most unciviliz'd Heathens, were discover'd in all his Actions. *Priscus* relates, that of all his Sons, he loved the Youngest most; because the Soothsayers had foretold, that Heaven had decreed the Succession for him (15). Amidst the Noise and Hurry of Arms, he likewise knew how to improve the useful Arts of Peace. *Priscus* almost complains of his having sent out too many Ambassies. He not only led his Army to the Field himself, but likewise presided, in Person, in his Courts of Justice (16): And, which

rans, consilio validissimus, supplicantibus exorabilis, propitius in fide semel receptis. Forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barba, canis aspersus, fimo naso, rater colore, originis suæ signa restituens. Qui quamvis esset hujus naturæ, ut semper magna consideret, addebat ei tamen confidentiam gladius Martis inventus, sacer apud Scytharum reges semper habitus. Quem *Priscus* historicus tali refert occasione detectum, &c.

(13) See above § XIV. of Book VII.

(14) See Note 12.

(15) See Note 8.

(16) *PRISCUS*, p. 63. C. Hic dum ego starem cum reliqua multitudine (nec enim accessu ullius loci prohibebar, quippe qui *Attilæ* custodibus, & barbaris, qui eum affectabantur, eram notus) vidi magnam turbam, qua prodibat, currentem, tumultum & strepitum excitantem. *Attilas* egressus habitatione, gravis vultu, omnium oculis, quaquaversus, in se conversis, incedens cum Onegio, sedit pro ædibus. Hic eum multi, quibus erant lites adierunt, & ejus judicium exceperunt.

S f f

is

is most surprizing, when *Attila* appeared at publick Festivals; he had his Poets in Waiting; and the Poems, which they composed, in Honour of his Expeditions, made a Part of the Entertainment of the Court. Tho' he amass'd vast Treasures, and his Subjects had adopted much of the Prodigality and Luxury of the *Romans*, yet he kept, indeed, a Court, suitable to so great a Monarch; but himself retained the ancient Parsimony. In his Garments, Arms and Accoutrements, he made no great Shew of Splendour; and *Priscus* observes, in the before-mention'd Place, that, tho' his Table was serv'd with Vessels of Gold and Silver, yet for himself he only made Use of a Wooden Cup, and had some Meat serv'd up in a Wooden Platter (17). With these Qualities, *Attila* might perhaps have pass'd for an excellent Prince, had he not esteem'd it more glorious to conquer foreign Nations, than to act the Part of a good Regent at Home: But, as the Qualities of Princes ought only to be valued in Proportion, as they contribute to the Advantage or Prejudice of Mankind; so *Attila's* Memory is always attended with this Blemish, that his Grandeur was owing to the Devastation of so many Countries.

Attila's Preparations against Gaul.

§ XXIV. *ATTILA's* Arms had, 'till then, been chiefly a Terror to the *East*: But *Theodosius II*, dying in the Year 450, on the 28th of *July*, his Sister *Pulcheria*, a Princess of 52 Years of Age, who had long bore the Title of *Augusta*, and had, during her Brother's Life, bore a great Share in the Government, married *Marcianus*, and thereby pav'd his Way to the Succession. This Prince begun his Reign with more Vigour than his Predecessors (1): *Attila* had besides some particular Motives to employ his Arms against the *Western* Provinces.

(17) See above, Note 8.

§ XXIV. (1) *PRISCUS*, p. 3. Cum primum Attilæ nunciatum est, Marcianum post Theodosii mortem ad imperium pervenisse, & quæ Honoræ acciderant, ad eum qui in occidente rerum potiebatur, misit, qui contenderent, Honoriam nihil se indignum admisisse, quum matrimonium secum contracturam spopondisset. Misit & ad Romanos in oriente tributorum constitutorum gratia. Sed re infecta, legati utrimque sunt reversi. Etenim qui occidentis imperio præerat, respondit, Honoriam sibi nubere non posse, quod jam alii nupsisset. Neque imperium Honoræ deberi, viro- rum enim, non mulierum Romanum imperium

esse: Qui in oriente imperabat, se minime ratum habere tributi illationem, quam Theodosius consensisset, quiescenti munera largiturum, bellum minanti viros & arma objecturum, nec enim vires & copias sibi deesse. Itaque Attilas in varias distrahebatur sententias, & illi in dubio hærebat animus, quos primum aggrediretur. Tandem melius rem se habituram visum est, ad periculosius bellum sese convertere, & in occidentem exercitum educere. Illic enim sibi rem fore, non solum cum Italis, sed etiam cum Gothis & Francis: cum his, ut Honoriam cum ingentibus divitiis in uxorem acciperet: cum illis, ut Genserichi gratiam promereretur.

Honoriam,

Honoria, Emperor *Valentinian's* Sister, was weary of leading an unmarried and retired Life, and this Solitude became perhaps the more insupportable to her, when she compar'd her State to that, which *Pulcheria* enjoyed at her Brother's Court. She had therefore caused Proposals of Marriage to be made to *Attila*, which he readily embraced. He begun already to form vast Enterprizes upon this Match; when the Court of *Ravenna* got Intelligence of this Correspondence, and when they reflected, what Advantages the *Goths* made of having the Princess *Placidia* in their Power, they were the more assiduous in suppressing it. *Attila* (2), however, thought this might serve as a Pretence for a War. Besides his own Ambition, he was excited by *Genferic* King of the *Vandals*, to make some Attempt in *Gaul*: For that Prince aim'd at giving Uneasiness to *Theodoric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, who he knew ow'd him a Grudge; for having sent back his Daughter, the Wife of *Hunnoric*, a Prince of the *Vandals*, in an injurious Manner (3).

(2) *These Circumstances appear partly from the afore-cited Testimony of Priscus; but the following Passages give a farther Account of the Princess Honoria's amorous Intrigues. Marcellinus in chronico, Ariobinda & Aspare Coss (435). Honoria Valentiniani imperatoris soror, ab Eugenio procuratore suo stuprata, concepit, palatioque expulsa & Theodosio principi de Italia transmissa, Attilanem contra occidentalem rempublicam concitabat. Jornandes de success. regn. c. 97. relates more Circumstances: Honoria, dum ad aulæ decus virginitatem suam cogeretur custodire, clam misso clientulo, Attilam Hunnorum regem invitabat in Italiam: cumque veniente Attila votum suum nequireret explere, facinus, quod cum Attila non fecerat, cum Eugenio procuratore suo committit. Quamobrem tanta a germano, & in Constantino-polim Theodosio principi destinata est. In one of Prosper's Chronicles, we read, ad A. 1. Martiani & Valentiniani, Attila Gallias ingressus quasi jure debitam poscit uxorem, ubi gravi clade inflicta & accepta, ad propria recedit. We meet with Medals with the Image of Honoria, where she is stiled Augusta; and one, among the Rest, with the Inscription VOT. XX. MULT. XXX. But History is here so obscure, that we cannot say on what Occasion she obtained the Title of Augusta.*

(3) *From the Words of Priscus, in not. 1. it appears, that Genferic excited Attila to this War. Jornandes relates farther Circumstances, cap. 36. Hujus ergo mentem, ad vastationem orbis paratam, comperiens Gizericus rex Vandalorum, quem paulo ante memoravimus, multis muneribus ad Vesegotharum bella præcipitat, metuens, ne Theodoricus, Vesegotharum rex, filiæ ulcisceretur injuriam, quæ Hunericho Gizerici filio juncta, prius quidem tanto conjugio lætaretur; sed postea, ut erat ille & in sua pignora truculentus, ob suspicionem tantummodo veneni ab ea parati, eam naribus abscissis, truncatisque auribus spolians decore naturali, patri suo ad Gallias remiserrat, ut turpe funus miseranda semper offerret, & crudelitas, qua etiam moverentur externi, vindictam patris efficacius impetraret. Attila igitur dudum bella, accepta Gizerici redemptione, parturiens, legatos in Italiam ad Valentinianum principem misit, ferens Gothorum Romanorumque discordiam, ut, quos prælio non poterat concutere, odiis internis elideret, adferens, se reipubl. ejus amicitias in nullo violare, sed contra Theodericum Vesegotharum regem sibi esse certamen, unde eum excipi libenter optaret: Cætera epistolæ usitatis salutationum blandimentis opplevrat, studens fidem adhibere mendacio.*

Of the Ger-
man Nations
in his Army.
What Rout
he took.

§ XXV. *ATTILA* broke up, in the Year 450, for *Gaul*, with a formidable Army of *Hunns* and *Germans*. *Jornandes*, to whom we may give the more Credit (1), because, among others, he made use of *Priscus's* History, relates, that, in particular, the three *Ostro-Gothick* Princes, *Valamir*, *Theodimir*, and *Vidimir*, and *Ardaric* King of the *Gepidæ*, distinguish'd themselves, with their Troops; and that *Attila*, among all the Princes, who served under him, reposed most Confidence in the King of the *Gepidæ*, and in *Valamir* the *Gothick* Prince (2). *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who not only lived in these Times, but himself wrote a History of the *Hunnick* War, names, among the Nations in *Attila's* Army, the *Rugii*, *Scyrri*, *Burgundians*, *Thuringians*, *Bruëteri*, and even the *Franks* (3). Of the latter, are only to be understood that Part of the Nation, which adhered to *Attila*, and perhaps joined him in his March. What *Route* he took, is uncertain: An ancient Account mentions, indeed, that

§ XXV. (1) *This is confirmed by Pagius, ad A. 451. n. 18. Gesta hoc anno in Galliis ab Attila nullus accuratius descripsit, quam Jornandes.*

(2) *JORNANDES, c. 38. E diverso vero fuit Hunnorum acies ordinata, ut in medio Attila cum suis fortissimis locaretur, sibi potius rex hac ordinatione prospiciens, quatenus inter gentis suæ robur positus, ab imminente periculo redderetur exceptus. Cornua vero ejus multiplices populi, & diversæ nationes, quas ditioni suæ subdiderat, ambiebant. Inter quos Ostrogotharum præminebat exercitus, Walamire, & Theodomire, & Woldemire, germanis ductantibus, ipso etiam rege, cui tunc serviebant, nobilioribus; quia Amalorum generis eos potentia illustrabat, eratque & cum Gepidarum agmine innumerable rex ille fortissimus & famosissimus, Ardaricus, qui ob nimiam suam fidelitatem erga Attilam ejus consiliis intererat. Nam perpendens Attila, sagacitatem suam, eum, & Walamirem, Ostrogothorum regem, super cæteros regulos diligebat. Erat namque Walamir secreti tenax, blandus colloquio, doli ignarus: Ardaricus, fide & consilio, ut*

diximus, clarus. Quibus non immerito contra parentes Vefigothas debuit credere pugnatoribus. Reliqua autem, si dici fas est, turba regum, diversarumque nationum ductores, ac si satellites, nutibus Attilæ attendebant, & ubi oculo annuisset, absque reliqua murmuratione cum timore & tremore unusquisque adstabat, aut certe quod jussus fuerat, exsequebatur. Sed solus Attila rex omnium regum, super omnes & pro omnibus sollicitus erat.

(3) *The Rest may be seen in Sidonius's Panegyrick, in Avitum (carm 7.) v. 319.*

—— Subito cum rupta tumultu
Barbaries, totas in te transfuderat arc-
tos
Gallia: pugnacem Rugum, comitante
Gelono,
Gepida trux sequitur, Scyrum Burgun-
dio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna
TORINGUS,
Bruëterus, ulvofa vel quem Nicer abluit
unda,

Prorumpit

that he destroy'd *Augspurg* in his Way (4); but that Story has not sufficient Vouchers among the Ancients. We may rather conclude, from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that he did not pass thro' *Ratia*, but thro' the Countries on the Right of the *Danube*, filed off towards the *Rhine*, and pass'd over that River, in the Dominions of the *Franks*.

§ XXVI. THE Divisions among that Nation, in which *Attila* inter-Contentions posed, and were, perhaps, in Part, a Pretext to this War, took Rise on among the the following Account. Two Princes of the *Franks* contended for the *Franks*, in Succession; the Elder adhered to *Attila*, the Younger, whom *Priscus*, which he whence this Account is borrowed, himself saw at *Rome*, sought Aid from *Aëtius*, and, by his Mediation, *Valentinian* made a League with him. Both seem to have had Adherents among those Nations, which were comprehended under the general Name of *Franks*. *Attila*, with his Army, therefore first invaded the Country of the *Franks* (1). The Parti-

Prorumpit FRANCUS. Cecidit cito
secta bipenni

Hercinia in lintres, & Rhenum texuit
alno.

Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila tur-
mis.

In campos se, Belga, tuos. Vix lique-
rat Alpes

Aëtius, tenue & rarum sine milite du-
cens.

Robur, in auxiliis Geticum male cre-
dulus agmen

In cassum propriis præsumens adfore
castris.

Nuntius at postquam ductorem perculit,
Hunnos

Jam prope contemptum propriis in sedi-
bus hostem

Expectare Getas, versat vagus omnia
secum

Consilia, &c.

*Sidonius, in another Place, calls Attila Rheni
Hostis. See §. XXVII. not. 5.*

(4) *Vid. Marcus Velserus, rerum Augustana-
rum Vindelicarum, L. 8. p. 332.*

§ XXVI. (1) *PRISCUS, p. 40.* At Francos bello laceffendi, illi [*Attilæ*] causa fuit regum ipsorum obitus: & de regno inter liberos controversia. Seniori Attila studebat, juniorem Aëtius tuebatur, quem Romæ vidimus legationem obeuntem, nondum lanugine efflorescere incipiente flava coma, & capillis propter densitatem & magnitudinem super humerum effusis. Hunc etiam Aëtius in filium adoptaverat, & plurimis donis ornatum, ad imperatorem, ut amicitiam & societatem cum eo faceret, miserat. Sed Attilas, antequam in eam expeditionem ingrederetur, rursus legatos in Italiam misit, qui Honoriam poscerent. Etenim secum matrimonium pepigisse: cujus rei ut fidem faceret, anulum ab ea ad se missum, per legatos, quibus tradiderat, exhiberi mandavit. Itaque imperii partem sibi Valentinianum cedere æquum censebat, quam pater Honorie reliquisset, sed hac illam frater, quæ ejus erat avaritia & cupiditas, privarat. At Romani Hesperii in prima sententia perstiterunt, & Attilæ mandata rejecerunt.

zans of the Prince whom *Attila* favoured, readily assisted him, and furnished him with all Necessaries for transporting his Army over the *Rhine* (2). Another Body of *Franks* encounter'd them on the other Side, and the Event prov'd fortunate to that Party, which was assisted by the *Romans* (3).

He invades
Gaul.

§ XXVII. *ATTILA* endeavoured, indeed, to remove all Apprehensions from the Emperor *Valentinian*, by pretending, that his Preparations were only against the *Goths*: But the *Romans* would not be thus lull'd into Security, and, probably, gave him to understand in Time, that he would involve himself in a War with them as well as with the *Goths*, if he invaded *Gaul* †. Among the Cities in *Gaul*, which felt the Effects of his Fury, we find, in particular, *Metz*, *Triers*, and *Tongres* (1), expressly mention'd. Historians likewise relate, that *Attila* vanquish'd a King of the *Burgundians*, and almost extirpated his whole Nation: But as the Year, when this happen'd, is not remark'd, it may, with most Probability, be reckon'd in this Invasion, when the *Burgundians* could not well escape the Rage of the *Huns*, after they had pass'd the *Rhine* (2). *Attila* was advanced as far as *Orleans*

(2) See the Quotation from *Sidonius*, § XXV. not. 3.

(3) *PAGIUS*, ad A. 447. n. 12. observes, that *Clodio* died that Year; and ad A. 451. n. 20. concludes from the Words of *Priscus*, mention'd above, that the two Princes, who contended for the Succession, were his Sons; that *Attila* sided with the Elder, and *Ætius* took the Part of the Younger; and that this latter was the same King of the *Franks*, who, according to the Account of *Gregorius Turonensis*, fought for the *Romans* at the Battle of *Chalons*, and, by the Victory then obtained, at the same Time, got the better of his Brother.

§ XXVII. † See the Words of *Jornandes* above, § XXIV. not. 3.

(1) *AUTOR DE GESTIS FRANCORUM*, secundum manuscriptum *Cameracense*, c. 5. *Chuni Rhenum transierunt, Mettis succenderunt,*

Treviris distrunt: Tuncrus pervadunt, usque Aurelianis, pervenientes. We meet with many Circumstances of this Invasion, related by *Paulus Diaconus*, in *gestis episcoporum Metensium*, in vit. S. Auctoris episcopi. And farther, in the Life of *S. Servatius*, Bishop of *Tongres*; in the Life of *S. Anianus*, Bishop of *Orleans*, ap. *Surium* die 17. Novemb. from whence *Baronius*, ad h. A. n. 48. extracted his Account: But some manifest and fabulous Circumstances render them suspected, and the Rest require a narrow Examination, because, perhaps, they are not warranted by any Writer more ancient, than *Gregorius Turonensis*, L. 2. c. 5. The same may be said of what *Baronius* quotes from the Life of *Lupus*, Bishop of *Troyes*, ap. *Surium* ad d. 29. Julii n. 41, and from the *Acta S. Nicassii* Bishop of *Triers*, ap. *Surium* d. 4. Dec.

(2) *PAULUS DIACONUS*, de *gestis episcoporum Metensium*, says, in vita S. Auctoris, *Eo igitur tempore, cum reverendus hic præsul vitam cunctis*

leans (3), and already threaten'd to cross the *Loire*, and attack the *Goths*, even in their own Country; when the *Roman* and *Gothick* Armies join'd. *Sidonius Apollinaris* extols the Vigilance of *Ferreolus*, who was, that Year, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum* (4), and that *Avitus* zealously press'd the March of the Army at the *Gothick* Court, and their Junction with the *Romans* (5). The *Roman* Army, of itself, was not very powerful; but
Ætius

cunctis virtutibus decoratam duceret, Attila rex Hunnorum, omnibus belluis crudelior, habens multas barbaras nationes suo subjectas dominio, postquam Gundicarium Burgundionum regem sibi occurrentem protriverat, ad universas deprimendas Gallias suæ sævitæ relaxavit habenas. Pagius ad A. 435. n. 35. and ad A. 436. n. 10. endeavours, indeed, to prove, that the Burgundians were defeated A. 436. But by the Relation of Paulus, as well as that of Priscus, it seems to be better placed here: For Ætius had, at that Time, already granted a Peace to the Burgundians, and the Hunns were in Alliance with the Romans. We cannot, therefore, perceive how they could extirpate a Nation, which was in Alliance with the Romans.

(3) That they reach'd Orleans appears the most clearly from the Testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris, who writes to Prosper, L. 8. ep. 15. p. 246. Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attilæ bellum stylo me posteris intimaturum: quo videlicet Aurelianensis urbis obsidio, oppugnation, irruptio nec direptio, & illa vulgata exauditi cælitus sacerdotis vaticinatio continetur. Cœperam scribere; sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto, tæduit inchoasse; propter hoc nullis auribus credidi, quod primum me censore damnaveram.

(4) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS says, Lib. 7. ep. 12. Prætermisit, Gallias tibi administratas tunc, cum maxime incolumes erant. Prætermisit, Attilam Rheni hostem, Tho-

rismodum Rhodani hospitem, Ætium Ligeris liberatorem sola te dispositionum salubritate tolerasse: propterque prudentiam tantam, providentiamque, currum tuum provinciales cum plausum maximo accenta spontaneis subiisse cervicibus.

(5) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *carm.* 7, v. 336.

Tandem cunctanti sedit sententia, celsum

Exorare virum, collectisque omnibus una

Principibus, coram supplex sic talibus infit.

Orbis Avite salus, cui non nova gloria nunc est,

Quod rogat Ætius: voluisti, & non nocet hostis:

Vis? prodest. inclusa tenes tot millia nutu,

Et populis Geticis sola est tua gratia limes.

Infensi semper nobis pacem tibi præstant.

Victrices i prome aquilas. fac, optime, Chunos,

Quorum forte prior fuga nos concusserrat olim,

Bis victos prodesse mihi, sic fatur, & ille

Pollicitus votum fecit spem. Protinus inde

Advolat, & famulas in prælia concitat iras.

Ibant

Ætius had got together as many foreign Auxiliaries as he possibly could. *Theodoric*, King of the *Wist-Goths*, commanded his Army in Person, and took *Thorismund* and *Theodoric*, his two elder Sons, with him to the Field (6).

The Battle
of Chalons on
the Marne.
Attila's O-
verthrow.

§ XXVIII. *ATTILA* thereupon retreated, and pitch'd his Camp in the Plain near *Chalons sur Marne* (1), where he waited for the united Force of the *Romans* and *Goths*. *Ætius* and *Theodoric* had some Reason to be diffident of *Sangibanus*, King of the *Alani*, who was accused of having intended to betray *Orleans* into the Hands of the *Hunns*. They therefore so dispos'd the Army, that he was placed in the Midst of the other Troops, of whose Fidelity they were sufficiently assured; and he was thus oblig'd to exert his Valour, whatever his Design may have been. *Attila*, on his Side, so form'd his Order of Battle, that he himself commanded the Center, and the *Goths* and *Gepidæ*, with the other Nations in his Service, made the two Wings. The Battle was not of so long Duration, as it must have been bloody; for we cannot otherwise conceive, how so many Thousands, as it is said, could have destroyed one another, in so short a Time (2). *Theodoric* King of the *Wist-Goths*, was kill'd at

Ibant pellitæ post classica Romula tur-
mæ,
Ad nomen currente Geta timet ære vo-
cari
Dirutus, opprobrium non damnum bar-
barus horrens.

non impar occurreret. His enim adfuere
auxiliares Franci, Sarmatæ, Armoritani, Li-
tiani, Burgundiones, Saxones, Riparioli, I-
briones, quondam milites Romani, tunc
vero jam in numero auxiliariorum exquisiti,
aliæque nonnullæ Celticæ, vel Germanicæ
nationes.

6. JORNANDES c. 36. Producitur itaque
a rege Theoderico Vesegotharum innume-
rabilis multitudo, qui quatuor filiis domi
dimissis, id est Friderico, & Eurico, Rote-
mero, & Himerit, secum tantum Thoris-
mund, & Theodericum, majores natu, par-
ticipes laboris assumit. Felix procinctus,
auxilantium suave collegium habere, & so-
latia illorum, quos delectat ipsa etiam simul
subire discrimina. A parte vero Romano-
rum, tanta patricii Ætii providentia fuit,
cui tunc innitebatur respublica Hesperiae
plagæ, ut undique bellatoribus congregatis,
adversus ferocem & infinitam multitudinem

§ XXVIII. (1) JORNANDES, c. 36. Con-
venitur itaque in campos Catalaunicos, qui
& Mauritiū [al. Mauriaci] vocantur: Grego-
rius Turonensis, L. 2. c. 5. names, likewise,
Mauriacus campus. The Learned differ in their
Opinions about the Situation of these campi Ca-
talaunici, or Mauriaci, which Hadrianus Va-
lesius mentions in Notitia Galliarum, under
the Word Mauriacum. And we meet with a
particular Dissertation on this Head, written by
Johannes Grangierius, which Le Long takes
Notice of in his Bibliotheque de France, n. 52.
The best Account is given by Idatius, in his
Chronicon

at the Beginning of the Battle; notwithstanding which, his Men fell upon the *Hunns*, with such Fury, that they were brought into Disorder. Night put an End to the Battle; and *Attila* retreated to his Camp. The Loss on both Sides was almost equal; but the next Day gave the Prize of Victory to the *Romans* and *Goths*: For *Attila* would not venture out of his Intrenchment of Carriages; and, on the other Hand, the Allies found it likewise impossible, to drive him thence by Force (3). *Thorismund*,
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Chronicon ad A. 28. Valentiniani. Gens Hunnorum, pace rupta deprædatur provincias Galliarum: plurimæ civitates effractæ: in campis Catalaunicis, haud longe de civitate quam effregerant Mettis, Aëtio duci & regi Theodori, quibus erat in pace societas, aperto Marte confligens, divino cæsa superatur auxilio: bellum nox intempesta diremit. Rex illic Theodores prostratus occubuit: CCC ferme millia hominum, in eo certamine cæsa memorantur, &c. Occiso Theodore, Thorismo filius ejus succedit in regno. Hunni cum rege suo Attila relictis Galliis post certamen Italiam petunt. Pagius, ad h. A. n. 25, and other Writers, do therefore suppose these Campi Catalaunici to be the large Plain, which begins at the Distance of two Miles from Chalons sur Marne.

(2) JORNANDES, c. 41. In hoc enim famosissimo, & fortissimarum gentium bello, ab utrisque partibus CLXXII millia cæsa referuntur: exceptis XC millibus Gepidarum & Francorum, qui ante congressionem publicam, noctu sibi occurrentes, mutuis concidere vulneribus, Francis pro Romanorum.

Gepidis pro Hunnorum parte, pugnantibus. We read in some Copies, instead of XCM, only XVM, and Pagius, ad h. A. n. 25. proves the latter Number to be more probable. But it would be almost in vain to examine into the List of the Slain given us by the Ancients. Rodericus Toletanus de rebus Hispan. L. 5. c. 3. entertains his Readers with several Romantick Circumstances, viz. that the Ghosts continued to fight three Days after the Battle; and that the Blood of the Slain made such a CURRENT, as to carry away the dead Bodies with it. This latter Story is copied from him by Olahus, in Attila, c. 7.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 40. Postera die luce orta, cum cadaveribus plenos campos aspicerent, nec audere Hunnos erumpere, suam arbitrantur autem victoriam, scientesque, Attilam non nisi magna clade confusum bello confugisse, cum tamen nihil ageret, vel prostratus abjectum, sed strepens armis, tubis canebat, in concussionemque minabatur; velut leo venabulis pressus, speluncæ aditus obambulans, nec audet insurgere, nec definit fremitibus vicina terrere: sic bellicosissimus

mond, Prince of the *Goths*, was proclaimed King in the Room of his Father, whom he caused to be magnificently interr'd in the Field of Battle. He was impatient for a farther Revenge on the *Hunns*, for his Father's Death: But *Ætius* advised him, rather to hasten home, lest one of his younger Brothers might, in his Absence, attempt something to his Prejudice. The Historian accuses the *Roman* General, of having purposely facilitated *Attila's* Retreat, and spared a Nation (4), that could alone balance the Power of the *Goths*, which otherwise would have been superior to that of the *Romans*; and, who knows what private Views he may have had, if we reflect on his ancient Intimacy with the *Hunns*?

The Event
of the Civil
Broils a-
mong the
Franks. Of
King *Mero-*
vens.

§ XXIX. THIS Victory seems, likewise, to have decided the Contention between the Princes of the *Franks*. *Gregorius Turonensis* relates, that, immediately after the Battle, *Ætius* encouraged the Prince, who had applied to the *Romans* for Assistance, to make Advantage of the Overthrow of the *Hunns*, by taking Possession of the Kingdom, in Dispute

cosissimus rex victores suos turbabat inclusus. Conveniunt itaque Gothi, Romani-que, & quid agerent de superato Attila deliberant. Placet, eum obsidione fatigari, qui annonæ copiam non habebat, quando ab ipsius sagittariis intra septa castrorum locatis, crebris ictibus arceretur accessus. Fertur autem desperatis in rebus prædictum regem, adhuc & in supremo magnanimum, equinis fellis construxisse pyram, seseque si adversarii irrumperent, flammis injicere voluisse, ne aut aliquis ejus vulnere lætaretur, aut in potestatem tantorum hostium, gentium dominus perveniret.

(4) IDEM, c. 41. Cumque diutius exploratum, ut viris fortibus mos est inter densissima cadavera reperissent, cantibus honoratum, inimicis spectantibus abstulerunt. Videres Gothorum globos dissonis vocibus confragosos, adhuc inter bella furentia funeri reddidisse culturam. Fundebantur lacrymæ, sed quæ viris fortibus impendi solent: nostra mors erat, sed Hunno teste gloriosa, unde hostium putaretur inclinata fore superbia, quando tanti regis efferre cadaver cum suis insignibus inspiciebant. At Gothi Theodorico adhuc justa solvente, armis insonantibus regiam deserunt majestatem,

Dispute (1). Some modern Historians mention these two Princes as the Sons of King *Clodio*, and say moreover, that the younger, who now carried the Day, was the same *Meroveus*, from whom the succeeding Kings of the *Franks* descended, and obtain'd the Name of *Merovingi* (2): But this is grounded on bare Conjectures; for even *Gregorius Turonensis* is not positive, whether *Meroveus* was descended from *Clodio* or not (3)? In some *German* Chronicles, we find it related of *Meroveus*, that he built the City of *Erfurt*, or at least a Castle in that Neighbourhood (4); in others he is said to have given Rise to the City of *Northausen*, and to have encompass'd the City of *Merseburg*, on the *Saal*, with a Wall (5):

tem, fortissimusque Thorismund, bene gloriosus ad manes carissimi patris, ut decebat filium, exequias est profecutus. Quod postquam peractum est, orbitatis dolore commotus, & virtutis impetu, qua valebat, dum inter reliquias Hunnorum, mortem patris vindicare contendit, Aëtium patricium, acsi seniore, prudentiaque maturum, de hac parte consuluit, quid sibi esset in tempore faciendum. Ille vero metuens, ne Hunnis funditus interentis, a Gothis Romanorum premeretur imperium, præbat hac suafione consilium, ut ad sedes proprias remearet, regnumque quod pater reliquerat arriperet: ne germani ejus, opibus sumtis paternis, Vesegothorum regnum pervaderent, graviterque dehinc cum suis, & quod pejus est, miserabiliter pugnaret. Quo responso non ambigue, ut datum est, sed pro sua potius utilitate suscepto, relictis Hunnis, redit ad Gallias. Sic humana fragilitas, dum suspicionibus occurrit, magna rerum agendarum occasione intercipitur. With this

agrees the Relation of *Gregorius Turonensis*, which is quoted in the following §. n. 1.

§. XXIX. (1) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 7. Expletoque bello, ait Aëtius Thorismodo: Festina velociter redire in patriam, ne insistente Germano, patris regno priveris. Hæc ille audiens cum velocitate discessit, quasi anticipaturus fratrem, & prior patris cathedram adepturus. Simili & Francorum regem dolo fugavit.

(2) PAGIUS. See above, §. 26. n. 3.

(3) See above, §. 21. n. 4.

(4) AUTOR de landgraviis Thuringiæ, c. 4. Merowygus, rex castrum construxit in monte, ubi nunc est monasterium S. Petri in Erfordia.

(5) SAGITTARIUS, in Antiquitatibus Regni Thuringici, L. 2. c. 4. mentions these Writers, and sufficiently confutes them.

But these Accounts are of such a Nature, that they need no farther Confutation.

Whether
Attila was
ever in the
present
Thuringia?
Origin of
the Thuringians.

§ XXX. THE *Thuringian* Chronicles relate that *Attila*, in this Expedition against *Gaul*, came to *Thuringia*. They are very full of a famous Court he held at *Eisenach*; and affirm, as a Certainty, that in the general Consternation, caused by the Approach of the *Hunns*, *Erfort* was surrounded with a Wall. Relations of this kind have even formerly been made Use of to corroborate the important Rights and Pretensions of Princes (1): But in ancient Historians, we find no other Vouchers for this, except that, according to *Sidonius*, some *Thuringians* were in the Army which *Attila* led to *Gaul* (2); we have however no certain Account there, whether they served as Subjects, or Allies? It is, moreover, not improbable, that when *Attila* filed off towards the *Rhine*, he may have touch'd on that Part of *Germany*, which has since been famous by the Name of *Thuringia*. As, besides, it has not yet been decided when, and from whence, the *Thuringians* came into this Country, the most probable Conjecture is, that they were the same *Thoringi*, or *Theruingi*, that have been so frequently mentioned above, among the *Goths* (3), who, at the Dispersion of the *Gothick* Nations, retreated from the *Danube* (4), and took the Country of the *Hermunduri*; from whence they extended themselves yet farther, and brought under their Dominion a District, which before had belong'd to the *Catti*. As for the Name, these *Thuringians* were, in History, long named *Thoringi*: And the Letter, which *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, wrote to their King, contains such Tokens of an ancient and sincere good Understanding, as best suits with Nations of one and the same Ex-

§ XXX. (1) *Conf. Caspari Sagittarii antiquitates regni Thuringici*, L. 2. c. 5.

(2) See above, § 25.

(3) See Book 7. § 13, 16, & seq.

(4) We cannot exactly assign the Year: But if the *Thuringi*, as well as other *Gothick* Nations, were obliged to acknowledge *Attila's* Supremacy, they, together with the other *Germans*, who were in the same Bondage with them, resumed their Freedom after his Death.

traction

traction (5). To this may be added, that *Sagittarius*, who made the most diligent Enquiries into the Origin of the *Thuringians*, acknowledges, that the ancient *Thuringian* Dialect agrees with the *Gothick* (6): Now, if we admit of this Conjecture, several Passages, in the Writers of those Times, may be very aptly reconcil'd thereto: For, that the *Thuringians* dwelt at first nearer to the *Danube*, than now, is confirmed by the Geographer of *Ravenna*, who assigns, for their Habitation, those Countries, thro' which the Rivers *Nab* and *Regen* flow (7). *Eugippius*, who wrote the Life of *St. Severinus* (which was after *Attila's* Decease), mentions the Irruptions they made into *Noricum* and *Ratia* (8). And when *Theodoric*, the Son of *Clovis*, in Order to excite the *Franks* against the *Thuringians*, represents how the latter made Inroads on the Dominions of their Ancestors (9), that may be best applied to their Wars with the *Catti*, who were then comprehended under the Name of *Franks*.

(5) *Vid. Cassiodori variarum*, L. 3. ep. 3. which Epistle was written about the Year, 507. Item, L. 5. ep. 43.

(6) *SAGITTARIUS*, l. c. L. 1. c. 4. § 8.

(7) *GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS*, L. 4. c. 25. Per quam Thuringorum patriam transeunt plurima fluvia, inter cætera, quæ dicuntur BAC, & RHEGANUM, quæ in Danubio merguntur. Rhegenus is the River Regen. But it is uncertain what River is meant by the Bac. Eckard in opere de LL. Salicis, p. 250. imagines it to be the Nab.

(8) *EUGIPPIUS* says, c. 27. that the Thuringi demolish'd Passau: Sed Batavinis gentile solum relinquere dubitantibus, sic adjecit: quamvis & illud oppidum, quo pergitur, ingruente barbarie, sit quantocyus re-

linquendum, hinc tamen nunc pariter discedamus. Talia commonentem secuti sunt plurimi, quidam reperti sunt contumaces, nec defuit contemtoribus gladius inimici. Quicunque enim ibidem contra hominis dei interdictum manserunt, THURINGIS irruentibus in eadem hebdomade trucidati, &c. He mentions, moreover, c. 31. that the King of the Rugi promis'd to protect the People, who were fled to Lorch. Et rex inquit, hunc populum, pro quo benivulus precator accedis, non patiar Alamannorum aut THURINGORUM iniquorum sæva deprædatione vastari.

(9) *GREGORIUS*, L. 3. introduces Clovis's Son Theodoric, as saying: Thuringos olim super parentes Francorum violenter venisse, & multa iis intulisse mala.

Attila in-
vades Italy.
Origin of
the City of
Venice.

XXXI. *ATTILA*, by his Retreat, obtain'd this Advantage, that the grand Alliance was thereby dis-united. The ensuing Year, he therefore marched directly towards *Italy* (1), where *Ætius* so little expected him, that he had not even secured the Passes on the *Alps* (2). The *Hunns* took *Aquileia* (3), and dragg'd many of the Inhabitants into Captivity (4). The other

§. XXXI. (1) PROSPER, in *Chronico ad A. 2. Marciani & Valentiniani*: Insperata in Galliis clade accepta, furiatus Attila Italiam petit, quam incolæ, metu solo territi, præsidio nudavere.

(2) PROSPER, in *chronico apud Sirmondum in notis ad Sidonii, L. 1. epist. 9. c. apud du Chesne T. 1. ad A. 452. Herculano & Sporatio Coss. (A. 452.)* Attila, redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit, nihil duce nostro Ætio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente: ita, ut nec clausuris Alpium, quibus hostes prohiberi poterant, uteretur, hoc solum suis superesse existimans, si ab omni Italia cum imperatore discederet. Sed cum hoc plenum dedecoris, & periculi videretur, continuit verecundia metum & tot nobilium provinciarum latissima everfione credita est sævitia & cupiditas hostilis explenda: nihilque inter omnia consilia principis ac senatus, populique Romani salubrius visum est, quam ut per legatos pax truculentissimi regis expeteretur. Suscepit hoc negotium cum viro consulari Avieno, & viro præfectorio Trigetio beatissimus papa Leo, auxilio Dei fretus, quem speret nunquam piorum laboribus defuisse. Nec aliud secutum est, quam præsumerat fides: nam tota legatione dignanter accepta, ita summi sacerdotis præsentia rex gavisus est, ut & bello abstinere præciperet, & ul-

tra Danubium promissa pace discederet. This remarkable Passage was publish'd from a MSS. by Sirmondus and du Chesne; but is not met with in the common Editions. Avienus was Consul, A. 450.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 42. Quid plura? animus suorum rursus ad oppugnandum Aquileiam inflammatur. Qui machinis constructis, omnibus tormentorum generibus adhibitis, nec mora, invadunt civitatem, spoliant, dividunt, vastantque crudeliter, ita ut vix ejus vestigia ut appareant, relquerint. Ex hinc jam audaciores, & nec dum Romanorum sanguine satiati, per reliquas Venetum civitates Hunni bacchabantur. The Author of the *Historia Miscella*, L. 15, p. 424. Attila continuo resumta fiducia cruentus Italiam petit, Aquileiam captam funditus eradit. Ticinum atque Mediolanum, regias urbes, excidit. Inde, vastatis circumquaque locis, cum Romam quoque pararet irrumpere, Leo magnus, papa, missu Valentiniani imperatoris ad eum accessit: eumque adeo mitem reddidit, ut ilico, promissa pace firmissima, ultra Danubium non rediturus abierit. Continuo enim rebus humanis excessit, & humani generis diutina vexationi finem aliquando vel mortuus attulit. What is, in particular, said of Aquileia, is illustrated in the following Note.

(4) To these Captives, relates the Letter of Pope Leo, to Nicetas, Bishop of Aquileia, written

other *Venetian* Cities were thereupon liable to the same Fate. In this Danger, according to the unanimous Tradition of Historians, many People were induced, for Fear of the *Hunns*, to retreat into the Neighbouring Isles of the *Adriatick* Gulph, when, in particular, those who fled from *Padua* built on the Island *Rialto*. From these Islands, arose the famous City of *Venice* (5); which, as it owes its Origin to the universal Consternation of *Italy*, has, since then, been a constant Barrier to the Safety thereof. From thence the Enemy march'd to *Liguria*, where *Milan*, *Pavia*, and the other Cities, were forc'd to open their Gates to him (6). In *Milan*, he happen'd

ten A. 458. *As at that Time many Prisoners returned to their own Country, after Attila's Decease, Nicetas asked Leo's Advice, with Regard to those Women, who, during the Captivity of their Husbands, had married others, how to proceed at the Return of their first Husbands; and how to act in Respect of those, whom Necessity had obliged, during their Imprisonment, to partake of the Sacrifices offered to Idols, or who had been re-baptiz'd by the Arians. To these Queries Leo replies, ep. 129. Cum ergo per bellicam cladem, & per gravissimos hostilitatis incursum, ita quædam dicatis divisa esse conjugia, ut abductis in captivitatem viris fœminæ eorum remanserint destitutæ: quæ cum viros proprios, aut interemtos putarent, aut nunquam a dominatione crederent liberandos, ad aliorum conjugium, solitudine cogente, transferint. Cumque nunc, statu rerum, auxiliante domino, in meliora converso, nonnulli eorum, qui putabantur periisse, remeaverint, merito charitas tua videtur ambigere, quid de mulieribus, quæ aliis junctæ sunt viris, a nobis debeat ordinari, &c.*

(5) *This Origin of the City of Venice, is farther illustrated in a Book, entitled, Dell' origine de, barbari, che distrussero per tutto l' mondo l' imperio di Roma, onde hebbe*

principio la citta di Venetia, libri undici, in Venetia, per Plinio Pietra santa, 1557. 4. Francesco Marcolini says, in the Preface, that it was written by a Nobile di Venetia: But the Author seldom names the Sources, from whence he drew his Relation, and we may easily perceive, that he has not every where hit on the right. He asserts, moreover, that we must look for the first Origin of Venice in the Times, when Radagaisus caus'd an universal Consternation in those Countries. That at Alaric's Irruption, especially after he had destroy'd Padua, more People fled for Refuge to this Cluster of small Islands; and that, at the Approach of the Hunns, their Number was yet encreased.

(6) *JORNANDES, l. c. Mediolanum quoque, Liguriæ metropolim, & quondam regiam urbem, pari tenore devastant: nec non & Ticinum æquali sorte dejiciunt, vicinaque loca sævientes allidunt, demoliunturque pene totam Italiam. Cumque ad Romam animus ejus fuisset attentus accedere, sui eum, ut Priscus refert historicus, remove, non urbi, cui inimici erant, consulentes; sed Alarici, quondam Vesegotharum regis, objicientes exemplum, veriti regis sui fortunam, quia ille post fractam Romam diu non supervixerat, sed protinus rebus excessit humanis.*

happen'd to cast his Eyes on a Picture, on which the *Roman* Emperor was represented, sitting on a golden Throne, and the Figures of *Scythians*, appearing like Slaves, prostrate at his Feet. Now, as he was easily provok'd, he resolv'd not to allow the *Romans* that Preference, even in Painting, with which their Princes, tho' never so far from having performed any great Exploits, fed their Vanity; and caus'd another Picture to be painted, on which he was represented, sitting on a Throne, with the *Roman* Emperors standing at his Feet, and emptying their Bags of Gold before him (7).

Valentinian
enters into
a Treaty
with Attila.

§ XXXII. THE Consternation *Rome* was in may easily be imagin'd. *Ætius* himself was so terrified, that he advis'd the Emperor, to quit *Italy*. But they so far recover'd from their first Surprise, that they concluded to send an Ambassy to the King of the *Hunns*, to make a Peace with him, on any Terms. This Ambassy consisted of *Leo*, Pope of *Rome*, *Avienus*, who was Consul *A. 450*, and *Frigetius*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorii* (1). They met with *Attila* in the Territories of the *Veneti*. It is uncertain, what Treaties then subsisted between the *Roman Empire* and the *Hunns*, to which the Ambassadors could appeal, or what Proposals

humanis. Igitur, dum ejus animus ancipiti negotio inter ire & non ire fluctuaret, secumque deliberans tardaret, placita ei legatio a Roma advenit. Nam Leo papa per se ad eum accedit in Acroventu Mamboleio, ubi Mincius amnis commeantium frequentatione transitur. Qui mox deposito exercitus furore, & rediens qua venerat, i. e. ultra Danubium promissa pace discessit; illud præ omnibus denuntians, atque interminando discernens, graviora se in Italiam illaturum, nisi ad se Honoriam, Valentiniani principis germanam, filiam Placidie augustæ, cum portione sibi regaliū opum debitamitteret. Ferebatur enim, quia hæc Honoriz, dum propter aulæ decus, ac castitatem teneretur nutu fratris inclusa, clandestino cunuchō misso, Attilam invitasset,

ut contra fratris potentiam ejus patrociniis uteretur; prorsus indignum facinus, ut licentiam libidinis malo publico compararet.

(7) *SUIDAS*, T. 2. p. 352, in voce Κλερυκος: Attila cum Mediolanum, urbem hominum numero abundantem, pervenisset, & in pictura vidisset Romanorum imperatores, in aureis solis sedentes, Scythas vero eorum genibus advolutos; jussit se depingi in solio sedentem, Romanorum autem imperatores saccos humeris portantes, & aurum ante pedes suos effundentes. He repeats this Relation on Occasion of the Word Μεδιολανον.

§ XXXII. (1) See not. 2. of the preceding Sect.

the Emperor made, nor do we know, what Inducements *Attila* could have, rather to accept of the Conditions offer'd, than to penetrate farther into *Italy*. History mentions only in general, that *Attila* concluded a Peace, and returned, with a large Booty, over the *Danube*, into his own Country. Pope *Leo* obtain'd great Renown, by undertaking this Ambassy: (2) But Cardinal *Baronius*, not satisfied with this, relates (3), that

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when

(2) *The Bishops of the East put Pope Symmachus in mind of this Circumstance*, in epist. apud *Baronium ad A. 512. n. 48.* Si enim, qui præcessit beatitudinem tuam, inter sanctos constitutus *Leo archiepiscopus*, ad *Attilam*, tunc erronem barbarum, per se currere non duxit indignum, ut captivitatem corrigeret corporalem, nec tantum Christianorum, sed & Judæorum (ut credibile est) atque paganorum; quanto magis festinare ad suam attinet sanctitatem, non ad corporeæ, quæ bello fit, captivitatis correctionem atque conversionem, sed animarum quæ captivatae sunt, vel quotidie captivantur.

(3) *BARONIUS, ad A. CCCCLII. n. 57, seq.* Sed & unde immanissimo regi tanta de deo scientia, ut putaverit, obvianti antistiti esse cedendum? dicam, quæ prodant Romanæ ecclesiæ vetera monumenta in ecclesiis publice legi, & annis singulis repeti consueta, quæ sic se habent: Cum Romam ardenti furore *Attila* raperetur, jamque copias ubi *Mincius* in *Padum* influit trajicere pararet, occurrit ei pontifex *Leo*, malorum *Italiæ* impendentium misericordia motus: cujus divina eloquentia persuasum est *Attilæ*, ut egrederetur. Qui interrogatus a suis, cur præter consuetudinem inflexus esset, atque tam humiliter Romani pontificis imperata faceret, respondit, & confessus, quod verum esset, nimirum se vidisse, Leone loquente, adstantem a-

lium quendam, habitu sacerdotali decoro quid divinum præ se ferentem, minantemque mortem, nisi *Leonis* papæ jussu capefferet. Alii textus habent, duos viros apparuisse; alterum a dextris, a sinistris vero alterum; quorum visione perterritus, nihil sibi præterea fuisse reliquum, quam quod minaci vultu numen exigeret, ipse homo quam cito persolveret; quod non esset mortalium facultatis divinitati resistere, vel in superos bellum inferre. Testabantur quidem ipsum vera fateri interrupta pavore atque concisa tremore verba; trucis atque inexorabilis vultus pallor, & robusti audacisque animi improvisa dejectio, atque totius simul corporis consternatio. Cæterum non de duobus apostolis, sed de uno tantum, *Petro* videlicet, qui visus sit *Attilæ*, testatur *PAULUS DIACONUS* in historia rerum Romanarum, quam posuit appendicem ad *Eutropium*, in qua eandem, eodemque modo narrat rei tunc gestæ seriem. In the ancient Editions of the *Historia Miscella*, which is attributed to *Paulus Diaconus*, we meet with no such Circumstances; as we may see, by the Quotation, in the preceding §. not. 3. from the Edition of *Henricus Canisius*: But *Gruterus* takes Notice, in his Edition, among the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*, that *Attila's* Invasion into *Italy* is more circumstantially related in a Manuscript in the Library at *Heydelberg*, than in any other Book then extant. These Circumstances run thus:

Ferunt

when *Attila* was asked why he so readily comply'd, he confess'd, that an ancient Man, of great Veneration, in a sacerdotal Habit, stood by *Leo*, who threatned him, and cast so great a Terror upon him, that he agreed to whatever was propos'd. Circumstances like these may suit well enough for Poets, Painters and other Artists; and that excellent Painter, *Raphael* of *Urbino*, and the famous Sculptor *Algarde*, have shewn their Skill, by Representations of this Ambassy, in St. *Peter's* Church at *Rome* (4); but no one will now-a-Days allow them a Place in a true History. *Cassiodorus*, on the other Hand, without making Mention of *Leo*, takes Notice of another Ambassy, perform'd by his Father, and *Carpilius*, the Son of *Ætius*; to which he attributes the Glory of the Peace concluded with the *Hunns*. If therefore we will give Credit to both Relations, we must suppose that two Ambassies were sent to *Attila*. *Cassiodorus*, or whoever else wrote that Letter, is so little mindful of the Danger *Italy* was in, that he greatly boasts, how the former of these Ambassadors treated *Attila*, as if the *Hunns* had been a Band of *Roman* Pensioners, who at his Cominand were oblig'd to repass the *Danube* (5): Which, among many other Instances, cannot

Ferunt itaque, post discessum pontificis interrogatum esse Attilam a suis, cur ultra solitum morem tantam reverentiam Romano Papæ exhibuerit: quandoquidem pene ad omnia, quæ ille imperasset, obtemperarit. Tum regem respondisse: non se ejus, qui advenerat, personam reveritum esse, sed alium se virum juxta eum in habitu sacerdotali adstantem vidisse, forma augustiore, canitie venerabilem, eumque evaginato gladio sibi terribiliter mortem minitantem, si non cuncta, quæ ille expetebat, expleffet. Paschasius Quesnel, in his Dissertatione de vita & rebus gestis S. Leonis Magni, in appendice ad opera Leonis, p. 165. has taken the Pains, clearly to prove the Invalidity of this Fable.

(4) It is represented by *Raphael* of *Urbino*, in a Piece of Painting, and by *Algarde* in Marble: *Pope Innocent X*, is said to have paid the latter 30,000 Scudi's for his Performance. Reflexions sur la peinture & sur la poésie, T. 1. sect. L.

(5) *CASSIODORUS variarum*, L. 1. ep. 4. Ad Attilam igitur armorum potentem, cum supradicti filio *Carpilione* legationis est officio non irritè destinatus. Vidit intrepidus, quem timebat imperium: facies illas terribiles & minaces fretus veritate despexit: nec dubitavit ejus altercationibus obviare, qui furore nescio quo captatus, mundi dominatum videbatur expetere. Invenit regem superbum, sed reliquit pacatum, & calumniosas

cannot but make a Reader cautious of giving Credit to partial Writers.

§ XXXIII. THIS seems nevertheless to have been, among others, a Condition of the Peace, that the *Romans* promised the *Hunns*, not to interfere, if they should attack the *German Nations* dwelling in *Gaul*: For *Attila* feign'd at first to intend a Rupture with the *East*, and complain'd of *Marcian*, that the annual Subsidies, which *Theodosius* had promised, were no longer paid; but he turned about suddenly to the *West*, and surprized the *Alani*, who dwelt in *Gaul*. However, *Thorismund*, King of the *Goths*, was better provided than *Attila* expected, and would not wait, till, by subduing the *Alani*, the Enemy had open'd a Way to the *Wisi-Goths*, but went out to meet him, with his Army. When it came to a Battle, *Thorismund* defeated the *Hunns*, and the *Goths* now acquired, for themselves, that Glory, which at the Victory, in the Plain of *Chalons*, they were oblig'd to share with the *Romans* *.

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§ XXXIV.

lumniosas ejus allegationes tanta veritas destruxit, ut voluisset gratiam quærere, cui expediebat pacem cum regno ditissimo non habere. Erigebat constantia sua partes timentes: nec imbecilles sunt crediti, qui legatis talibus videbantur armari. Pacem retulit desperatam. Cujus legatio quid profecerit, datur intelligi, quæ tantum est gratulanter excepta, quantum & videbatur optata.

§. XXXIII. * JORNANDES is the only Writer, who gives an Account of this War. c. 43. Reversus itaque Attila in sedes suas, & quasi otii poenitens, graviterque ferens a bello cessare, ad orientis principem Mar-

cianum legatos dirigit, provinciarum testans vastationem, quod sibi promissa a Theodosio, quondam imperatore, minime persolveret, & inhumanior solito suis hostibus appareret. Hæc tamen agens, ut erat, versutus & callidus, alibi minatus, alibi arma sua commovit, & quod restabat indignationi, faciem in Vesi gothas retorfit, sed non eum, quem de Romanis, reportavit eventum. Nam per dissimiles anterioribus vias recurrens, Alanorum partem, trans flumen Ligeris confidentem, statuit suæ redigere ditioni, quatenus, mutata per ipsos belli facie, terribilior emeretur. Igitur ab Dacia, & Pannonia provinciis, in quibus tunc Hunni, cum diversis subditis nationibus infidebant, egrediens

What occasion'd the Saxons going to Britain.

§ XXXIV. THE German Nations, who dwelt on the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, and the *Elb*, as well as those, who had fix'd their Habitations in *Gaul*, were all engag'd in this War, partly on their own Account, and partly in the Service of *Attila* or the *Romans*: Nay even the *Vandals*, tho' so remote, had their particular Views in it. But the *Saxons*, who dwelt on the other Side of the *Ebb*, were otherwise employed. It would be superfluous here to say any thing of the Origin of this Nation, as I have treated of that above, in its proper Place (1). The *Britons* had, in the Time of *Honorius*, recover'd their Freedom (2), or were perhaps abandon'd by the *Romans*, on Account of the Perplexities the *Roman* Empire then labour'd under: But that Nation was not happy in the Enjoyment of a Liberty they had been so little accusom'd to: They were not able to withstand the *Picts*, who dwelt in the *Northern* Parts of the Isle, nor the *Scots*, who invaded them from *Ireland*. Their own Soldiers were, probably, in Part exhausted in the latter Times, by the Levies the *Romans* made, and partly not experienc'd in the Art of War: And the *Romans* were not in a Condition to assist them (3). *Vortigern*, their King, resolved

egrediens Attila, in Alanos movit procinctum. Sed Thorismund, rex Vesegotharum, fraudem Attilæ non impari subtilitate præsentens, ad Alanos tota velocitate prius advenit, ibique supervenientis jam Attilæ motibus præparatus, accurrit, confertoque prælio, pene simili eum terrore, ut prius in campis Catalaunicis, a spe removet victoriæ, fugatumque a partibus suis sine triumpho remittens, in sedes proprias fugere compulsi. Sic Attila famosus, & multarum victoriarum dominus, cum quærit famam perditoris abjicere, & quod prius a Vesegothis pertulerat, abolere, geminam sustinuit, ingloriusque recessit. Thorismund vero repulsis ab Alanis Hunnorum catervis, sine aliqua suorum læsione Tholosam migravit, suorumq;

quieta pace composita, tertio anno regni sui ægotans, dum sanguinem tollit de vena, ab Ascalervo cliente inimicos nuntiante, armis subtractis, peremptus est. Una tamen manu, quam liberam habebat, scabellum tenens, sanguinis sui existit ultor, aliquantos insidiantes sibi extinguens.

§. XXXIV. (1) See Book 6. §. 2.

(2) See Book 8. § 43.

(3) BEDA, H. Eccl. L. 1. c. 13. Anno autem regni ejus vigesimo tertio, Boëtius vir illustris, qui & patricius fuit, tertium cum Symmacho gessit consulatum. Ad hunc pauperculæ Britonum reliquiæ mittunt epistolam, cujus hoc principium est: Boëtia, ter consuli,

resolved therefore to apply for Succour to the Saxons, whose Valour those Coasts had before so frequently experienc'd, to their great Prejudice (4). The pressing Necessity of the Britons made them not apprehensive what the Consequences of calling in those Auxiliaries might be; they consider'd only the present Services they might hope from the Saxons. Historians agree in this, that at first, about the Year 449 †, only a Party of Saxons came, in three Ships, to Britain (5): But they differ in their Accounts, whether Vortigern sent an express Ambassy, to implore their Assistance, or whether the two Saxon Heroes came, by Chance, to Britain, and offer'd their Services to the King (6). Their Leaders were Hengist, and Horsa,

X x x

two

consuli, gemitus Britannorum. Et in processu epistolæ ita suas calamitates explicant: Repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum; aut iujulamur, aut mergimur. Neque hæc tamen agentes, quicquam ab illo auxilii impetrare quiverunt, utpote, qui gravissimis eo tempore bellis cum Bleda & Attila, regibus Hunnorum erat occupatus, &c. Instead of Boetius we must read Ætius.

(4) BEDA, L. 1. *hist. ecclesiast.* c. 14. Initium est consilium, quid agendum, ubi querendum esset præsidium ad evitandas vel repellendas tam feras, tamque creberrimas gentium Aquilonariarum irruptiones: placuitque omnibus cum suo rege Vortigerno, ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium vocarent, quod domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut veniret contra improbos malum, sicut evidentius rerum exitus probavit.

† See Note 5.

(5) GILDAS, c. 23. Tum erumpens

grex catulorum cubili lænæ barbariæ, tribus, ut lingua ejus exprimitur, CYULIS, ut nostra lingua exprimitur, longis navibus. Vessels of that Kind are, to this Day, call'd by the English, Keyle. Nennius's Testimony may be seen in the following Note. Beda, likewise, assigns the Time, L. 1. c. 5. Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCLIX. Marcianus cum Valentiniano, XLVI, ab augusto regnum adeptus, septem annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum five Saxonum gens, invitata a rege præfato [Wortigerno] in Britanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur, & in orientali parte insulæ, jubente eodem rege, locum manendi quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem vera hanc expugnatura, suscepit. Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab Aquilone ad aciem venerant, victoriam sumere Saxones. Pagius, ad A. 449. n. 21. proves, that instead of CCCCLIX, we must read CCCXLEIX. Camden, in his Britannia, p. 161. likewise confutes this Computation.

(6) BEDA says, that their Assistance was desired by the Britons. Videchindus even adds a Speech

two Brothers (7) of a noble Family, which was derived from *Wodan*, or *Odinus* (8), one of the greatest *Northern* Heroes. These Adventurers were at first admitted into the Isle of *Thanet*, near to the *Eastern* Coast of *Kent*; and soon after a certain District, on the Island of *Britain*, was allotted them (9), where *Hengist* first established himself: *Nennius* adds, that *Hengist* married his Daughter to *Vortigern*, and, that the King of the *Britons* assigned *Kent* to the *Saxons* (10). Which Circumstance some modern Historians have improved to the Invention of a formal Story of their Loves, and will even pretend to assign the Time, when *Vortigern* gave the first Kiss to the beautiful *Rhonice*.

§ XXXV.

a Speech spoken by the British Ambassadors to Visegist, the Saxon Prince, the Father of Hengist and Horfa: But Nennius, who lived before Beda, relates, that the two Saxon Princes were expelled their Country in their Civil Wars, and obliged to go abroad, to seek their Fortunes, which led them to Britain.

(7) NENNIUS, c. 28. Interea venerunt tres CHIULÆ, a Germania in exilium pulsæ, in quibus erant HORST & HENGIST, qui ipsi fratres erant.

(8) BEDA, l. c. c. 15. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres, HENGISTUS & HORSUS, e quibus HORSUS postea occisus in bello a Britonibus, hætenus in orientalibus Cantii partibus MONUMENTUM habet SUO NOMINE INSIGNE: Erant autem ut filii WETGISSI, cujus pater VECTA, cujus pater VODEN: de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum regum genus originem duxit.

(9) The Story, that he only desired a Spot of Ground as large as the Circumference of a Bul-

lock's Hide, which he caused afterwards to be cut into Throngs, and by this Means obtained the Tract of Land, where he built his first Fort, appears so ridiculous, that it must undoubtedly have been invented long afterwards.

(10) NENNIUS, c. 36. 7p. 107. In una Chiula venit PUELLA PULCHRA VALDE atque DECORA, hæc erat FILIA HENGISTI. Postquam venissent Chiulæ, fecit convivium Hengistus GUORTHIGIRNO regi, & militibus suis, & INTERPRETI SUO, qui vocabatur CERDIESELMET—— Hengistus itaque puellam jussit ministrare illis vinum & siceram, qui inebriati sunt nimis & saturati. Illis bibentibus, intravit Sathanas in corde GUORTHIGERNI, ut adamaret puellam, & postulavit eam a patre suo per interpretem suum, & dixit, omne quod a me postulas, impetrabis, licet dimidium regni mei. Et HENGISTUS into consilio cum suis senioribus, qui secum venerant de insula OGHGUL, quid peterent regi pro puella, unum consilium illis omnibus fuit, ut peterent regionem, quæ in lingua eorum vocatur

§ XXXV. A RUPTURE happen'd afterwards between the *Britons* ^{Foundation of the Saxon Kingdoms} and the *Saxons*, and occasioned bloody Wars, in which the former were overcome, infomuch, that many of the ancient Natives were oblig'd to quit their Country; and the Rest to retire into the *Western* Parts, now call'd *Wales* (1). To give a periodical Account of these Wars here would carry me to far. The *Saxons*, as Opportunity serv'd, drew more and more of their Country-Men over to *Britain* (2); one Party of whom even ravaged as far as the Islands call'd the *Orcades* (3). *Beda* mentions three *German* Nations, who came to Britain, the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, of whom the *Saxons* peopled *Wessex*, *Essex*, and *Sussex*; the *Angles*, *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and the *Jutes* the *Isle of Wight*, and *Kent* (4). But many other People from the Coast, along the *North-Sea*,
X x x 2 undoubtedly

tur CANTHIGUARALAND, in nostra autem lingua CHENT, & dedit illis.

A GERMANIA DEDUCEBANT, ut regnarent super eos in Britannia.

§ XXXV. (1) GILDAS, c. 28. Itaque nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehenfi, acervatim jugulabantur: alii fame confecti occidentes, manus hostibus dabant in ævum servituti, si tamen non continuo trucidarentur, quod altissimæ gratiæ stabat in loco: alii transmarinas petebant regiones, cum ululatu magno ceu celesmatis vice, hoc modo sub velorum finibus cantantes: *Dedisti nos tanquam oves escarum, & in gentibus dispersisti nos deus*: alii a montanis collibus, minacibus præruptis vallati, & densissimis saltibus, marinisque rupibus vitam, suspecta semper mente credentes, in patria licet trepidi perstabant.

(3) IDEM, c. 37. At ipsi cum navigarunt circa Pictos, vastaverunt Orchades insulas.

(2) NENNIUS, c. 64. Ipsi vero barbari, dum in omnibus bellis prosternerentur, auxilium a Germania petebant, & augebantur multipliciter sine intermissione: & REGES

(4) BEDA, L. 1. c. 15. Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Vitis. De VITARUM origine sunt CANTUARI & VECTUARI, hoc est, ea gens, quæ Vectam tenet insulam, & ea, quæ usque hodie in provincia occidentalium Saxonum, VITARUM natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De SAXONIBUS, id est, ea regione, quæ nunc ANTIQUORUM SAXONUM cognominatur, venere ORIENTALES SAXONES, MERIDIANI SAXONES, OCCIDUI SAXONES. Porro de ANGLIS, hoc est, de illa patria, quæ Anglia dicitur, & ab eo tempore usque hodie

undoubtedly came over in Shoals with them, and were comprehended under those three Names. These several Colonies occasion'd the Foundation of different Kingdoms, which were at last united, and formed that illustrious People, who to this Day, notwithstanding the many Revolutions that have since happened, retain no less Traces of their *German* Origin, in their Liberties, Laws and Customs, than in their Language.

hodie manere deserta intra provincias Vita- RUM progenies, id est, illarum gentium,
rum & Saxonum perhibetur, ORIENTA- quæ ad Boream. TUMBRI fluminis inha-
LES ANGLI, MEDITERRANEI AN- bitant, cæterique ANGLORUM POPULI,
GLI, MERCI, tota NORD-HUMBRO- sunt orti.



T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A N C I E N T G E R M A N S.

B O O K X.

The History of the GERMANS, to the Beginning of
CLOVIS's Reign, in GAUL.

SECT. I. **A**FTER Valentinian's Death, the Franks, Alemanni and Saxons infest Gaul. II. Avitus concludes a Peace with them. His Embassy to the King of the Wisi-Goths. III. Genferic breaks the Peace, and sacks Rome. IV. Avitus, assisted by the Goths, assumes the Imperial Dignity in Gaul. V. His Treaties with the Vandals: Ricimer defeats them in Sardinia. They infest the Coasts of the Oriental Empire. VI. The Power of the Huns decays after Attila's Death. The Gepidæ recover their Liberty. VII. The Ostro-Goths establish themselves in Pannonia: VIII. And maintain their Freedom against the Sons of Attila. IX. Their Differences with the Emperor Leo X; and with the Swabians, Scyrrî, &c. XI. The State of the Kingdom of the Suevi. A Rupture between Rechiarus and the Romans. XII. Theodoric II, King of the Wisi-Goths, assisted by the Burgundians, subdues Rechiarus. XIII. The Character of this Theodoric, from Sidonius Apollinaris. XIV. Ricimer obliges Avitus to resign his Dignity. Majorianus is chosen Emperor: Beats the Vandals near Sinuessæ. XV. Majorianus goes to Gaul. German Na-
tions

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tions in his Army. XVI. His Expedition to Spain. He is obliged to make a Peace with the Vandals. XVII. Genferic breaks the Peace after the Death of Majorianus. XVIII. Ricimer defeats an Army of Alani. XIX. Ricimer governs the Roman Empire in the West. Anthemius is chosen Emperor. XX. Genferic concludes a Peace with the Roman Empire. XXI. Wars between Anthemius and Ricimer. Olybrius attains to the Imperial Dignity. XXII. And nominates Gundobald, King of the Burgundians, Patricius. Continuation of the History of the Burgundians. XXIII. Glycericus makes himself Master of the Empire; is deposed. Julius Nepos is made Emperor. XXIV. The Suevi recover themselves: Become Profelytes to Arianism. XXV. Euricus, King of the Wisi-Goths, conquers Part of Spain. XXVI. Extends his Dominion in Gaul, as far as the Rhône and the Loire. XXVII. Transactions between him and the Franks. Differences with the Saxons. XXVIII. He causes the Laws of the Wisi-Goths to be reduced into Order. Of his Court. His Zeal for his Religion. XXIX. The Emperor Leo's Differences with the Goths in Thrace. XXX. The Ostro-Goths raise Commotions in Pannonia. Videmir invades Italy. His People incorporate with the Wisi-Goths. XXXI. Theodomin invades Illyricum. State of the Eastern Empire. Zeno gives up a Part of Thrace to the Ostro-Goths. XXXII. Orestes makes his Son Romulus Emperor. XXXIII. Odoacer, Prince of the Rugi, makes himself Master of Italy; and dethrones Romulus. XXXIV. Zeno is dethron'd; but, by the Assistance of Theodoric, Prince of the Ostro-Goths, recovers his Throne. XXXV. Genferic dies. State of the Kingdom of the Vandals. XXXVI. Hunoric renews the Peace with the Roman Empire. Theodoric, Prince of the Ostro-Goths, is made Patricius. XXXVII. Zeno endeavours to relieve the Western Empire. Motions of Julius Nepos. Odoacer obtains the Title of Patricius. XXXVIII. His Government. Extinction of the Imperial Title in the West. XXXIX. Continuation of the History of the Franks. Of King Childeric. Beginning of Clovis's Reign. XL. State of the German Nations at the Conclusion of this Period. XLI. Reflections on the Foundation of the German Kingdoms in the Roman Provinces: XLII. And of the Revolutions, thereby occasion'd in Europe.

The Franks, Almanni and Saxons infest Gaul.

§. I. **T**HE Western Empire, tho' it had been obliged to give up such considerable Countries to the Germans, had nevertheless hitherto been able to maintain its Reputation, in those it still possess'd; and knew frequently how to make an advantageous Use of those very Forces, the Valour of which it had, not long before, experienc'd greatly to its Prejudice. This Book leads us, at Length, to the Time, when the Balance begun

begun to be evidently on the Side of the Germans; and when the very Name of an Empire in *Italy*, and the other *Western* Countries, ceas'd. *Valentinian*, on Occasion of various Suspicions, became, in the Year 454, so enrag'd against *Ætius*, that he himself laid violent Hands on him, and being assisted by those who were present, flew him, together with the *Præfectus Prætorii*, on the Spot (1): But in him he lost the only Support of his Empire: and it was then said, that the Emperor had made Use of one Hand, to cut off the other. He was kill'd himself the ensuing Year, and *Maximus Petronius*, a *Roman*, advanced to the Imperial Dignity in his Room (2). As *Valentinian's* Death, in the

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Series

§. I. (1) PROSPER in *chronico* a *Pithæo* edito ad A. IV. MARCIANI & VALENTINIANI. Inter Valentinianum augustum & Ætium patricium, post promissæ invicem fidei sacramenta, post pactum de conjunctione filiorum, diræ inimicitie convaluerunt; & unde fuit gratia charitatis augenda, inde exarsit fomes odiorum, incentore (ut creditum est) Heraclio spadone, qui ita sibi imperatoris animum infincero famulatu adstrinxerat, ut eum facile, in quæ vellet, impelleret. Cum ergo Ætius placita instantius repetit, & causam filii cominus agit, imperatoris manu, & circumstantium gladiis crudeliter confectus est, Boëtio præfecto prætorio simul peremto, qui ei multa amicitia copulatus erat. IDATIUS in *chronico* ad A. III. MARCIANI. Ætius dux & patricius fraudulenter singularis accessus intra palatium, manu ipsius imperatoris Valentiniani occiditur. Et cum ipso, per Spatarium ejus, aliqui singulariter intromissi jugulantur honorati. His gestis, legatos Valentinianus mittit ad gentes: ex quibus ad Suevos venit Justinianus. MARCELLINUS in *chron.* ÆTIO & STUDIO COSS. (A. 454) Ætius patricius, magna occidentalis reipublicæ salus, & regis Attilæ terror, a Valentiniano imperatore, cum Boëtio amico, in palatio trucidatur, atque cum ipso Hesperium cecidit regnum, nec hætenus valuit relevari.

(2) PROSPER c. l. Mortem Ætii mors Valentiniani non longo post tempore consecuta est. Tam imprudenter enim declinata, ut interfecti Ætii amicos armigerosque ejus sibi imersociaret.

qui concepti facinoris opportunitatem dissimulantes aucupantes, egressum extra urbem principem, & ludo gestationis intentum, inopinatis ictibus confoderunt. Heracleo simul, ut erat proximus, ingeremto, & nullo ex multitudine regia ad ultionem tanti sceleris accenso. Ut autem hoc parricidium perpetratum est, Maximus, vir gemini consulatus & patriciæ dignitatis, sumpsit imperium. Qui cum periclitanti reipublicæ profuturus per omnia crederetur, non sero documento, quid animi haberet, probavit: sic quidem, ut interfectores Valentiniani non solum non plecteret, sed etiam in amicitiam reciperet: uxoremque ejus augusti, amissionem viri lugere prohibitam, intra paucissimos dies in conjugium suum transire cogeret. IDATIUS l. c. Quarto regni anno principis Marciani per duos barbaros, Ætii familiares, Valentinianus Romæ imperator occiditur in campo, exercitu circumstante, anno ætatis suæ XXXVI. & regni XXXI. Post quem mox Maximus, ex consulibus XLIII. Romæ augustus appellatur, qui cum imperator factus, relictam Valentiniani sibi duxisset uxorem, & filio suo ex priore conjuge Palladio, quem cæsarem fecerat, Valentiniani filiam in conjugium tradidisset, magnorum motuum, quos verebatur, perturbatione distortus, & quia in occisorum per Valentinianum, & in ipsius interitum Valentiniani, ambitu regni consilia scelestæ patrata contulerat, cum imperium deferere vellet, & Romam, vix quatuor regni sui mensibus expletis, in ipsa urbe tumultu populi, & seditione occiditur militari. MARCELLINUS in *chronico*, VALENTINIANO VIII.

& AN-

Series of the *Roman* Emperors, was remarkable, because in him, the Male Line of *Theodosius's* House, and the small Remains of Reputation in the *Roman Western* Empire, became extinct, so it gave Occasion to fresh Commotions among the *German* Nations. The *Franks* and *Alemanni* broke loose at once; and the *Aremorici* had Recourse to the Assistance of the *Saxons*, the better to maintain, against the *Romans*, the Liberty they had so lately recovered (3).

Avitus concludes a Peace with them.

§. II. *MAXIMUS* immediately obliged the Empress Dowager, *Eudoxia*, to marry him, and intended for his Son *Palladius*, whom he dignified with the Title of *Cæsar*, one of *Valentinian's* Daughters (1). *Avitus*, whose eminent Services in *Gaul* have already been more than once taken Notice of, was promoted to the Dignity of *Magister Militum*. *Sidonius* says, that, by his Care and Prudence, Tranquility was soon restor'd to *Gaul*; that the *Alemanni* sued for Peace; and that the *Saxons*, as well as the *Chatti*, which Nation was comprehended under the Name of *Franks*, ceas'd their Incursions (2). He went himself to the *Gothick* Court, at *Tholouse*, to renew the Peace with King *Theodoric II*;

♂ ANTHEMIO COSS. (A. 455.) Valentinianus dolo Maximi patricii, cujus etiam fraude Ætius perierat, in campo Martio, per Optilam & Thraustilam, Ætii satellites, jam percusso Heraclio spadone, truncatus est. Idem Maximus invasit imperium, tertioque tyrannidis suæ mense, membratim Romæ a Romanis tractus discerptusque est.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *carm.* VII. v. 359-375.

Ætium Placidus mactavit semivir amens,
Vixque tuo impositum capiti diadema Petroni:
Illico barbaries, nec non sibi capta videri
Roma Getis, tellusque suo cessura furori.
Raptores ceu forte lupi, quibus nare sagaci
Monstrat odor pinguem clausis ab ovilibus auram,
Irritant', acuuntque famem, portantque rapinæ
In vultu speciem, patulo jejunia rictu
Fallentes: jamjamque tener spe frangitur agnus,

Atque absens avido crepitat jam præda palato.

Quin & Aremoricus piratum Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum fulcare Britannum
Ludus, & assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Francus Germanum primum, Belgamque secundum.

Sternebat, Rhenumque ferox Alamanne bibebas

Romanis ripis, & utroque superbus in agro
Vel civis, vel victor eras.

§. II. (1) See the Quotation from IDATIUS in the preceding § Note 2.

(2) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS v. 388.

Ut primum ingesti pondus suscepit honoris,
Legas, qui veniam poscant Alamanne favoris.

Saxonis incursus cessat, Chattumque palustri
Alligat Albis aqua. vixque hoc ter menstruatotum

Luna videt.

and

and to establish such a good Understanding with that Court (3), as might be highly advantageous to the new Government. He had a great Influence over the Father of *Theodoric*, and was much esteemed by the whole *Gothick* Nation (4); the new Emperor had, on that Account, therefore, the greater Advantage to hope from his Negociation. He was received with the utmost Tokens of Honour: The King and his Brother went themselves to meet him, and he made his Entrance into *Tholouse* between them (5): But Matters took so strange a Turn, that the Event proved very different from what he was to have negotiated.

§. III. *VALENTINIAN's* Death occasioned likewise a Breach ^{*Genferic*} of the Peace with the *Vandals*. According to the Accounts of *Proco-* ^{breaks the} *pious* (1) and *Marcellinus* (2), the Empress *Eudoxia* herself excited *Genferic* ^{Peace, and} ^{sacks Rome.} to

(3) *Idem*, v. 392.

Jamque ad populos & rura feroci
Tenta Getæ protendit iter, qua pulsus ab æstu
Oceanus, refluxum spargit per culta Garumnæ
In flumen currente mari; transcendit amarus
Blanda fluentæ latex, fluviiq; impacta per
alveum

Salsa peregrinum sibi navigat unda profundum.
Hic jam disposito laxantes fræna duello
Vesorum procures raptim suspendit ab ira
Rumor, succincto referens diplomate Avitum
Jam Geticas intrare domos, positaque parum-
per

Mole magisterii legati jura subisse.
Obstupere duces pariter Scythicusque senatus,
Et timere, suam pacem ne forte negaret.

(4) *SIDONIUS carm.* 7. v. 469--484.

Fœdera prisca precor, quæ nunc meus ille te-
neret,

Jussissem si forte, senex, cui semper Avitum
Sectari crevisse fuit. tractare solebam
Res Geticas olim: scis te nescisse frequenter
Quæ suasi, nisi facta. Tamen fortuna pri-
orem

Abripuit genium. periit quodcunque merebar,
Cum genitore tuo. Narbonem tabe solutum
Ambierat, (tu parvus eras) trepidantia cingens
Millia, in infames jam jamque coegerat escas:
Jam tristis propriæ credebat defore prædæ,
Si clausus fortasse perit: cum nostra probavit

Consilia, & refugio laxavit mœnia bello.

Teque ipsum (sunt ecce senes) hoc pectore so-
tum

Hæ flentem tenere manus, si forsitan altrix
Te mihi, cum nolles lactandum tolleret. Ecce
Advenio, & prisca repeto modo pignus amoris.

(5) *Ibidem*, v. 432.

————— Rex atque magister
Propter constiterant. hic vultu erectus, at ille
Lætitiæ erubuit, veniamque rubore poposcit.
Post hinc Germano regis, hinc rege retento,
Palladiam implicitis manibus subiere Tolosam.
Haud secus insertis ad pulvinaria palmis
Romulus & Tatius fœdus jecere, parentum
Cum ferro, & rabidis cognato in Marte maritis.
Herfiliæ inservit Pallantis colle Sabinas.

§. III. (1) *PROCOPIUS de bello Vandal. L.* 1.
c. 4. p. 188. Deinde Maximus nullo negotio im-
peratorem occidit; invasit tyrannidem, & uxore
non ita pridem mortua, rem cum Eudoxia per-
vim habuit: cui aliquando in toro dixit, nihil se
nisi ipsius amore impulsus fecisse. His dictis Eu-
doxiæ, quæ jam ante satis erat offensa Maximo,
& ab ipso patratum in Valentinianum scelus ulci-
sci percipiebat, acrius in eum bilis intumuit, &
ad consilium perdendi hominis tum maxime inar-
sit animus, cum sui causa allatum merito interi-
tum ex ore Maximi didicit. Ut illuxit, statim
mittit Carthaginem, rogatque Gizericum, ne Va-
lentinianum, contra suam & imperii dignitatem
ab

to revenge *Valentinian's* Death on *Maximus*: And he indeed fitted out a Fleet for *Italy*, the very Fame of which, put *Rome* under the most frightful Apprehensions. *Maximus* was in no Condition to withstand him: All the Preparations he made, was to allow every one the Liberty of flying whither he would. He was himself just about to take the same Course, when he was cut to Pieces, and thrown into the *Tyber* (3). Thus had *Rome* been exposed to the Fury of the *Vandals*, had not Pope *Leo* gone out to meet *Genferic*; and as he had formerly succeeded, on the same Account, with *Attila*; so now he prevailed on the King of the *Vandals*, to spare the City from Fire and Sword (4): But for Plunder, he could not prevent it, except, perhaps, in some of the Churches (5). The *Vandals* made a Fortnight's Stay in the City †, and whoever reads what Booty they made, would hardly ever imagine, that the *Goths* had been in *Rome* before them. *Procopius* relates that a Ship was laden with

ab homine impio peremtum, jacere inultum finat, ipsamque infandis modis a tyranno habitam vindicet; neque omittit amicitiae & societatis nomine urgere, religionem incutiens, si commissum in augusti domum tale facinus punire nolit.

(2) MARCELLINUS in *chron. l. c.* Genfericus, rex Wandalorum, ab Eudoxia Valentiniani uxore epistolis invitatus, ex Africa Romam ingressus est, eaque urbe rebus omnibus spoliata, eandem Eudoxiam cum duabus filiabus secum rediens abduxit.

(3) PROSPER in *chron. Pithæan. c. l.* Sed hac incontinentia non diu potitus est. Nam post alterum mensem, nunciato ex Africa Genferici regis adventu, multisque nobilibus ac popularibus ex urbe fugientibus, quum ipse quoque, data cunctis abeundi licentia, trepide vellet abscedere, a famulis reginae dilaniatus & membratim dejectus in Tiberim, sepultura quoque caruit. Post hunc Maximi exitum, confestim secuta est multis digna lacrimis Romana captivitas, & urbem omni praesidio vacuum Genfericus obtinuit, occurrente sibi extra portas sancto Leone episcopo: cujus supplicatio ita eum, deo agente, lenivit, ut quum omnia in potestate ejus essent, tradita sibi civitate, ab igne tamen & caede atque suppliciis abstineret. Per quatuordecim igitur dies secura & libera

scrutatione omnibus opibus suis Roma vacuata est; multaque millia captivorum, prout quique aut ætate, aut arte placuerunt, cum regina & filiabus ejus Carthaginem abducti sunt.

(4) See PROSPER's Words in the foregoing Note: HISTORIA MISCELLA L. 15. p. 425. Genfericus continuo vacuum praesidio civitatem capit, & occursum Leonis papae mitigatus ab incendio, caedibus atque suppliciis urbem immunem servavit: omnibus tamen opibus ablatis, multa inde captivorum millia cum augusta Eudoxia, & ejus filiabus Carthaginem revexit.

(5) PASCHASIUS QUESNEL in *diff. de vita & rebus gestis S. Leonis Magni*, p. 176. and F. RUYNART in *historia persecutionis Vandalicae*, cap. 6. §. 10. endeavour to prove, from a Passage of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that the three principal Churches were exempted from the Depredation.

† According to the *Chronology publish'd by CUSPINIAN*, the City was sack'd in the Month of June. Post interitum Valentiniani imperatoris, levatus est Maximus imperator XVI. Kal. Aprilis, & occisus est pridie idus Junias, & intravit Genfericus Romam, & praedavit eam dies XIV. & levatus est imperator in Galliis Avitus VI idus Julias.

Statues

Statues only; but she sunk on her Return (6). The whole *Imperial Treasure* (7), and all the Riches with which the Triumphs of the ancient *Romans* were used to be embellished, fell into their Hands. Among the Rest, were the Vessels of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Titus Vespasian*, after the Destruction of that City, had brought to *Rome*; which, together with the *Imperial Regalia*, when *Justinian* afterwards overthrew the Kingdom of the *Vandals*, were brought back to *Constantinople* (8). So strange a Turn did the Course of Human Affairs then take, that *German Nations* went from the *Danube* to *Africa*, to lead the Inhabitants of that Country against *Italy*, and, as it were, to revenge

(6) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandal.* L. I. c. 5. Gizericus non officio, sed spe divite inductus, cum classe ingenti Italiam petit, ac Romam ingressus, obstante nemine regiam occupat. Romani fugientem Maximum lapidum ictibus conficiunt, abscissumque illius caput & dissecta membra inter se partiuntur. Eudoxia cum Eudoxia ac Placidia, quas Valentinianus ex ipsa procreaverat, captiva in Gizerici potestatem venit: qui magna auri argentique vi & imperatoria suppellectili in naves imposita, Carthaginem vela fecit; eum in aula nec ahenis, nec re demum ulla manum abstinuit. Jovis quoque Capitolini templum diripuit, ac mediam partem abstulit tecti: quod ex ære optimo ductum erat, multoque auro illito magnificentissimum, & singulari dignum admiratione videbatur. E navibus Gizerici unam, qua simulacra vehebantur, periisse ferunt: reliquis Vandali in portum Carthaginis delati sunt. Eudoxiam Gizericus matrimonio junxit cum Honorico filiorum majori natu: alteram Valentiniani filiam Olybrio, senatorum Romæ spectatissimo nuptam, Byzantium cum matre Eudoxia, imperatoris postulatu misit. Tunc penes Leonem erat imperium orientis, factione Asparis ipsi traditum, post obitum Marciani.

(7) V. JUSTINIANUS in l. 1. pr. C. de officio præfæti prætorio Africæ. Quo ergo sermone, aut quibus operibus dignas deo gratias agere valeamus, qui per me, ultimum servum suum, ecclesiæ suæ injurias vindicare dignatus est, et tantarum provinciarum populos a jugo servitutis eripere. Quod beneficium dei antecessores nostri non meruerunt:

quibus non solum Africam liberare non licuit, sed & ipsam Romam viderunt ab eisdem Vandalis captam, & omnia imperialia ornamenta in Africam exinde translata: Nunc vero deus per suam misericordiam non solum Africam, & omnes ejus provincias nobis tradidit, sed & ipsa imperialia ornamenta, quæ capta Roma fuerant ablata, nobis restituit.

(8) PROCOPIUS, L. II. c. 9. p. 255. B. gives an Account of the Booty, which was carried about Constantinople in Triumph, after Julian had destroyed the Kingdom of the Vandals. In spoliis videre erat quæcunque regis usibus addici solent: fellas aureas, vehicula uxoris principis, mundi gemmei ingentem vim, pocula ex auro, epularem omnem suppellectilem regis, talentorum argenti multas myriadas, & magnam regionum vasorum copiam: quæ Gizericus, uti supra memoravimus, in Romano palatio compilaverat. In his, vasa Judæorum erant, quæ Titus Vespasiani filius, post Hierosolymorum excidium, Romam cum aliis asportarat. Ea conspiciens Judæus quidam, unum ex augusti familiaribus adiit, itaque monuit: *Non expedit, mea quidem sententia, aurum hoc in palatium Byzantium inferri. Nusquam enim servari potest, nisi ubi principio repositum fuit a Salomone, Judæorum rege. Quæ causa extitit, cur & Romanam olim regiam Gizericus, & Vandalicam Rom. exercitus modo ceperet.* Hæc imperatori renuntiata, metum incussere, ita, ut totum id, quidquid erat, in Hierosolymitana Christianorum templa deferri jufferit.

the

the Fate of ancient *Carthage* on *Rome* (9): And *Marius* is not so remarkable, in ancient History, when represented, as bemoaning his own Fate, on the Ruins of *Carthage* (10), as *Genferic*, when dividing the Treasures of the *Capitol*. He took the Empress, *Eudoxia*, with her two Daughters, *Placidia* and *Eudoxia*, with him to *Africa* (11): *Placidia* was already betrothed to *Olybrius* (12), to whom she was afterwards married: And *Genferic* gave *Eudoxia* in Marriage to *Huneric*, his eldest Son, and thereby allied his Family to *Theodosius's* House. The greater this Calamity of the City of *Rome* is described to have been, the more surprising it is, that the *Romans* so soon forgot it. *S. Leo* exclaims against them (13), that, on the Day, when the Memory of that Destruction, was celebrated, the Churches were so little frequented, when, on the contrary, they ran in Shoals to the *Ludi Circenses* (14).

§. VI. WHEN

(9) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS has almost the same Thoughts: carmine VII. v. 441.

Interea incautam furtivis Vandalus armis
Te capit, infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu,
Extorquet trepidas maestandi principis iras.
Heu facinus! in bella iterum, quartosque labores
Perfida Elissæ crudescunt classica Byrsæ.
Nutritis quod fata malum? Conscenderat arces
Evandri Massyla phalanx, montesque Quirini
Marmarici pressere pedes, rursusque revexit
Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barche.
Exilium patrum, plebis mala, principe cæso
Captivum imperium, ad Geticas rumor tulit aures.

(10) PLUTARCHUS in *Mario* p. 428. E. Commodum erat paucis *Marius* in terram egressus, quum occurrit ei licitor, qui ei, interdicit tibi, inquit, *Sextilius prætor*, *Mari*, *Africam* attingere: si non parebis, ait se in te, ut in populi *Romani* hostem, ex senatus decreto consulturum. His nunciatis, obmutuit *Marius* præ dolore & indignatione, licitoremque intuens horride idu contuit. Qui quum rogaret quid responsum renuntiaret prætori, respondit cum ingenti gemitu: Age, nuntia, C. *Marium* te in *Carthaginis* ruinis exulem conspexisse sedentem. Apposite simul &

urbis illius fortunam, & rerum conversionem pro exemplo proposuit prætori. Adde VELLEIUM PATERCULUM L. II. c. 19.

(11) See the Passages before quoted from PROSPER, MARCELLINUS and PROCOPIUS.

(12) See PROCOPIUS's Words, not. 6, and the Comment of PAGIUS ad A. 455. n. 9.

(13) S. LEO sermone VIII. QUESNEL in an Annotation on this Sermon, demonstrates, that this is not to be understood of Attila's Irruptions, as Cardinal BARONIUS imagines, but of Genferic's Depredations.

(14) S. LEO in the afore-cited Place, upbraids the Romans for their Indifference in this Point. Religiosam devotionem, dilectissimi, qua ob diem castigationis & liberationis nostræ cunctas fidelium populus ad agendas deo gratias confluebat, pene ab omnibus proxime fuisse neglectam, ipsa paucorum, qui adfuerunt raritas demonstravit. He exclaims moreover against their eager Pursuit after publick Shows. Pudet dicere, sed necesse est non tacere: plus impenditur dæmoniis, quam apostolis, & majorem obtinent frequentiam insana spectacula, quam beata martyria. Quis hanc urbem reformavit saluti? quis a captivitate eruit? quis a cæde defendit? ludus circensium, an cura sanctorum? quorum utique precibus divinæ censuræ flexa sententia est,

§. IV. WHEN these Advices were brought to the Court of *Tholouse*, *Avitus*, assisted by the *Goths*, King *Theodoric* encouraged *Avitus*, to assume the *Imperial* Title himself, assumes the and offered him the Assistance of all his Forces. *Avitus* did not want Imperial Dig- much Invitation; and tho' his Son-in-Law, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, says in his nity in *Gaul*. Favour, that the Proposal was made by the *Goths* (1); yet it appears, on the contrary, with a greater Appearance of Truth, from *Gregorius Turonensis*, that *Avitus* rather sought for Assistance from the *Goths* (2): Certain it is however, that this Revolution was first form'd at *Tholouse* *Avitus* now concluded, in his own Name, with King *Theo-* *doric* and his Brother (3), that Treaty, which he, at first, sought for *Maximus*. The *Gauls*, who had suffer'd so much under *Theodosius's* Suc- cessors, that they were quite weary of the present Government, look'd upon this as a favourable Opportunity, to bring the Empire into their Nation, or at least to manage Matters so, that their Country might be no longer a Dependency on *Italy* (4). A Convention was, therefore, appointed

est, ut, qui merebamur iram, servaremur ad ve-
niam. He concludes with reproving the Impiety of
those, who ascribed it to the Stars, that the Enemy
was mov'd to compassion. Ne ergo ista ingratorum
nota etiam vobis, dilectissimi, possit adscribi, re-
vertimini ad dominum, intelligentes mirabilia,
quæ in nobis dignatus est operari, & liberationem
nostram, non sicut opinantur impii, stellarum ef-
fectibus, sed ineffabili omnipotentis dei misericor-
diæ deputantes, qui corda furentium barbarorum
mitigare dignatus est.

§. IV. (1) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS in Pane-
gyrico in *Avitum*, (carmine VII.) relates the
Affair thus, and introduces THEODORIC as saying:
v. 501.

Testor, Roma, tuum nobis venerabile numen
Et socium de Marte genus, vel quicquid ab
ævo,

(Nil te mundus habet melius, nil ipsa senatu)
Me pacem servare tibi. Vel velle abolere
Quæ noster peccavit avus: quem fuscet id
unum,

Quod te, Roma, capit. Sed dii, si vota se-
cundant,

Excidii veteris crimen purgare valebit

Ultio præsentis: si tu, dux inclyte, solum

Augusti subeas nomen. Quid lumina flectis?

Invitum plus esse decet, non cogimus istud
Sed contestamur. Romæ sum te duce ami-
cus,
Principe te miles.

(2) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib. II. c. XI.*
p. 280. Avitus enim unus ex senatoribus, & ut
valde manifestum est, civis Arvernus, cum Ro-
manum ambisset imperium, luxuriose agere volens,
a senatoribus ejectus, apud Placentiam urbem epi-
scopus ordinatur. Comperto autem, quod adhuc
indignans senatus, vita cum privare vellet, basi-
licam sancti Juliani, Arverni martyris, cum mul-
tis muneribus expetivit: sed impleto in itinere
vitæ cursu obiit, delatusque ad Brivatensem vi-
cum, ad pedes antedicti martyris est sepultus.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS says l. c. v. 518.
of THEODORIC:

- - Dixit, pariterque in verba petita
Dat sanctam cum fratre fidem.

4. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS intimates, that
these were the Designs of the GAULS, when he re-
presents a Person of the first Rank among them, as
speaking thus at the Convention of ARLES: l. c. 538.
seqq.

Z z z

- - Sed

appointed to be held at *Arles*, where all the *Grande*es, who assisted at it, declared for *Avitus* (5). *Italy*, likewise, in the Confusion they were in, readily submitted to him, and the Senat of *Rome* immediately sent him the *Insignia Consulatus* (6). *Marcian* himself, not being able to maintain *Italy*, could do no better, than acknowledge him his Partner in the Empire (7).

His and *Marcian's* Treaties with the *Vandals*.

§. V. *MARCIAN* (1), as well as *Avitus* (2), sent Ambassadors to seek the Friendship of the *Vandals*; and *Marcian*, in particular, desired,

- - - Sed dum per verba parentum
Ingenuas colimus leges, sanctumque putamus
Rem veterem per damna sequi, portavimus
umbram
Imperii, generis contenti ferre vetusti
Et vitia, ac solitam vestiri murice gentem
More magis quam jure pati. promptissima
nuper
Fulsit conditio, proprias qua Gallia vires
Exereret, trepidam dum Maximus occupat
urbem.
Imo orbem potuit, si te sibi tota magistro
Regna reformasset. Quis nostrum Belgica
rura,
Littus Aremorici, Geticas quis moverit iras,
Non latet. his tantis tibi cessimus, inclyte,
bellis.

Nunc jam summa vocant.

(5) *IDATIUS* ad A. IV. *MARCIANI*. Ipso anno in Galliis *Avitus*, Gallus civis, ab exercitu Gallicano, & ab honoratis primum *Tolosæ*, dehinc apud *Arelatum* augustus appellatus, Romam pergit, & suscipitur. *SIDONIUS* describes this Convention at *ARLES* l. c. v. 524.

- - Utque satis sibimet numerosa coisse
Nobilitas visa est, quam saxa nivalia Cotti
Despiciant, variis nec non quam partibus
ambit
Tyrrheni, Rhenique liquor, vel longa Py-
renei
Quam juga ab Hispano seclusum jure coër-
cent,
Aggreditur nimio curarum pondere tristem
Gaudens turba virum.

(6). *SIDONIUS*, l. c. v. 8.

- - Nempe, patres, collatos cernere fasces

Vos juvat, & sociam sceptris mandasse
curulem.

(7) *IDATIUS*, l. c. Per *Avitum*, qui a Romanis & evocatus & susceptus fuerat imperator, legati ad *Marcianum* pro unanimitate mittuntur imperii. And moreover: *Marcianus* & *Avitus* concordēs principatu *Romani* utuntur imperii.

§. V. (1) *PRISCUS* p. 73. *Marcianus*, *Romanorum* orientalium imperator, ad *Genfericum* post Romam ab eo, *Avito* imperante, dirutam, legatos misit, qui juberent ab *Italia* vastitate abstinere, & uxorem *Valentiniani* & ejus filias in captivitatem abductas libertati restituere. Sed legati re infecta in orientem reversi sunt, neque quicquam eorum, quæ a *Marciano* imperata fuerant, facere, aut liberare mulieres voluit. Quamobrem *Marcianus* iterum literas ad *Genfericum* scripsit per *Bledam* legatum. Erat autem *Bleda* episcopus hæreseos *Genferici*. *Vandali* enim *Christianorum* cultum & religionem amplexi fuerant. Hic, ubi ad *Genfericum* accessit, atque alienum a sua legatione perspexit, in verba superbiora erupit. Non bene cessurum, licet illi secundæ res animos facerent, si bellum cum *Romanorum* imperatore contraheret. Sed neque ulla verborum lenitas, quantumvis a legato usurpata, neque incussus timor illum ad ullam animi æquitatem, aut moderationem, ut mulieres redderet, pertrahere potuerunt. *Bledam* enim irrita legatione remisit, & rursus in *Siciliam* & proxima *Italia* loca exercitum immittens, omnem regionem vastavit.

(2) *IDEM* *IBIDEM*. *Avitus* quoque, *Romanorum* occidentalium imperator, ad eum

fired, that the Empress Dowager and her Daughters might be sent back: (3) But both their Endeavours were fruitless; *Avitus* was, indeed, so fortunate, that *Ricimer* defeated some Troops of the *Vandals*, who had landed in *Corfica*: But *Genferic* not only continued to infest the Coasts of *Italy*, but begun likewise afterwards to commit Hostilities against those Countries, which belonged to the *East* (4).

§ VI. THE Power of the *Hunns* begun, about this Time, to decay. The Power of the *Hunns* decays after *Attila's* Death. *Attila* died A. 453. The Circumstances of his Death are differently related. Some say, that he died suddenly, of an Hemorrhage, the very Night, he had married a new Wife (1): Others accuse a Mistress of The *Gepidæ* having shortned his Day (2). The *Hunns* interr'd him very pompously, recover their Liberty. and

eum legatos misit, qui monerent, ut foederum pridem cum illo initorum meminisset, ut & ea sibi observanda statueret, sin minus se & domestico exercitu & auxiliariis copiis fretum, bellum apparatusum.

(3) IDATIUS *ad A. V.* MARCIANI. Iisdem diebus, *Rechimeris* comitis circumventionem, magna multitudo *Vandalorum*, quæ de *Carthagine* cum LX. navibus ad *Gallias* vel ad *Italiam* moverat, regi *Theuderico* nunciatur occisa per *Avitum*. And farther: *Hesichius* tribunus, legatus ad *Theudoricum* cum sacris muneribus missus, ad *Gallæciam* venit, nuncians ei id quod supra, in *Corfica* cæsam multitudinem *Vandalorum*, & *Avitum* de *Italia* ad *Gallias Arelate* successisse.

(4) PROCOPIUS de bello *Vandalico*, L. I. c. 5. p. 190. C. Porro in unum *Vandalorum* nomen *Alani* cæterique barbari sua vocabula confuderunt, exceptis *Mauris*, quorum adeptus obsequia *Gizericus* a morte *Valentiniani*, in *Siciliam* atque *Italiam* quotannis vere novo se invehebat. Ibi urbibus partim missis in servitutem, partim solo æquatis, cum & omnia rapuisset, ac regione non modo pecuniis exhaustisset, verum etiam incolis; in ditionem imperatoris orientis irrupit. *Illyricum*, *Peloponesi* item & *Græciæ* partem maximam, nec non adjacentes insulas populatus, in *Siciliam* denuo atque *Italiam* exscensu facto, omnes in orbem oras incursans, agebat omnia ferebatque.

§. VI. (1) JORNANDES, c. 49. *Attila*, ut *Priscus* historicus refert, extinctionis

suæ tempore, puellam *Ildico* nomine, decoram valde, sibi in matrimonium, post innumerales uxores, ut mos erat gentis illius, socians: ejusque in nuptiis magna hilaritate resolutus, vino somnoque granatus, resupinus jacebat, redundansque sanguis, qui ei solite de naribus effluebat, dum consuetis meatibus impeditur, itinere ferali faucibus elapsus eum extinxit. Ita glorioso per bella regi temulentia pudendum exitum dedit. Sequenti vero luce, cum magna pars diei fuisset exempta, ministri regii triste aliquid suspicantes, post clamores maximos fores effringunt, inveniuntque *Attilæ* sine vulnere necem, sanguinis effusione peractam, puellamque demisso vultu sub velamine lachrymantem. Tunc, ut illius gentis mos est, crinium parte truncata, informes facies cavis turpavere vulneribus, ut præliator eximius non femineis lamentationibus & lachrymis, sed sanguine lugeretur virili. De quo id accessit mirabile, ut *Marciano* principi orientis de tam feroci hoste sollicito, in somnis divinitas adstans, arcum *Attilæ* in eadem nocte fractum ostenderet, quasi quod gens ipsa eo telo multa præsumat. Hoc *Priscus* historicus vera se dicit adtestatione probare. Nam in tantum magnis imperiis *Attila* terribilis habitus est, ut ejus mortem in locum muneris superna regnantibus indicarent.

(2) MARCELLINUS ÆTIO & STUDIO Coss. *Attila* rex *Hunnorum*, *Aëtii* hortatu, noctu, *Provinciæ* mulieris manu, cultroque

and with him the Splendor and Renown of their Nation (3): For, as it frequently happens, in great and new-erected States, where Death carries off the Prince, before he can establish a Form of Government; so the Monarchy, he had founded, was now subverted. He left, by different Wives, several Sons, who could not agree among themselves, about the Succession (4). These Divisions put the *German Nations*, whom he had conquer'd, upon endeavouring to recover their Liberty. *Ardaric*, King of the *Gepidæ*, was the first who appeared in Arms, and when *Attila's* Sons march'd against him, he defeated them, in a bloody Battle, in *Pannonia*, on which Occasion, the eldest Prince lost his Life (5). This successful Beginning encourag'd the others to make the like Attempt; and himself to pursue the fugitive *Hunns*, who retreated as far as the *Black Sea*, to a Country belonging to the *Goths*, where *Dengezic*, *Attila's*

confoditur. Quidam vero sanguinis rejectione eum necatum perhibent. CHRONICON ALEXANDRINUM, p. 318. Attila, sanguine ex naribus prorumpente, extinctus est: noctuque cum pellice Hunna (quæ puella de nece ejus suspecta fuit) dormiens: in tabernaculum delatus est.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 49. Nam de tota gente Hunnorum electissimi equites in eo loco, quo erat positus, in modum circensium cursibus ambientes, facta ejus, cantu funereo, tali ordine referebant. Præcipuus Hunnorum rex Attila, patre genitus Mundzacco, fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inaudita ante se potentia solus Scythica & Germanica regna possedit, nec non utraque Romanæ urbis imperia captis civitatibus terruit, & ne prædæ reliqua subderent, placatus precibus, annum vectigal accepit. Cumque hæc omnia proventu felicitatis egerit, non vulnere hostium, non fraude suorum, sed gente incolumi, inter gaudia, lætus sine sensu doloris occubuit. Quis ergo hunc dicat exitum, quem nullus æstimat vindicandum? Postquam talibus lamentis est defletus, STRAVAM super tumulum ejus, quam appellant ipsi, ingenti commestiatione concelebrant, & contraria invicem tibi copulantes, luctum funereum mixto gaudio explicabant, noctuque secreto cadaver est terra reconditum. Cujus fercula primum auro, secundum argento, tertium

ferri rigore communiunt, significantes, tali argumento potentissimo regi omnia convenisse: Ferrum, quo gentes edomuit: aurum & argentum, quod ornatum reipublicæ utriusque acceperit. Addunt arma hostium cædibus acquisita, phaleras vario gemmarum fulgore pretiosas, & diversi generis insignia, quibus colitur aulicum decus. Et ut tot & tantis divitiis humana curiositas arceretur, operi deputatos detestabili mercede trucidarunt, emerfitque momentanea mors sepelientibus eum sepulto.

(4) EUGIPIUS in vita S. Severini, cap. 1. Tempore, quo Attila rex Hunnorum defunctus est, utraque confinia Danubii rebus turbabantur ambiguis: ac primum inter filios ejus de obtinendo regno magna sunt exorta certamina, qui morbo iniquæ dominationis inflati, materiam sui sceleris accepere patris interitum. *This passage may be illustrated by the Quotations below, from JORNANDES.*

(5) JORNANDES relates this Battle, l. c. which is the more remarkable, as, besides the Hunns and Gepidæ, the Swabians, Heruli and Alani were engaged. Quod dum Gepidarum rex comperit Ardaricus, de tot gentibus indignatus, velut vilissimorum mancipiorum conditione tractari, contra filios Attilæ primus insurgit, illatumque serviendi pudorem secuta felicitate deterfit: nec solum suam gentem, sed

Attila's Son, had founded a Kingdom (6). *Ardaric* remained Master of ancient *Dacia*; and made a League with the Emperor *Marcian*, the better to maintain his Ground. The *Gepidæ* have already been more than once mention'd, among the *German* Nations, and will appear more frequently in the Sequel of this History. *Procopius* expressly avers, that they had the same Origin and Language, with the *Goths*, and differed from them only in Name (7). This *Ardaric* was probably the same King, whose Gold-Coins, as appears from the *Burgundian*

sed & cæteras, quæ pariter premebantur, sua discessione absolvit: quia facile omnes appetunt, quæ pro cunctorum utilitate tentantur. In mutuum igitur armantur exitium, bellumque committitur in Pannonia juxta flumen, cui nomen est Netad. Illic concursus factus est gentium variarum, quas Attila in sua tenuerat ditione, dividuntur regna cum populis, fiuntque ex uno corpore membra diversa, nec quæ unius passioni compaterentur, sed quæ exciso capite invicem infanirent. Quæ nunquam contra se pares invenerant, nisi ipsæ mutuis se vulneribus sauciantes, se ipsas discerperent, fortissimæ nationes. Nam ibi admirandum reor fuisse spectaculum, ubi cernere erat cunctis pugnantem Gothum esse furem, Gepidam in vulnere suorum cuncta tela frangentem, Suevum pede, Hunnum sagitta præsumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi armatura aciem instruere. Post multos ergo gravesque conflictus favit Gepidis inopinata victoria. Nam triginta fere millia tam Hunnorum, quam aliarum gentium, quæ Hunnis ferebant auxilium, Ardarici gladius conspiratorumque peremit. In quo prælio filius Attilæ major natu, nomine Ellac occiditur, quem tantum pater super cæteros amasse perhibebatur, ut eum cunctis diversisque filiis suis in regno præferret. Sed non fuit voto patris fortuna consentiens. Nam post multas hostium cædes sic viriliter eum constabat peremptum, ut tam gloriosum superstes pater optasset interitum. Reliqui vero germani ejus eo occiso fugantur juxta litus Pontici maris, ubi prius Gothos sedisse descripsimus.

(6) See the Conclusion of the foregoing Note.

(7) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, L. I. cap. 2. p. 178. A. Plurima quidem superioribus fuere temporibus, hodieque sunt nationes Gothicæ; sed inter illas Gothi, Vandalii, Visigothi & Gepædes cum numero, tum dignitate præstant. Olim Sauromatæ dicebantur ac Melanchlæni: quidam etiam Getarum nomen ipsis tribuerunt. Vocabulis quidem omnes, ut dictum est: nulla vero re præterea inter se differunt. Cutis omnibus candida, flava cæsaries, corpus procerum, facies liberalis, eadem leges, eadem sacra, Ariana scilicet, una demum lingua, quam Gothicam vocamus: ita ut ad unam universos gentem pertinuisse quondam, ac suorum deinde ducum nominibus discretos fuisse, existimem. Antiquæ eorum sedes trans flumen Istrum. Exin Gepædes Singedonem ac Sirmium cum vicino tractu, qua cis, qua ultra fluvium Istrum, ubi etiamnum habitant, occuparunt. The Author of the Historia Miscella had this Passage in View, to which he adds, that the Longobards were at first comprehended under this Name: L. XIV. p. 408. Eodem tempore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes multæ ac maximæ trans Danubium in Hyperboreis locis habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor sunt, Gothi scilicet, Hypo-Gothi, Gepides & Vandalii, nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutantes, unaque lingua utentes: omnes autem fidei erant Arianæ malignitatis. Isti sub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium transeuntes, locati sunt in terra Romanorum. Et Gepides quidem, ex quibus postmodum divisi sunt Langobardi & Avars, villas quæ sunt circa Singidonem & Sirmium habitavere. Hypo-Gothi vero post Alaricum Roman.

gundian Laws, were long current in Trade (8). Tho' the *Gepidæ* remained now Masters of *Dacia*, yet some *Hunns* may perhaps, here and there, have kept their Ground in that Country: For the *Zeckelers*, in *Transylvania*, are look'd upon to be a Remnant of *Attila's* Army (9).

The *Goths* retire into the Roman Provinces

§. VII. WHEN, therefore, the *Ostro-Goths* saw, that their ancient Habitation on the *Black-Sea* was filled with *Hunns*, and the *Gepidæ* were Masters of *Dacia*, they went, together with the *Scyrri*, and a Body of *Rugi* and *Alani*, over the *Danube*, and enter'd likewise into Treaty with the *Roman* Empire. The *Goths* were the more readily allow'd to settle in *Pannonia*, as all the Countries, from the *Sau* to the *Novi*, in *Thrace*, had been under the Dominion of *Attila*, and were now consequently open to every one (1). *Jornandes* fixes the Confines of this their new Habitation, from *Sirmium* to *Vienna*; according to which Description, the present *Lower Hungary* and *Sclavonia*, at that Time, harbour'd the *Goths*. The three Brothers, *Valemir*, *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, in whom the ancient Royal Line of the *Amali* was preserved, shared indeed the Country, but enter'd into Obligations of being mutually assistant to each other (2). These *Ostro-Goths* must be distinguish'd from another

Romam depopulantes in Gallias abierunt & quæ ibidem sunt, obtinuerunt: deinde decimo octavo anno Theodosii imperatoris junioris, Thraciæ villas habitaverunt: & per annos 58. in Thrace morantes occidentis quoque obtinuerunt imperium.

(8) V. additamentum II. ad leges Burgundionum n. VI. De monetis solidorum præcipimus custodire, ut omne aurum, quodcunque pensaverit, accipiatur, præter quatuor tantum monetas, Valentiniani, Genavenfis, & Gothium, qui à tempore regis Alarici adæratæ sunt & Ardaricos: quodsi quisque præter istas quatuor monetas aurum pensatum non acceperit, quod vendere volebat non acceperit, quod vendere volebat non accepto prætio pendat.

(9) The Name is derived from the Hunnick Word *Szekhely*. This their Origin is farther illustrated by *OTROKOSI* in originibus Hungar. P. I. p. 454. and *TOPPELTINUS* origin. Transylv. p. 46.

§. VII. (1) JORNANDES, c. 50. Hæc causa Ardarici regis Gepidarum felix adfuit diversis nationibus, qui Hunnorum regimini inviti famulabantur, eorumque diu moestissi-

mos animos ad hilaritatem libertatis votivam erexit. Venientesque multi per legatos suos ad solum Romanorum, & a principe tunc Marciano gratissime suscepti, distributas sedes, quas incolerent, acceperunt. Nam Gepidæ Hunnorum sibi sedes viribus vendicantes, totius Daciæ fines, velut victores, potiti, nihil aliud a Romano imperio, nisi pacem & annua solennia, ut strenui viri amica pactione postulavere. Quod & libens tunc annuit imperator, & usque nunc consuetum donum est. Nam gens ipsa a Romano suscipit principem. Gothi vero cernentes, Gepidas Hunnorum sedes sibi defendere, Hunnorumque populum suas antiquas sedes occupare, maluerunt a Romano regno terras petere, quam cum discrimine suo invadere alienas: accipientes Pannoniam, quæ in longa porrecta planicie habet ab oriente Moesiam superiorem, a meridie Dalmatiam, ab occasu Noricum, a septentrione Danubium. Ornata patria civitatibus plurimis, quarum prima Sirmis, extrema Vindomina.

(2) JORNANDES, c. 52. Plerique ergo, ut ad gentem, unde agitur, revertamur, [i. e. *Ostrogothorum*.] qui in Pannonia sub rege

Walemir

another Swarm of *Goths*, who had long dwelt in *Thrace* (3), and whose Prince, *Theodoric*, was frequently at Variance with the Emperors *Leo* and *Zeno*. The *Alani* fix'd their Habitation in *Scythia Minor*, and the *Rugi* likewise got Possession of a separate District (4): But we find, in the Life of *S. Severin*, other *Rugi*, who were Neighbours of the *Gepidæ*, and dwelt on the left Banks of the *Danube*, about where the *Moraw* falls into that River (5). Some *Sarmatians* and *Hunns*, likewise, pass'd the *Danube*: A Part of the former settled near *Martena* in *Illyricum*. (6). Among the Princes of the *Hunns*, *Hernac*, one of *Attila*'s younger Sons, laid Claim to the extream Parts of *Scythia Minor*, from whence he was enabled to keep up a good Neighbourhood and Understanding with his Brother *Denzices*, on the *Black-Sea*. Some other Princes of the *Hunns* placed themselves, here and there, on the *Danube*, in *Dacia Ripensis* (7), where

Walemir ejusque Germanis, Theodemir & Widemir, morabantur, quamvis divisa loca, consilia tamen habuere unita. Nam Walemir inter Scarniungam & Aquam Nigram fluvios, Theodemir juxta lacum Pelfodis, Widemir inter utrosque, manebat.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 51. Erant siquidem & alii Gothi, qui dicuntur minores, populus immensus, cum suo pontifice ipsoque primate Vulfila, qui eos dicitur & literis instituisse, hodieque sunt in Mœsia, regionem incolentes Eucopolitanam. Ad pedes enim montis gens multa sedit pauper, & imbellis, nihil abundans, nisi armento diversi generis pecorum, & pascuis, sylvaque lignorum, parum habens tritici; cæterarum specierum est terra fœcunda. Vineas vero nec si sunt alibi, certi eorum cognoscent, ex vicinis locis sibi negotiantes: nam lacte aluntur.

(4) JORN. l. c. Rugi vero, aliæque nationes nonnullæ *Giozimetas*, *Scandiopolin*, ut incolerent, petivere. But this passage is so corrupted, that it is quite unintelligible. In some other MSS. we read *Brizim* and *Archidropolim*.

(5) EUGIPIUS in vita S. Severini, capite 5. 8. 33. This description is confirmed by PAULUS DIACONUS, who says L. I. de rebus Langob. c. 19. His temporibus inter Odoachar, qui in Italia per aliquot jam annos regnabat, & Feletheum, qui & Feva

dictus est, Rugorum regem, magnarum inimicitiarum fomes exarsit. Qui Feletheus illis diebus ulteriorem Danubii ripam incolebat, quam a Norici finibus idem Danubius separant. Immediately after he calls the same Country Rugiland.

(6) JORN. c. 50. Sauromatæ vero, quos Sarmatas diximus, & Cemandiri, & quidam ex Hunnis in parte Illyrici ad castrum Martenam sedes sibi datas coluere. Ex quo genere fuit Polivitas [al. Blivitas] dux Pentapolitanus, ejusque germanus Froilas, & nostri temporis Bessa patricius. Sciri vero, & Satararii, & cæteri Alanorum, cum duce suo, nomine Candax, Scythiam minorem, inferioremque Mœsiam acceperunt. Cujus Candacis, Alanowamuthis patris mei genitor; Peria, id est, meus avus, notarius, quousque Candax ipse viveret, fuit: ejusque germanæ filius Gunthigis, qui & Baza dicebatur, magister militum, filius Andagis, filii Andalæ, de prosapia Amalorum descendens. Ego item, quamvis agrammatus, Jornandes ante conversionem meam notarius fui. However corrupted this Passage is, yet it cannot but be agreeable to those, who read the Gothick History, by Reason of the Account it contains of JORNANDES's Person. As for this CASTRUM MARTENA it is suppos'd by some to be the present Marckburg, in Stiria.

(7) IDEM l. c. Hernac quoque, junior Attilæ

where afterwards the *Bulgarians*, likewise a *Hunnick* Nation, founded a Kingdom of their own. Thus was *Attila's* Kingdom now divided, and may serve for a fresh Proof, how fruitless a Work it is, to subdue many Countries, if they are not well united, and so establish'd by prudent Laws, that the Succession is secure, and the several Nations may neither have Cause to wish for a Revolution, nor Opportunity, to attempt it.

The *Ostro-Goths* maintain their Freedom against the Sons of *Attila*.

§. VIII. THE *Ostro-Goths* were obliged, Sword in Hand, to defend their new acquired Liberty. *Attila's* Sons aimed at reducing those Nations, who had been subject to their Father, especially the *Goths*, to their Dominion, and fell upon *Valamir*; but met with a vigorous Repulse (1). They had, some Years after, again to do with *Dengizic*, whom they defeated before *Basiana*, (at present *Pogeda* in *Sclavonia*) and oblig'd him to retreat: After which the *Hunns* did not venture to molest them any farther (2). Divers and more considerable were the Differences, which

Attilæ filius, cum suis in extremo minoris Scythiæ sedes delegit: Emnedzar, & Uzin-dur consanguinei ejus, in Dacia ripensi. Uto & Iscalmus, qui ea potiti sunt, multique Hunnorum passim, proruentes tunc se in Romaniam dederunt. E quibus nunc usque Sacromontisii, & Fosatisii dicuntur.

§. VIII. (1) JORNANDES, c. 54. Contigit ergo, ut Attilæ filii contra Gothos, quasi desertores dominationis suæ, velut fugacia mancipia requirentes venirent; ignarisque aliis fratribus super Walemir solum irruerent. Quos tamen ille, quamvis cum paucis, excepit; diuque fatigatos ita prostravit, ut vix pars aliqua hostium remaneret, quæ in fugam versa, eas partes Scythiæ peteret, quas Danubii amnis fluentia prætermear, quæ lingua sua HUNNIVAR appellant. Some learned Hungarians have taken Pains to describe the Country here call'd Hunnwar. BELIUS's Conjecture on this Head may, at the same Time, serve to give us some Light into the Extent of that Part of the Country, which belong'd to Valamir. He says, in prodromo Hungariæ, libro II. sect. I. cap. I. §. 24. Tenuisse nimirum Walemirum oportuit, eam partem inferioris Pannoniæ, ubi nunc comitatus Albenfis, Sumogiensis, Tolnensis

& Baranensis est. In his ergo tractibus, cum sæpe iterumque manus conseruissent, bello tandem inferiores filii Attilæ, cesserunt Gothis. Neque vero tunc Danaprum, sed Danubium, atque inde Batissum, habuere objectum. Quibus superatis, in suum illud per-fugium se receperunt, quod illi Hunni-vár appellant, non jam in Sarmatia, sed in Dacia mediterranea, sive consulari, quærendum, ubi hodiernum ejusdem nominis est, comitatus Hunyadiensis, vulgo Hunnyad-vármegye; has enim oras diutius retinuisse Hunnos, Székelyjorum natio, quæ constantes hic sedes habuit, docet. Est & in Hungaria superiore comitatus Ung. sive Unguármegye, a fluvio cognomine aliis, aliis ab arce Unguár, dictus. BONFINIUS id nominis ab Hunnis derivatum putat, quod si est, sicuti potest omnino, erit ipsissimum Jornandis Hunnivar, ex quo modica flexione factum est Unguár. Quamcunque sequaris conjectationem, perinde est. Quod vero tractus, quos petierunt Hunni, Scythiam appellat JORNANDES, in eo oppido lapsus est, sicut plerumque, quum situs terrarum describit.

(2) JORNANDES, cap. 53. Postquam ergo firma pax Gothorum cum Romanis effecta est, videntes Gothi, non sibi sufficere ea,

which *Dengizic* and *Irnac* had with the Imperial Court of *Constantinople* (3); and the former, in the Year 469. was put to Death in *Thrace*, by *Anagastus*, the Imperial General. His Head was placed in publick View, at *Constantinople*; and the Concourse of the People, to see this Trophy, was the greater, as they hardly ever heard the Father mentioned, (4) but with Terror.

§. IX. THE Consequences of this Migration of the *Ostro-Goths* were no less considerable, than those which attended the Success of the *Wisigoths*, in the Times of *Valens*. They had not dwelt long on the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire before they made the Court of *Constantinople* sensible, what a Kind of Neighbours they were. *Marcian* died, in the Year 457, and *Aspar*, who had the Army in his Power, had raised *Leo* to the Throne, in his Room (1). *Theodoric*, the Prince of those *Goths*, who, as I mention'd before, dwelt in *Thrace*, bore a great Sway in this Reign; and we shall, in the Sequel, meet with Tokens of the strict Alliance between *Aspar* and him. The *Ostro-Goths* were now desirous to enjoy the same Advantages, which he did, and, to shew their Power, invaded *Illyricum* (2). Of this War, is to be

ea, quæ ab imperatore acciperent salaria, simulque cupientes ostentare virtutem, cœperunt vicinas gentes circumcirca prædari: primo contra Satagas, qui interiorem Pannoniam possidebant, arma moventes. Quod ubi rex Hunnorum Dinzig, filius Attilæ, cognovisset, collectis secum qui adhuc videbantur, quamvis pauci, ejus tamen sub imperio remansisse, Ulzingures, Angisciros, Bitugores, Bardores, veniens ad Bassanam Pannoniæ civitatem, eamque circumvallans, fines ejus cœpit prædari. Quo comperto Gothi, ubi erant, expeditionem solventes, quam contra Satagas collegerant, in Hunnos convertunt; & sic eos suis a finibus inglorios pepulerunt, ut jam ex illo tempore, qui remanserant Hunni, & usque hætenus, Gothorum arma formident.

(3) PRISCUS gives an Account of these Ruptures, l. c. p. 44.

(4) CHRONICON ALEXANDRINUM, p. 323. Dinzirichus, Attilæ filius, ab Anagasto magistro militum in Thracia cæsus est, cujus caput delatum Constantinopolim, dum circenses agerentur, per medium circumge-

statum est, & (extra urbem) in palo suspensum. cujus spectandi causa multis diebus universa civitas egressa est. MARCELLINUS: ZENONE & MARTIANO COSS. Caput DENZICIS, Hunnorum regis, Attilæ filii, Constantinopolim allatum est.

§. IX. (1) PROCOPIOUS de bello Vandalico L. I. c. 5. Tunc penes Leonem erat imperium orientis, factione Asparis ipsi traditum.

(2) JORN. c. 52. Post tempus ergo non multum rex Walemir, ejusque germani, Theodemir & Widemir, consueta dum traderent dona, a principe Marciano quæ ad instar strenuæ gentis acceperunt, ut pacis fœdera custodirent, missa legatione ad imperatorem, vident Theodericum Triarii filium, & hunc genere Gothico, alia tamen stirpe, non Amalo procreatum, omnino florentem cum suis, Romanorumque amicitiiis junctum, & annua solemnia consequentem, & se tantum despici. Illico furore commoti arma arripiunt, & Illyricum pene totum discurrentes in prædam devastant. Sed statim imperator animo mutato ad pristinam recurrit amicitiam, missaque legatione, tam præterita

A a a a

cum

be understood, what *Sidonius Apollinaris* says in Honour of a Victory gain'd over *Valamir*, by *Anthemius*, who was afterwards Emperor (3). And they so far obtained their End, that *Leo* concluded a Treaty with them, by Virtue of which they were allowed a certain annual Subsidy in Money (4). For the Security of this Peace, *Theodemir*, at the Instances of his Brother *Valamir*, deliver'd his Son, *Theodoric*, as an Hostage. He was then but 7 Years of Age (5), and no one would at that Time, have imagined, that Heaven had destin'd him for the Dominion of *Rome* and all *Italy*.

§. X.

cum instantibus munera tribuit, quam etiam de futuro sine aliqua controversia tribuere compromittit; pacisque obsidem ab eis, quem supra retulimus, Theodericum infantulum Theodemiris accepit. Qui jam annorum septem incrementa conscendens, octavum intraverat annum. Quem dum pater cunctatus daret, patruus Walemir extitit supplicator, tantum ut pax firma inter Romanos Gothosque maneret. Datus igitur Theodericus obses a Gothis, ducitur ad urbem Constantinopolitanam Leoni principi; & quia puerulus elegans erat, meruit gratiam imperialem habere. JORNANDES's *Relation is, in several Respects, illustrated and confirmed by the Testimonies of PRISCUS and SIDONIUS, in the following Notes.*

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS in panegyrico in Anthemium (carmine II. v. 223.)

Ante tamen, quam te socium collega crearet,

Perstrinxisse libet, quos Illyris ora triumphos

Viderit, excisam quæ se Valameris ab armis

Forte ducis nostri vitio deserta gemebat.
Haud aliter, cæsus quondam cum Cæpio robur

Dedit Ansonium, subita cogente ruina,
Electura ducem post guttura fracta Jugurthæ,

Ultum Arpinatem Calpurnia fœdera lixam

Opposuit rabido respublica territa Cimbro.

Hinc primum ut vestras aquilas provincia vidit,

Desiit hostiles confestim horrere dracones.

Illicet edomiti bello, prædaque carentes,
Mox ipsi tua præda jacent.

(4) PRISCUS, p. 74. A. Cum Balamerus Scythia fœdera violaret, & Romanorum regiones depopularetur, & multas urbes everteret, Romani ad eum legatos miserunt, qui de pace violata quererentur. Et ut deinceps a vexanda incursionibus Romanorum regione abstineret, decem & novem auri libras illi quotannis solvi constituerunt. Dicebat enim, suæ gentis multitudinem, rerum necessariarum inopia, ad bellum insurrexisse.

(5) JORNANDES. See the foregoing 2d Note. He takes Notice of THEODORIC's Nativity, l. c. c. 52. Eoque tempore, cum ad fratrem Theodemirem gaudii nuntium direxisset, eo mox die nuntius veniens felicius in domo Theodemiris reperit gaudium. Ipso siquidem die, Theodericus ejus filius, quamvis de Eralieva concubina, bonæ tamen spei puerulus natus erat. MALCHUS indeed affirms that he was VALAMIR's Son, but the Learned give Credit to JORNANDES. PAGIUS, in particular, ad A. 475. n. 6. confirms this his Relation. As for his Education in Constantinople, it is highly extol'd by ENNODIUS in the Panegyrick, which he afterwards spoke in Honour to THEODORIC, when King of Italy, p. 294. Educavit te in gremio civilitatis Græcia, præfaga venturi, quem ita ingressum vitæ limen erudit, ut dum adhuc

§. X. AFTER having thus renewed the Fame of their Valour among the *Hunns*, and in the *Roman Empire*, they engaged in a War with their *German Neighbours*. *Hunnimund*, a *Swabian Prince*, made Incursions into *Dalmatia*, and, in his March, drove away some Cattle belonging to *Theodemir's* Subjects. *Theodemir* way-laid him, on his Return, and took him Prisoner; but released him again; and so great an Intimacy ensued thereupon, that he adopted him for his Son. But these After-Favours could not induce *Hunnimund* to stifle his Resentment for what he had before suffer'd; and after some Time he excited the *Scyrrî* against the *Ostro-Goths*. An Engagement ensued betwixt these two Nations; in which indeed the *Gothick Prince*, *Valamir*, was slain; but on the other Hand, the *Goths* beat the *Scyrrî* (1). *Hunnimund*, and another King of the *Swabians*, named *Alaric*, then openly interfered in this War, to put a Stop to the Encrease of the *Gothick* Power, upon the Conquest of the *Scyrrî*. They not only encourag'd the *Scyrrî* to revenge the Overthrow of their Country-Men, but took the Field in Person; and were re-inforced by some Auxiliaries of *Gepidæ* and *Rugi*, both which Nations were only separated from the *Goths*, by the *Danube*. The neighbouring *Sarmatæ* likewise took up Arms, under the Command of *Beuga* and *Babai*, two of their Kings. Both Parties had

Their Wars with the *Scyrrî*, *Swabians*, *Gepidæ*, &c. The first Exploits of *Theodemir* the Younger.

adhuc de puero haberet hilaritatem, mox etiam sequeretur securitas de tutore. *Some pretty ancient Romantick Accounts of this Prince, in which he is call'd DIEDERICK of BERN, have so corrupted his real History, that we cannot too carefully examine the Circumstances of it.*

§. X. (1) JORNANDES, c. 53. Quiescente vero tandem Hunnorum gente a Gothis, Hunnimundus Suevorum dux, dum ad prædandas Dalmatias transit, armenta Gothorum in campis errantia deprædavit: quia Dalmatiis Suevia vicina erat, nec a Pannoniis multum distabat, præsertim ubi tunc Gothi residebant. Quid plurimum? Hunnimundo cum Suevis, vastatis Dalmatiis, ad sua revertente, Theodemir, germanus Walemiris regis Gothorum, non tantum jacturam armentorum dolens, quantum metuens ne Suevi, si impune hoc lucrarentur, ad majorem licentiam profilirent, sic vigilavit in eorum transitu, ut intempesta nocte dormientes invaderet ad la-

cum Belsodis, consertoque inopinato prælio, ita eos oppressit, ut etiam ipso rege Hunnimundo capto, omnem exercitum ejus, qui gladium evasisset, Gothorum subderet servituti. Et dum multum esset amator misericordiæ, facta ultione veniam condonavit, reconciliatusque cum Suevis eundem, quem ceperat, adoptans sibi filium, remisit cum suis in Sueviam. Sed ille immemor paternæ gratiæ, post aliquod tempus conceptum dolum parturiens, Scirrorum gentem incitavit, qui tunc supra Danubium confidebant, & cum Gothis pacifice morabantur, quatenus scissi ab eorum fœdere secumque juncti, in arma profilirent, gentemque Gothorum invaderent. Tunc Gothis nihil mali sperantibus, præsertim de utrisque amicis vicinis confisis, bellum insurgit ex improvviso, coactique necessitate ad arma confugiunt: solitoque certamine arrepto, se suamque injuriam ulciscuntur. In eo siquidem prælio rex eorum Walemir, dum equo insidens ad cohortandos suos ante aciem

had sought for Assistance at *Constantinople*, where *Aspar* indeed advised the Court to look on, and see how these Nations would extirpate each other : But *Leo* nevertheless sent an Order to the *Præfectus Prætorii Illyrici*, to lend the *Scyrri* some Aid, perhaps because they were esteemed the weaker Side (2). When a Battle therefore ensued, in *Pannonia*, the two Princes *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, who after their Brother's Decease, reign'd over all the *Goths*, carried the Day (3). *Theodemir*, the ensuing Winter, pass'd the frozen *Danube*, and invaded the *Swabians* and *Alemanni* in their own Country (4). *Jornandes*, in describing

curreret, proturbatus equus corruit, fessoremque suum dejecit : qui mox inimicorum lanceis confossus, interemtus est : Gothi vero, tam regis sui mortem, quam suam injuriam a rebellionibus exigentes, ita sunt præliati, ut pene de gente Scirorum nisi qui nomen ipsum ferrent, & hic cum dedecore non remansissent, sic omnes extinxerunt.

(2) *PRISCUS's Testimony of this War is the more acceptable, as it confirms JORNANDES's Relation, p. 44.* A. Scythæ & Gothi, acie decertantes, & a pugna utrique recedentes, ad accersenda auxilia animum adjecerunt. Qua de re Romanos Eoos adierunt. Aspar quidem censuit, neutris opitulandum esse. Sed imperator Leo statuit, Sciris opem ferre. Itaque litteras ad præfectum Illyrici misit, jussitque quoad necesse esset, auxiliares copias Sciris adversus Gothos præbere. Eodem tempore venit & ad Leonem imperatorem legatio a filiis Attilæ, ut omnibus omnino præteritorum diffidiorum causis rescatis, pacem inirent. Itaque Romani, ut olim erat in more positum, ad Istrum usque procedentes, mercatum celebrarent, ex quo invicem ea, quæ sibi opus essent, desumerent. Et ea quidem legatio, quæ circa hæc versabatur, re infecta rediit. Nec enim imperator rationibus suis conducere arbitratus est, commoditates, quæ propriæ Romanorum essent, Hunnis, qui eos tot damnis, & cladibus affecerant, communicare. At vero Attilæ filii renuntiata legatione, inter se dissenserunt. Etenim Dengisch legatis, nulla re impetrata reversis, bellum Romanis indici volebat. Cui quidem apparatui Irnach repugnabat. Nec

enim bellum longius a patria geri, expedire existimabat.

(3) *JORNANDES, c. 54.* Quorum exitum, Suevorum reges, Hunnimundus & Alaricus veriti, in Gothos arma moverunt, freti auxilio Sarmatarum, qui cum Beuga & Babai, regibus suis, auxiliarii eorum devenissent, ipsasque Scirorum reliquias, quasi ad ultionem suam acrius pugnaturas accersentes, cum Edica, & Ulfo, eorum primatibus, habuerunt simul secum tam Gepidas, quam ex gente Rugorum non parva solatia, cæterisque hinc inde collectis, ingentem multitudinem aggregantes, ad amnem, Bolliam in Pannoniis, castra metati sunt. Gothi tunc, Walemire defuncto, ad fratrem ejus Theodemir confugerunt. Qui quamvis dudum cum fratribus regnans, tamen auctioris potestatis insignia sumens, Widemire fratre juniore accito, & cum ipso curas belli partitus, cunctus ad arma prosilivit ; confertoque prælio superior pars invenitur Gothorum, adeo ut campus inimicorum corruentium cruore madefactus, ut rubrum pelagus appareret, armaque, & cadavera, in modum collium cumulata, campum plusquam decem millibus oppleverunt. Quod Gothi cernentes, ineffabili exultatione lætantur, eo quod regis sui Walemiris sanguinem, & suam injuriam cum maxima inimicorum strage ulciscerentur. De innumeranda vero varique multitudine hostium, qui valuerunt evadere, effugativi ad sua inglorii pervenerunt.

(4) *IDEM, c. 55.* Post certum vero tempus instanti hyemali frigore, anneque Danubii solite congelato (nam istiusmodi fluvius ita rigescit,

describing the Confines of the *Swabians*, makes Mention of the *Bojohari* or *Bavarians*, which is the first Notice taken of this, afterwards so famous, Name, among the *German Nations*. *Theodoric*, the Son of *Theodemir* returned, at the same Time, from *Constantinople*, where he had been educated as an Hostage, and placed himself at the Head of 6000 Men, with whom he attack'd *Babai*, the *Sarmatian King*, and killed him: With these he likewise took, from the *Sarmatæ*, *Singidunum*, which they had a little while before brought under their Subjection (5). *Singidunum* is the present *Belgrad* (6); and thus did *Theodoric*, as the first Proof of his Valour, extend the Borders of the *Gothick Dominions*, to the Confluence of the *Sau* with the *Danube*.

§. XI. THUS did the *Ostro-Goths* exert that Force on the *Danube*, which was destin'd, soon after, for the total Subversion of the *Roman Empire*, in *Italy*. The *Wisi-Goths*, on the other Hand were involv'd in a War with the *Suevi*, in *Spain*. *Rechila* died, at *Merida*, in the Year 448, and was succeeded by *Rechiarius*, his Son (1). This Prince married the Daughter of *Theodoric*, I. King of the *Wisi-Goths* (2), thereby

State of the Kingdom of the *Suevi*. A Rupture between *Rechiarius* and the *Romans*.

rigescit, ut in silicis modum vehat exercitum pedestrem, plaustreaque & tragulas, vel quicquid vehiculi fuerit, nec cymbarum indigeat lintre) sic ergo cum gelatum Theodemir Gothorum rex cernens, pedestrem ducit exercitum: emensoque Danubio, Suevis improvus a tergo apparuit. Nam regio illa Suevorum ab oriente BAJOBAROS habet, ab occidente Francos, a meridie Burgundiones, a septentrione Thuringos. Quibus Suevis tunc juncti Alemanni etiam aderant, ipsique Alpes erectas omnino regentes: unde nonnulla fluenta Danubio influunt, nimio cum sono vergentia. Hic ergo taliter munito loco, Theodemir rex hyemis tempore Gothorum ductavit exercitum, & tam Suevorum gentem, quam etiam Alemannorum, utraque ad invicem foederatas, devicit, vastavit, & pene subegit.

(5) IDEM, l. c. Inde quoque victor ad proprias sedes, id est Pannonias revertens, Theodericum, filium suum, quem Constantinopolim obsidem dederat, a Leone imperatore remissum, cum magnis muneribus gratanter excepit. Qui Theodericus, jam adolescentiæ annos contingens, expleta pueritia, octavum

decimum peragens annum, adscitis satellitibus patris, ex populo amatores sibi, clientesque confociavit pene sex millia viros; cum quibus inscio patre, emenso Danubio super Babai, Sarmatarum regem, discurrit, qui tunc de Camundo, duce Romanorum, victoria positus, superbiæ tumore regnabat, eumque superveniens Theodericus interemit, familiamque & censum deprædans, ad genitorem suum cum victoria repedavit. Singidunum dehinc civitatem, quam ipsi Sarmatæ occupassent, invadens, non Romanis reddidit, sed suæ subdidit ditioni.

(6) SINGIDUNUM is by some thought to be SEMENDRIT. But OTROKOSCI, P. I. cap. 5. §. 37. p. 199. proves, by probable Arguments, that Belgrad is here meant.

§. XI. (1) IDATIUS, ad A. XXIV. Valentiniani (448). Rechila, rex Suevorum, Emeritæ gentilis moritur, mense Augusto; cui mox filius suus catholicus, Rechiarius, succedit in regnum, nonnullis quidem sibi de gente sua æmulis, sed latenter. obtento tamen regno, sine mora ulteriores regiones invadit ad prædam.

(2) IDATIUS, ad A. XXV. Valentiniani (449).

thereby to secure the Friendship of the *Gothick* Court. He was not contented with the Kingdom left him by his Father; but when, the ensuing Year, he had made a Visit to his Father-in-Law, he, on his Return, committed Hostilities against the *Romans*, and made Depredations in *Saragossa*, *Ilerda*, and other Cities in *Hispania Tarraconensis* (3). A Peace was nevertheless concluded (4); and, as appears by the Sequel (5), the *Romans* thereby, at that Time, retained *Hispania Tarraconensis*, with the Territories of *Carthagera*. They thereupon cleared *Hispania Tarraconensis* of that turbulent Crew, who were, as before in *Gaul*, called *Bacaudæ*, and had, till then, been very seditious; on which Occasion *Frideric*, a Son of *Theodoric*, I. King of the *Goths*, performed eminent Service (6). *Valentinian's* Death likewise made a Breach in the Peace, between the *Suevi* and the *Romans*; and *Rechiarius* made a fresh Invasion into those Countries, which by the last Treaty he had resigned to the *Romans* (7). *Avitus* first made amicable Proposals, and *Theodoric* II. King of the *Goths*, seconded them, pursuant to a Treaty, subsisting between him and *Avitus*, by a particular Ambassy (8): But *Rechiarius* had as little Regard for *Avitus's* Ambassy, as for his near Relation to the King of the *Goths*; and invading the *Provincia Tarracoenensis*, carried off a great Booty, with a large Number of Prisoners, into *Gallicia* (9).

§. XII.

(449). *Rechiarius*, accepta in conjugium *Theodori* regis filia, auspicatur initium regni *Vasconias* deprædatur mense *Februario*.

(3) *IDEM* *IBID.* *Rechiarius* mense *Julio* ad *Theodorem* socerum provectus, *Cæsar-Augustanam* regionem cum *Basilio* in reditu deprædatur. Irrupta per dolum *Ilerdensi* urbe, acta est non parva captivitas. *ISIDORUS's* *Testimony* may be seen in the following §. Not. 3.

(4) *IDEM* ad A. XXVI. *Valentiniani* (450). Ad *Suevos* *Manfuetus*, comes *Hispaniarum*, & *Fronto*, similiter comes, legati pro pace mittuntur, & obtinent conditiones injunctas.

(5) See the following §.

(6) *IDATIUS*, ad A. XXX. *Valentiniani* (454). Per *Fredericum*, *Theodorici* regis fratrem, *Bacaudæ* *Tarraconenses* cæduntur ex autoritate *Romana*.

(7) *IDATIUS*, ad A. I. *AVITI*. *Suevi* *Car-*

thaginenfes regiones, quas *Romanis* reddiderant, deprædantur.

(8) *IDEM* *IBID.* Per augustum *Avitum* *Fronto* comes legatus mittitur ad *Suevos*. Similiter & a rege *Gothorum* *Theudorico*; quia fidus *Romano* esset imperio, legati ad eosdem mittuntur, ut tam secum, quam cum *Romano* imperio, quia uno essent pacis fœdere copulati, jurati fœderis promissa servarent. Remissis legatis utriusque partis, atque omni juris ratione violata, *Suevi* *Tarracoensem* provinciam, quæ *Romano* imperio deserviebat, invadunt.

(9) *IDEM* *IBID.* Legati *Gothorum* rursus veniunt ad *Suevos*, post quorum adventum rex *Suevorum* *Rechiarius* cum magna suorum multitudine regiones provincie *Tarraconensis* invadit: acta illic deprædatione & grandi ad *Gallæciam* captivitate deducta.

§. XII.

§. XII. *Theodoric*, therefore, at the Instances of *Avitus*, march'd with an Army to *Spain* (1), accompanied by *Gundeucus* and *Chilperic*, two *Burgundian Kings* (2). *Rechiarius* encounter'd him, but was put to Flight, on the 5th of *October*, in the Year 456. on the River *Orbego*, twelve Roman Miles from the City of *Astorga*. *Theodoric* pursued him, and, in his Way, plunder'd *Brapa*, but so far spared the City, as not to destroy it by Fire and Sword. *Rechiarius* attempted, after his Overthrow, when he thought all lost, to fly to *Africa*: But he was taken Prisoner in *Oporto* (3), and brought to *Theodoric*. *Theodoric* continued

Theodoric, II.
King of the
Wisi-Goths,
assisted by the
Burgundians,
overcomes
Rechiarius.

§. XII. (1) IDATIUS, l. c. Mox Hispanias rex Gothorum Theodoricus cum ingenti exercitu suo, & cum voluntate & ordinatione Aviti imperatoris ingreditur. Cui cum multitudine Suevorum rex Rechiarius occurrens, duodecimo de Asturicensi urbe milliario, ad fluvium nomine Urbicum, tertio nonas Octobris die, sexta feria inito mox certamine superatur: cæsis suorum agminibus, aliquantis captis, plurimisque fugatis, ipse ad extremas sedes Gallæciæ plagatus vix evadit ac profugus.

Theuderico rege cum exercitu ad Bracaram extremam civitatem Gallæciæ pertendente, quinto kal. Nov. die dominico etsi incruenta, sit tamen satis mœsta ac lacrymabilis ejusdem direptio civitatis. Romanorum magna agitur captivitas captivorum: sanctorum basilicæ effractæ, altaria sublata, atque confRACTA, virgines dei exin quidem abductæ, sed integritate servata: clerus usque ad nuditatem pudoris exutus, promiscui sexus cum parvulis de locis refugii sanctis, populus omnis abstractus, jumentorum, pecorum, camelorumque horrore locus sacer impletur, scripta super Hierusalem ex parte cœlestis iræ revocavit exempla.

(2) See the following Note.

(3). IDATIUS, c. l. Rechiarius ad locum, qui PORTUCALÆ appellatur, profugus, regi Theuderico captivus adducitur: quo in custodiam reducto, cæteris, qui de priore certamine superfuerant, tradentibus se Suevis, aliquantis nihilominus interfectis, regnum destructum & finitum est Suevorum. With IDATIUS's Relation, let us compare, the Ac-

counts given of this War by ISIDORUS and JORNANDES, c. 44. Post cujus decessum, Theodoricus Germanus ejus, Vesegotharum in regno succedens, mox Riciarium Suevorum regem, cognatum suum, reperit inimicum. Hic item Riciarius, affinitatem Theodorici præsumens, universam pene Hispaniam sibi credidit occupandam, judicans opportunum tempus surreptionis composita initia tentare regnantis. Quibus ante Gallicia, & Lusitania sedes fuere, quæ in dextro latere Hispaniæ per ripam oceani porriguntur, habentes ab oriente Austrogoniam, ab occidente in promontorio sacrum Scipionis Romani ducis monumentum, a septentrione oceanum, a meridie Lusitaniam, & fluvium Tagum, qui arenis suis permiscens auri metalla, trahit cum limi vilitate divitias. Exinde ergo exiens Riciarius, rex Suevorum, nititur totam Hispaniam occupare. Cui Theodoricus cognatus suus, ut erat moderatus, legatos mittens, pacifice dixit, ut non solum recederet a finibus alienis: verum etiam nec tentare præsumeret, odium sibi tali ambitione acquirens. Ille vero animo prætumido ait: si hic murmuras & venire caufaris, Tholosam, ubi tu sedes, veniam: ibi si vales, resiste. His auditis, ægre tulit Theodoricus, compactusque cum cæteris gentibus, arma movit in Suevos, Burgundionum quoque Gundiacum, & Hilpericum reges auxiliares habens, sibi que devotos. Ventum est ad certamen juxta flumen Urbicum, quod inter Asturicam, Hiberiamque prætermeat, confertoque prælio, Theodoricus cum Vesegothis, qui ex justa parte pugnabat, victor efficitur, Suevorum gentes pene cunctas

continued his March to *Lusitania*, but reached no further, than *Merida*; where, on Account of some important and dangerous Advices from *Gaul*, he was oblig'd to return (4). He left behind him an Army, with Orders to pursue the *Suevi*, to the utmost Bounds of *Gallicia*; and, by the Way, they ravag'd *Astorga* and *Palenza* (5). But *Agiulf*, one of the *Warni*, in whom he had repos'd great Confidence, prov'd treacherous

cunctas usque ad internecionem prosternens. Quorum rex Riciarius, relicta infecta victoria hostem fugiens, in navim conscendit, adversaque procella Tyrrheni ostii percussus Vefegotharum est manibus redditus, miserabilem non differens mortem, cum elementa mutaverit. ISIDORUS, p. 232. Quo defuncto Rectarius succedit in regnum annis novem. Hic, accepta in conjugio Theodoridi regis Gothorum filia, in initio regni sui deprædatur. Mox ad Theodoricum socerum suum profectus, Cæsaraugustanam regionem cum auxilio Gothorum rediens deprædatur, irruptaque per dolum Ilerdensi urbe, egit ibi magnam captivitatem. Ad ultimum, dum Theodorus rex Hispaniam ingrederetur, inito prælio adversus eum, primo fugatus, deinde captus occiditur. Theodoricus pro eo, quod imperatori Avito sumendi imperialis fastigii cum Gallis auxilium præbuisset, Aquitanias cum ingenti exercitu, & cum ingenti licentia ejusdem Aviti imperatoris ingreditur. Cui cum magna copia rex Suevorum Rectarius occurrens, duodecimo Asturicensis urbis milliaro apud fluvium, qui Urbicus appellatur, inito mox certamine superatus est, cæsis suorum agminibus, aliquantis captis, plurimisque fugatis, ipse postremum rex telo fauciatus fugit. Rectarius vero ad locum Portucalæ profectus, regi Theodorico captus adducitur. Quo perempto, cæteris, qui de priori certamine superfuerant, sese tradentibus, aliquantis nihilominus interfectis, regnum Suevorum pene destructum est & finitum. Reliqui Suevi, qui remanserant in extrema Galliciae, Massiliæ filium nomine Mastrum sibi regem constituunt, regnumque reparatur Suevorum. Theodoricus autem de Gallicia in Lusitaniam victor succedens, dum Emeritensem urbem deprædari molitur, beatissimæ Eulaliæ martyris terretur ostentis. Mox adversis sibi

nunciis territus, de Emerita egressus, Gallias repetit, & partem exercitus cum suis ducibus iterum in campos Galliciae dirigit: qui cæsa Asturicensi regione rursus revertuntur in Gallias, &c.

(4) IDATIUS c. l. Occiso Rechiario, mense Decembri, rex Theodoricus de Gallæcia ad Lusitaniam succedit. Suevi, qui remanserant in extrema parte Gallæciæ, Massiliæ filium, nomine Maldram, sibi regem constituunt.

Theodoricus Emeritam deprædari volens, beatæ Eulaliæ Martyris terretur ostentis.

(5) IDATIUS, ad A. I. Majoriani. Theodoricus, adversis sibi nunciis territus, mox post dies Paschæ, quod fuit quinto Kal. Aprilis, de Emerita egreditur, & Gallias repetens, partem ex ea quam habebat multitudine variae nationis, cum ducibus suis ad campos Gallæciæ dirigit, qui dolis, & perjuriis instructi, sicut eis fuerat imperatum, Asturicam, quam jam prædones ipsius sub specie Romanæ ordinationis intraverant, mentientes ad Suevos, qui remanserant, jussam sibi expeditionem, ingrediuntur pace fucata solita arte perfidiæ. Nec mora, promiscui generis reperta illic cæditur multitudo, sanctæ effringuntur ecclesiæ, altaribus direptis & demolitis, sacer omnis ornatus, & usus aufertur. Duo illic episcopi inventi cum omni clero abducuntur in captivitatem: invalidior promiscui sexus agitur miseranda captivitas, residuis, & vacuis civitatis domibus datis incendio, camporum loca vastantur. Palentina civitas simili, quo Asturica, per Gothos perit exitio. Unum Coviacense castrum tricesimo de Asturica milliaro a Gothis diutino certamine fatigatum, auxilio dei, hostibus & obsistit, & prævalet: quamplurimis ex eorum manu interfectis, reliqui revertuntur ad Gallias.

rous (6). The Nation of the *Suevi*, on the contrary, after having undergone this Storm, at last recover'd it's former Strength, under *Remismundus*.

§. XIII. As the Prejudice or Partiality of *Roman* Historians generally prompts them so to disguise foreign Princes, that their Representations in History appear still more deformed, than their Images on the Medals, which were either actually struck in those unciviliz'd Times, or invented afterwards ; it cannot but be acceptable to the Reader, to see the Account, given by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in a Letter to a Friend, of this King *Theodoric's* Person and Court (1). If, in this Picture

The Character of
Theodoric.

(6) *The Fate of this Agiulf is very obscure* : IDATIUS says of him, ad A. V. Marciani. Aiulfus deferens Gothos in Gallæcia residet ; and ad A. Majoriani I. Aiulfus, dum regnum Suevorum spirat, Portucale moritur mense Junio. But JORNANDES has other Circumstances, which differ in Part from these. Theodericus vero victor existens subactis pepercit, nec ultra certamina sævire permisit, præponens Suevis, quos subjecerat, clientem Achiulphum. Qui in brevi animum ad prævaricationem ex Suevorum suasionibus commutans, neglexit imperata complere, potius tyrannica elatione superbiens, credensque, se a virtute provinciam obtinere, quæ dudum cum domino suo eam subegisset. Is siquidem erat Warnorum stirpe genitus, longe a Gothici sanguinis nobilitate sejunctus : idcirco nec libertati studens, nec patrono fidem servans. Quo comperto Theodericus mox contra eum, qui eum de regno pervaso dejicerent, destinavit. Qui venientes sine mora in primo eum certamine superantes, congruam factorum ejus ab eo exegerunt ultionem. Captus namque & suorum solertia destitutus, capite plectitur : Sensitque tandem iratum, qui propitium dominum crediderat contemnendum. Tunc Suevi rectoris sui interitum contuentes, locorum sacerdotes ad Theodericum supplices direxerunt. Quos ille pontificali reverentia suscipiens, non solum impunitatem Suevorum indulgit, sed & ut sibi de suo genere principem constituerent, flexus pietate concessit. Quod & factum est, &

Remismundum sibi Suevi Regulum ordinaverunt. His peractis, paceque cunctis munitis, tertio decimo regni sui anno Theodericus occubuit.

§. XIII. (1) SIDONIUS AGRICOLÆ SUO S. L. I. epist. II. Sæpe numero postulavisti, ut, quia Theoderici, regis Gothorum commendat popularis fama civilitatem, literis tibi formæ suæ quantitas, vitæ qualitas significaretur. Pareo libens, in quantum epistolaris pagina finit, laudans in te tam delicatæ sollicitudinis ingenuitatem. Igitur vir est & illis dignus agnosci, qui eum minus familiariter intuentur : ita personam suam deus arbiter & ratio naturæ, consummatæ felicitatis dote sociata, cumulaverunt. Mores autem hujuscemodi, ut laudibus eorum nihil ne regni quidem defraudet invidia. Si forma quærat, corpore exacto, longissimis brevior, procerior eminentiorque mediocribus. Capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planicie frontis in verticem cæsaries refuga crispatur. Cervix non sedet nervis. Geminos orbes sispidus superciliorum coronat arcus. Si vero cilia flectantur, ad malas medias palpebrarum margo prope pervenit. Aurium legulæ, sicut mos gentis est, crinium superjacentium flagellis operiuntur. Nasus venustissime incurvus. Labra subtilia, nec dilatatis oris angulis ampliata. Si casu dentium series ordinata promineat, niveum protinus representat colorem. Pilis infra narium antra fruticantibus quotidiana succisio. Barba concavis hirta temporibus, quam in subdita vultus

Picture, we do not meet with those masterly Strokes, which discover the Hand of a *Sallust* or a *Tacitus*, we must recollect, that our Author was one of the last, who wrote in the fifth Century. *Theodoric*, with Regard to his Person, was of a middling Stature, lean, and strong of Nerves.

tus parte surgentem stirpitis tonfor assiduus genas ad usque forpicibus evellit. Menti, gutturi, colli non obesi sed succulenti, lactea cutis, quæ propius inspecta juvenili rubore suffunditur. Namque hunc illi crebro colorem non ira, sed verecundia facit. Teretes humeri, validi lacerti, dura brachia, patulæ manus, recedente alvo pectus accedens. Aream dorsi humilior inter excrementa costarum spina discriminat. Tuberosum est utrumque musculus prominentibus latus. In succinctis regnat vigor ilibus. Corneum femur, internodia poplitum bene mascula. Maximus in minime rugosis genibus honor. Crura furis fulta turgentibus, & qui magna sustentat membra pes modicus. Si actionem diuturnam, quæ est forinsecus exposita, perquiras: antelucanos sacerdotum suorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi sedulitate veneratur: quamquam, si sermo secretus, possis animadvertere, quod servet istam pro consuetudine potius quam pro religione reverentiam. Reliquum mane regni administrandi cura sibi deputat. Circumsistit sellam comes armiger, pellitorum turba satellitum ne absit admittitur, ne obstrepat eliminatur: sicque pro foribus immurmurat exclusa velis, inclusa cancellis. Inter hæc intromissis gentium legationibus, audit plurima, pauca respondet. Si quid tractabitur, differt: si quid expedietur, accelerat. Hora est secunda? surgit e folio, aut thesauris inspiciendis vacaturus, aut stabulis. Si venatione nuntiata procedit, arcum lateri innectere citra gravitatem regiam judicat: quem tamen, si cominus avem feramque aut venanti monstres, aut vianti fors offerat, manui post tergum reflexæ puer inserit, nervo lotove fluitantibus: quem sicut puerile computat gestare thecatum, ita muliebre accipere jam tensum. Igitur acceptum, modo insinuat e regione capitibus intendit, modo ad talum pendulum nodi parte conversa, lan-

guentem chordæ laqueum vagantis digito superlabente prosequitur: & mox spicula capit, implet, expellit: quidve cupias percuti, prior admonet, eligis quid feriat, quod elegeris ferit: & si ab alterutro errandum est, rarius fallitur figentis ictus, quam destinantis obtutus. Si in convivium venit, quod quidem diebus profectis simile privatis est, non ibi impolitam congeriem viventis argenti mensis cedentibus suspiciosus minister imponit. Maximum tunc pondus in verbis est: quippe cum illic aut nulla narrantur, aut seria. Toreutatum, peripetasmatumque modo conchyliata profertur suppellex, modo byssina. Cibi arte, non pretio placent: fercula nitore, non pondere. Scyphorum, paterarumque raras oblationes facilius est ut accuset sitis, quam recuset ebrietas. Quid multis? Videas ibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam, celeritatem Italiam, publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam disciplinam. De luxu autem illo sabbatario narrationi meæ supersedendum est, qui nec latentes potest latere personas. Ad cœpta redeatur. Dapibus expleto somnus meridianus sæpe nullus, semper exiguus. Quibus horis viro tabula cordi est, tesseras colligit rapide, inspicit sollicite, voluit argute, mittit instanter, joculariter compellat, patienter expectat. In bonis jactibus tacet, in malis ridet, in neutris irascitur, in utrisque philosophatur. Secundas fastidit vel timere, vel facere: quarum opportunitates spernit oblatas, transit oppositas. Sine motu evaditur, sine colludio evadit. Putes illum & in calculis arma tractare. Sola est illi cura vincendi. Cum ludendum est, regiam sequesterat tantisper severitatem, hortatur ad ludum, libertatem, communionemque. Dicam quod sentio, timet timeri. Denique oblectatur commotione superati, & tunc demum credit sibi non cessasse collegam, cum fidem fecerit victoriæ suæ bilis aliena. Quod-

que

Nerves. His Hair was fair, and, according to the *Gothick* Fashion, (2), combed upwards from his Forehead; he had large Eye-Brows, an aquiline Nose, and a beautiful Mouth. As for his Genius and Manner of Life, it has been already observ'd, that his Father caus'd him to be well educated, and *Theodoric* himself boasts of having, in his younger Years, read *Virgil*, and other good *Roman* Writers (3). The first Thing he did in a Morning was to attend Divine Service, and then the Affairs of State. He gave foreign Ambassadors long Audiences; but answered them in few words. His Table, excepting on Festivals, or publick Days, was very moderate, his Guests were seldom cloy'd with Bumpers, and only serious and useful Subjects were discours'd on there. His Diversions were the Chase, where he was dextrous in handling the Bow; and Tables. *Sidonius*, to give the better Idea of this King to his Friend, observes farther, that he discover'd a great Freedom and Evenness of Temper at Play; but that, nevertheless, he shew'd a secret Satisfaction, when he won, and his Antagonist seem'd out of Humour. Our Author confesses, that he was us'd frequently to lose on Purpose, to the King, to have a better Opportunity of asking a Favour when he was in a good Humour. The remaining part of the Day he again employ'd on State-Affairs

que mirere, sæpe illa lætitia, minimis occasionibus veniens, ingentium negotiorum merita fortunat. Tunc petitionibus diu ante perpatrociniarum naufragia lactatis, absolutionis subitæ portus aperitur. Tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter vincor, quando mihi ad hoc tabula perit, ut causa salvetur. Circa nonam recrudescit moles illa regnandi. Redeunt pulsantes, redeunt summoventes, ubique litigiosus fremit ambitus: qui tractus in vesperam, coena regia interpellante rarefcit, & per aulicos deinceps pro patronorum varietate dispergitur, usque ad tempus concubiæ noctis excubaturus. Sane intromittuntur; quanquam raro, inter coenandum mimici sales, ita ut nullus conviva mordacis linguæ felle feriat. Sic tamen quod illic nec organa hydraulica sonant, nec sub phonasco vocalium concentus meditatum acroma simul intonat. Nullus ibi lyristes, choraules, mesochorus, tympanistria, psaltria canit: rege solum illis fidibus delinito, quibus non minus

mulcet virtus animula, quam cantus auditum. Cum surrexerit, inchoat nocturnas aulica gaza custodias, armati regie domus aditibus assistunt, quibus horæ primi soporis vigilabuntur. *Several modern Writers have been so greatly mistaken in the Person, that they have apply'd this whole Letter to THEODORIC, the first Ostro-Gothick King in Italy.*

(2) ISIDORUS originum XIX. Nonnullæ gentes non solum in vestibus, sed & in corpore aliqua sibi propria quasi insignia vendicant, ut videmus cirros Germanorum, granos & cinnabar Gothorum. SIRMONDUS, in his *Annotations on SIDONIUS*, p. 8. *imagines that the word grani was of the same signification as what SIDONIUS calls flagella.*

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (Carminum VII.) introduces this Theodoric speaking to Avitus; and among other Things, saying v. 495.

Affairs, 'till the Evening, when he was commonly more merry at Supper, than at Dinner.

Ricimer
obliges *Avitus*
to resign his
Dignity. *Majorianus* suc-
ceeds him.

§ XIV. THE Advices, which, as I observ'd before, oblig'd *Theodoric* to return from *Spain*, cannot properly be supposed to have been any others, than those, which he received of the great Revolution in the *Roman Empire*: For there the Face of Affairs took so strange a Turn, that *Avitus*, who depended chiefly on Assistance from the *Goths*, was obliged to resign the Purple (1). The *Roman Empire* was about 10 Months destitute of a Head (2), occasion'd probably by the Power and Discord among the several Factions. During this Time, a Body of *Alemanni* passed the *Alps*, and advanced as far as the *Campi Canini*. But *Julius Majorianus*, who was *Magister Militum*, sent some Troops against them, who dispers'd them (3). At length this same *Majorianus*, in the Year 457. (4) was acknowledg'd Emperor, not only by the Army and Senat at *Rome*, but likewise by the Court in the *East* (5). *Ricimer*, who but just before had obtained the Title of *Patricius*, and had long been an

- - Mihi ROMULA dudum
Per te JURA placent: parvumque edificere jussit
Ad tua verba pater, docili quo prisca MARONIS
Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.

§. XIV. (1) Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 456. n. 3. 4.

(2) *This Interregnum is taken Notice of, among others, by SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, L. I. ep. II. and JACOBUS SIRMONDUS illustrates that Passage in his Annotations, p. 22.*

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (carm. V.) v. 373.

- - Conscenderat Alpes,
Rætorumque jugo per longa silentia ductus,
Romano exierat populo trux Alamanus,
Perque Cani quondam dictos de nomine campos
In prædam centum novies dimiserat hostes:
Jamque magister eras, Burconem dirigis illo
Exigua comitante manu: sed sufficit istud,

Cum pugnare jubes, certa est victoria nostris
Te mandasse acies. peragit fortuna triumphum
Non populo sed amore tuo. nolo agmina campo
Quo mittis paucos: felix te respicit iste
Eventus belli. certatum est jure magistri, Augusti fato.

(4) CHRONOGRAPHUS CUSPINIANI: *Ricimer magister militum patricius factus est, pridie kalendas Martii: & factus est Majorianus magister militum ipso die: levatus est imperator Majorianus kal. Aprilis milliaro VI. in campo ad Columellas.*

(5) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS. *See the third Note.* JORNANDES de successione regnorum CONSTANTINO & RUFO COSS. (457) Leo eidem defuncto [scil. Marciano] successit, cujus voluntate Majorianus apud Ravennam cæsar est ordinatus. *Which MARCELLINUS likewise agrees to. But LEO, nevertheless, neither prefix'd the Name of MAJORIANUS nor afterwards that of SEVERUS, to any of the publick Records: As VALESIIUS observes T. I. p. 187, 188.*

an intimate Friend of *Majorianus* (6), was, as the Sequel of this History will shew, most instrumental, in bringing this about; and the Empire in the *West* was afterwards almost entirely at his Disposal. *Majorianus* has before been mention'd in the Course of this History, on Occasion of his Expedition under *Ætius*, against the *Franks*. As he bore the Character of a valiant and experienced Warriour, it was hop'd, he would, at Length, be a Curb to the Power of the *Vandals*. His first Care was the Regulation of his Maritime State, and the Equipment of a Fleet (7), without which no Success could be expected against this Enemy. An Event, which, in the mean Time happen'd, at the Beginning of his Reign, confirmed the People in their good Opinion of him: For *Genferic* had, according to Custom, sent a Fleet to ravage the Coasts of *Italy*, which landed in *Campania*, and, as appears by the Circumstances, all the Country about *Sinuessa*, between the Rivers *Gargiliano* and *Voltorno* (8), was expos'd to the Fury of the *Vandals*. But *Majorianus* came in Time to recover the Booty they had taken, and to drive them back to their Ships with Loss (9).

§. XV.

(6) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS. (Carmines V.) represents *Ætius's* Consort, as expressing to her Husband her Jealousy at the good Fortune *Majorianus's* younger Years seem'd to forebode, and her Suspicion at his Intimacy with *Ricimer*, v. 266.

- - - Conjunctus amore

Præterea est juveni, grandis quem spiritus armat

Regis avi. quo te vertas? ad culmina mundi

Hic fatum fert, ambo animum.

MAJORIANUS himself mentions him in his Letter to the Roman Senat, whereby he notifies his Promotion to the Consulship: (ap. *BARONIUM* ad A. 258. n. 2. 3.) Apud nos cum patre patricioque nostro *Richimere*, rei militaris pervigili cura Romani orbis statum, quem communibus excubiis & ab externo hoste & domestica clade liberavimus, propitia divinitate servemus.

(7) SIDONIUS, l. c. v. 441.

Interea duplici tæxis dum littore classem
Inferno superoque mari, cadit omnis in æquor.

Sylva tibi, nimiumque diu per utrumque recifus

Apennine latus, navalique arbore dives,
Non minus in pelagus nemorum quam mittis aquarum,

Gallia continuis quanquam sit lassâ tributis,

Hoc censu placuisse cupit, nec pondera sentit,

Quæ prodesse probat.

(8) *SIRMONDUS*, in his Comments on the Account given by *SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS* of this Action, which we may read in the following Note 9, assigns the Place, p. 122. *Pugnæ* locum ita designat, ut perspicue *Sinuessani* tractus planities indicari videatur, quæ a *Lyræ* ostiis, ad *Vulturnum* porrecta, hinc *Mari*, illinc *Massici* montis jugo clauditur.

(9) *SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS*, relates the whole Action: carmine V. v. 385.

- - Nuper post hostis aperto

Errabat lentus pelago. postquam ordine vobis

Ordo omnis regnum dederat, plebs, curia, miles

Et collega simul. Campanam flantibus austris

Majorianus
goes to *Gaul*.
German Na-
tions in his
Army.

§. XV. As *Gaul* had zealously adhered to *Avitus*, the Inhabitants refus'd at first to acknowledge *Majorianus*. He therefore broke up, in the Year 458, and led a large Army over Mount *Cenis*. *Sidonius Apollinarius*

Ingrediens terram, securum milite
Mauro
Agricolam aggreditur : pinguis per tran-
stra sedebat
Vandalus opperiens prædam, quam jusse-
rat illuc
Captivo capiente trahi. sed vestra repente
Inter utrumque hostem dederant sese
agmina planis,
Quæ pelagus collemque secant, portum-
que reducto
Efficiunt flexu fluvii. Perterrita primum
Montes turba petit, trabibus quæ clausa
relictis
Prædæ præda fuit, tum concitus agmine
toto
In pugnam pirata coit : pars lentre cavata
Jam dociles exponit equos. pars ferrea
texta
Concolor induitur, teretes pars explicat
arcus,
Spiculaque infusum ferro latura vene-
num,
Quæ feriant bis, missa semel. jam tex-
tilis anguis
Discurrit per utremque aciem, cui gut-
tur adactis
Turgescit zephyris : patulo mentitur
hiatu
Iratam pictura famem, pannoque furorem
Aura facit, quoties crassatur vertile
tergum
Flatibus, & nimium jam non capit alvus
inane.
At tuba terrifono strepuit grave rauca
fragore,
Responsat clamor lituis, virtusque repente
Ignavis vel parva fuit. cadit undique
ferrum,
Hinc tamen in jugulos. Hunc torta fa-
larica jactu
Præterit, ad mortem vix cessatura secun-
dam :
Hunc conti rotat ictus equo, ruit aclide
fossus

Ille, veruque alius : jacet hic simul alite telo,
Absentem passus dextram : pars poplite
secto
Mortis ad invidiam vivit : partemque
cerebri
Hic galeæ cum parte rapit, fortique lacerto
Difficit ancipiti miserabile sinciput ense.
Ut primum versis dat tergum Vandalus
armis,
Succedit cædes pugnae. discrimine nullo
Sternuntur passim campis, & fortia quæque
Fecit iners trepidante fuga. mare pallidus
intrat,
Et naves pertransit eques, turpique natatu
De pelago ad cymbam rediit. Sic tertia
Pyrrhi
Quondam pugna fuit, cæsis cum milli-
bus illum
Dentatus premeret : laceræ vix fragmina
classis
Traxit in Epirum, qui Chaonas atque
Molossos,
Qui Thracum, Macetumque manus per
littora nostra
Sparserat, & cujus vires Oenotria pallens,
Ipsaque quæ petiit trepidaverat uncta
Tarentus.
Hostibus expulsis, campum qui maximus
extat
Jam lustrare vacat. videas hic strage sub
illa,
Utrorumque animos. nullus non pectore
cæsus,
Quisquis vester erat : nullus non terga
foratus,
Illorum quisquis, clamant hoc vulnera
primi
Prædonum tum forte ducis, cui regis avari
Narratur nupsisse soror, qui pulvere cæco
Clausus, & elisus pilis, vestigia turpis
Gestat adhuc probrosa fugæ. sic agmi-
na vestra
Cum spoliis campum retinent, & Marte
fruuntur.

naris reckons among the Nations, of which it consisted, not only *Ostro-Goths*, *Rugi*, *Alani*, *Sarmatæ* and *Hunns*, but likewise *Moschi* (1), which Nation dwelt, in ancient Times, at *Colchis*, and afterwards, passing the *Tanais*, formed a powerful Kingdom, on the Borders of *Europe* and *Asia*. In *Gaul*, he met at first with some Resistance: *Idatius* mentions an Engagement with the *Goths* (2); and from *Sidonius Apollinaris* it appears, that he was oblig'd to reduce *Lyons* to Obedience, by Force (3). The *Burgundians*, on Occasion of these Divisions, found Means to extend their Dominions in *Gaul* (4).

§. XVI. AFTER having settled Matters in *Gaul*, he went, in the Year 460 to *Spain*; in order to take Possession of the Remainder of the *Roman* Dominions, and to make War, from thence, with the *Vandals*, in *Africa* itself (1). He had, for that Purpose, equipp'd a Fleet,

His Expedition to *Spain*.
He is obliged to make a Peace with the *Vandals*.

§. XV. I. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (carm. V. v. 470.)

Illicet aggredieris quod nullus tempore nostro

Augustus potuit: rigidum septemplicis Istri

Agmen in arma rapis. nam quidquid languidus axis

Cardine Sithonio sub Parrhasæ parturit urfa,

Hoc totum: tua signa pavet. Bastarna, Suevus,

Pannonius, Neurus, Chonus, Geta, Dacus, Alanus,

Bellonothus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites,

Bifalta, Ostrogothus, Procrustes, Sarmata, MOSCHUS,

Post aquilas venere tuas. tibi militat omnis

Caucasus, & Scythicæ potior Tanaiticus undæ.

Quid faciat fortuna viri? quascunque minatur

Has tremuit jam Roma manus: modo principe sub te

Ne metuat prope parva putat, nisi feruiat illi

Quod timuit regnante alio.

(2) IDATIUS ad A. MAJORIANI III. (459.) Legati a Nepotiano, magistro militiæ,

& a Sunierico comite missi veniunt ad Gal-læcos, nunciantes, Majorianum augustum & Theudoricum regem, firmissima inter se pacis jura sanxisse, Gothis in quodam certamine superatis.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (carm. V.) v. 571.

Attamen hic nuper, placidissime princeps, Obside percepto, nostræ de moenibus urbis

Visceribus miseris insertum depulit hostem.

• Et quia lassatis nimium spes unica rebus Venisti, nostris petimus succurre ruinis Lugdunumque tuam, dum præteris, aspice victor.

(4) MARIUS, JOANNE & VARANE COSS. (456.) Eo anno Burgundiones partem Galliæ occupaverunt, terrasque cum Gallicis senatoribus dividerunt. PAGIUS ad A. 456. n. 13. from the Sequel of the History, describes the Extent of the Burgundian Dominions, about this Time. Fines paulatim per vicina protulere, & prima Lugdunensis, Maxima Sequanorum, Viennensis, Alpes Graiæ & Penninæ, ac provincia cis Druentiam eis tandem cessere, sed non ante præsentem Christi annum, &c.

§. XVI. (1) IDATIUS ad A. IV. MAJORIANI. Mense Maio, Majorianus Hispanias ingreditur imperator: quo Carthagine

Fleet, which was to wait for him near *Alicant*. Great were the Hopes, which every true *Roman* conceived of this Expedition; and *Sidonius Apollinaris* treats *Genferic* with Contempt, in several Passages of the Panegyrick, which he spoke in Honour of *Majorianus* after the taking of *Lyons*, because he was as much enervated by Luxury, as formerly *Hannibal* had been in *Capua* (2). But this King was one of those Princes, who seem to have Fortune at their Command, in all their Undertakings; and by one bold and lucky Stroke he frustrated all these Designs. He attack'd the Fleet, before those Troops, which the Emperor intended to embark, were arrived, and made himself Master of it, with little Difficulty (3). Thus were all *Majorianus's* military Preparations defeated, and he found himself under a Necessity of concluding a Peace with *Genferic* (4).

§. XVII.

nensem provinciam pertendente, aliquantas naves, quas sibi ad transitum adversum Wandalos præparabat, de litore Carthaginiensi, commoniti Wandali per proditores abripiunt. Majorianus ita a sua ordinatione frustratus ad Italiam revertitur.

(2) SIDONIUS Carmine V. introduces Africa as speaking thus:

- - Sed ne fortasse latronis

Me clausam virtute putes, consumpsit in illo

Vim gentis vitæ vitium: Scythicam feritatem

Non vires sed vota tenent, spoliisque potitus

Immensis, robor luxu jam perdidit omne, Quo valuit dum pauper erat. mea viscera pro se

In me nunc armat. laceror tot capta per annos

Jure suo, virtute mea: fœcundaque pœnis

Quos patiar, pario: propriis nil conficit armis,

Gætulis, Numidis, Garamantibus, Autololisque,

Arzuge, Marmarida, Pfylo, Nasomone timetur

Segnis, & ingenti ferrum jam nescit ab auro.

Ipsi autem color exanguis, quem crapula vexat,

Et pallens pinguedo tenet, ganeaque perenni

Pressius acescens stomachus non explicat auram.

Par est vita suis. non sic Barchæus opimam

Hannibal ad Capuam periit, cum fortia bello

Inter delitias mollirent corpora Baiæ,

Et se Lucrinas qua vergit Gaurus in undas,

Brachia Massylus jactaret nigra natator.

And v. 466. he gives Majorianus Hopes of subduing the deprav'd Vandals, as easily, as Cæsar conquer'd Egypt, when plung'd into Voluptuousness.

Nec me Lagæam stirpem memorasse pigebit

Hostis ad exemplum vestri, namque auguror iisdem

Regnis fortunam similem, cum luxus in illa

Parte sit æqualis, nec pejor Cæsar in ista.

(3) MARIUS, MAGNO & APOLLINARI Coss. (460.) Eo animo captæ sunt naves a Vandalis ad Ilcem, juxta Carthagine Spartaria.

(4) IDATIUS, l. c. Gaisericus rex a Majoriano imperatore per legatos postulat pacem. From the Words of PRISCUS, cited in the following §. it appears, that a Peace actually ensued.

§. XVII.

§ XVII. *MAJORIANUS* celebrated at *Arles*, in the Year 461, his Entrance into the fifth Year of his Reign, with great Pomp (1); and then broke up for *Italy*: But he was, the same Year, depos'd, and soon after put to Death (2). Historians impute likewise this Revolution to *Ricimer*, without assigning the Causes of his Discontent (3). After some Months, the Army proclaimed *Libius Severus* Emperor (4), who was, likewise, acknowledg'd by the Senat (5). The Army and Senat seem, about this Time, to have taken upon themselves the Election of Emperors, without the Interposition of the Court of *Constantinople*; and there was not always the greatest Harmony between the *West* and *East*, after the Extinction of *Theodosius's* Family; or, at least, after *Marcian's* Death. The ancient Constitution of the *Roman Empire*, and particularly of the *West*, seems to have suffer'd very much thereby; and it is, indeed, uncertain, whether *Leo* acknowledg'd *Severus* as Emperor (6).

Genferic
breaks the
Peace after
Majorianus's
Death.

§ XVII. (1) *Conf. SIDON. APOLLINAR. L. 1. ep. 11. add. Pagius ad h. A. n. 1.*

(2) *MARCEL. in chronico*, Dagalaifo & Severino Coss. (461.) Majorianus cæsar apud Dertonam, juxta fluvium, qui Hyra dicitur, interemptus est. Locum ejus Severus invasit. *Idatius ad A.V.* Majoriani imputes the Cause of this Revolution to Ricimer: Majorianum de Galliis Romam redeuntem, & Romano imperio vel nomini res necessarias ordinantem, Ricimer, livore percitus, & invidorum consilio fultus, fraude interficit circumventum. *The Chronologist, published by Cuspinian, gives a more accurate Account of the Circumstances: Severino & Dagalaipho Coss. (461).* Depositus est Majorianus a patricio Ricimere Dertonæ IV. nonas Augusti, & occisus est ad fluvium Hyram VII. idus Augusti, ac levatus est imperator dominus Severus XIII. kal. Decembris. *Ennodius wrote the following Epitaph for Majorianus, wherein he seems likewise to hint at Ricimer. (Epigram. 135, p. 640.*

Contulit exuviis, Majoriane, tuis.
Nunc indignis Pyramidum fors prospice
moles
Vilia principibus linque sepulcra piis.

(3) See the foregoing Note.

(4) *CHRONOGRAPHUS a Cuspiniano editus.* See not. 2. Marius, Severino & Dagalaifo Coss. His Coss. dejectus est Majorianus de imperio in civitate Dertona, a Ricimere patricio, & interfectus super Ira fluvio: & levatus est Severus imperator Ravennæ.

(5) *IDATIUS ad A. V.* Majoriani. Severus a senatu Romæ augustus appellatur anno imperii Leonis quinto.

(6) See §. XIV. Not. 5. In the *Fasti orientales*, Leo is mentioned as the only Consul in the Year 462. In the *fasti occidentales* we read; Leone II. & Severo Coss. Severus puts Leo's Name before his own, in his Mandates; but Leo does not appear to have done the same. On this very Account Marcellinus says, in the Passage quoted not. 2, Locum ejus Severus INVASIT.

Cum perstat gravior, bustum fortuna
petitum
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C c c c

Genferic,

Genferic, likewise, after *Majorianus's* Death, thought himself no longer tied down to the Peace. *Severus*, indeed, made also amicable Proposals: but they were as fruitless, as the Remonstrances *Leo* made by an Embassy (7).

Ricimer defeats an Army of *Alani*.

§ XVIII. IN *Severus's* Reign, a Swarm of *Alani* also invaded *Italy* (1); but *Ricimer* defeated them in the Country about *Bergamo*. *F. Pagi* imagines, that they were the same *Alani*, who had dwelt till then, betwixt the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, whose Kingdom thereupon ceased; but we meet with no Traces thereof in any ancient Writer, and it is more probable, that the *Alani* in *Gaul* were before extirpated by the *Wisi-Goths*, and that this Swarm consisted of those *Alani*, who, after *Attila's* Death, together with the *Ostro-Goths*, cross'd the *Danube*, and fix'd their Habitation in *Illyricum*; and of these were, perhaps, those *Alani*, who served *Majorianus* (2).

Ricimer governs the Roman Empire in the West.

§ XIX. *SEVERUS* died, in the Year 465: and, after his Death, *Italy* remained almost two Years without an Emperor. *Ricimer* bore, at this Time, so great a Sway in the *Empire*, that nothing seemed to be

(7) *PRISCUS*, p. 74. B. *Genferichus*, cum non amplius foederibus cum *Majoriano* pactis stare constitisset, *Vandalorum* & *Maurusiorum* multitudinem ad vastationem *Italiae* & *Siciliae* immisit. *Marcellinus* enim jam ante insula cesserat, propterea, quod majorem exercitus sui partem & *Richimerus* abduxerat, & militibus ejus pecunias largiri, (erant autem fere omnes *Scythae*) quo illis persuaderet a *Marcellino* deficere, in animo habebat. Itaque *Marcellinus* *Sicilia* excesserat, veritus tum insidias, tum, ne si cum *Richimero* certandum illi foret, salvis sibi insulae opibus, minime se recipere posset. Missa est igitur ad *Genferichum* legatio: tum a *Richimero*, ne foedera violaret; tum ab eo, qui apud Romanos in oriente rerum potiebatur, ut ab *Italia* & *Sicilia* abstineret, & regias mulieres redderet. *Genferichus* vero, multis ad eum ex diversis partibus legatis missis, non ante mulieres liberavit, quam majorem natu filiam *Valentiniani*, *Eudoxiam* nomine, *Honoricho* filio desponderet. Tunc enim *Eudoxiam*, *Theodosii* sororem, remisit

cum *Placidia* altera ejus sorore, quam duxit *Olybrius*. Neque eo secius *Italiam* & *Siciliam* *Genferichus* vastare destitit, sed multo magis post mortem *Majoriani*, cum *Olybrium* ad imperium occidentis provehere propter affinitatem ex nuptiis cogitaret. And further; Sub *Leone* Romanorum imperatore legatus pro *Italis* ad *Vandalos* profectus est *Tatianus*, in patriciorum numerum conscriptus. Ad *Persas* vero *Constantius* tertium consul, & una cum consulatu patriciatus dignitatem sortitus. Et *Tatianus* quidem a *Vandalis* intra breve tempus re infecta reversus est.

§ XVIII. (1) *CASSIODORUS*, in chronico ad consulatum *Rustici* & *Olybrii* (A. 464). His COSS. rex *Alanorum*, *Beorgor*, apud *Bergomum* a patricio *Ricimere* peremptus est. *Cuspinian's* Chronologist adds VIII Idus Februar. *Jornandes* places this Invasion in *Anthemius's* Reign; but this is confuted by *Pagius*, ad A. 464. n. 3.

(2) See above, § XV.

wanting,

wanting, but the *Imperial* Title. This *Fl. Ricimer* was of a noble Family among the *Suevi*; and, by his Mother's Side, a Grand-Son of *Wallia*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* (1): But he so advanced his Fortune, in the Service of the *Romans*, that he arrived at the Dignities of *Magister Militum*, *Patricius*, and, in the Year 459, *Consul*. We have seen his Power, in the Revolutions, which befel *Avitus* and *Majorianus*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* says, in Praise of him, that he not only, during the *Interregnum*, bravely withstood the *Vandals*, but likewise preserv'd *Noricum* against the neighbouring *Goths*; and the Countries on the *Rhine*, against the *Franks*, (2). The *West* obtain'd at last, in the Year 467, its

§ XIX. (1) See the following Note.

(2) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS says this in Praise of him, in the *Panegyrick*, which he spoke in the Year 468, in Honour of the Emperor *Anthemius*, at his Accession to the Consulate. He introduces Italy as speaking thus; carmine 2. v. 352.

Præterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata
Respiciunt, proprio solus vix Marte repellit
Piratam per rura vagum, qui prælia vitans,
Victorem fugitivus agit. quis sufferat hostem,
Qui pacem, pugnamque negat? nam fœdera nulla
Cum Ricimere jacet. quem cur nimis oderit, audi.
Incertum crepat ille patrem, cum serva fit illi
Certa parens: nunc ut regis sit filius, effert
Matris adulterium, tum livet quod Ricimerem
In regnum duo regna vocant: nam patre Sœvus,
A genetrice Gethes. simul & reminiscitur illud,
Quod Tarteſſiacis avus hujus Vallia terris
Vandalicas turmas, & juncti Martis Alanos

Stravit, & occiduam texere cadavera Calpen.

Quid veteres narrare fugas, quid damna priorum?

Agrigentini recolit dispendia campi.

Inde furit, quod se docuit satis iste nepotem

Illius esse viri, quo viso, Vandale, semper

Terga dabas. nam non Siculis illustrior arvis

Tu, Marcelle, redis, per quem tellure, marique

Nostra Syracusios preſſerunt arma penates:

Nec tu cui currum Curii superare, Metelle,

Contigit ostentans nobis elephanta frequentem,

Greſ niger albentes tegeret cum mole jugales,

Auctoremque suum celaret pompa triumphi.

Noricus Ostrogothum quod continet, iste timetur:

Gallia quod Rheni Martem ligat, iste pavori est.

Quod consanguineo me Vandalus hostis Alane

Diripuit radente, suis hic ultus ab armis.

Sed tamen unus homo est, nec tanta pericula solus

Tollere sed differre potest.

own Emperor (3). The Senat petition'd *Leo*, to declare *Anthemius*, the *Patricius*, who resided at *Constantinople*, and had married *Marcian's* Daughter, *Euphemia*, Emperor in the *West*; and that he, on the other Hand, might give his Daughter, in Marriage to *Ricimer* (4). Both were complied with. *Anthemius*, the same Year, acceded to the Throne, at *Rome*, where the Nuptials of his Daughter and the *Patricius Ricimer* were celebrated, with the utmost Splendor, as *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who was then at *Rome*, gives an Account (5). Thus was a good Understanding restored between the two Empires. *Leo* placed *Anthemius's* Name at

(3) MARCELLINUS, in *chronico*, Puseo & Joanne Coss. (467). Leo imperator Anthemium patricium Romam misit, imperatoremque constituit. Chronicon Alexandrinum ad b. A. Hoc anno imperavit Anthemius, & Romam profectus. Illius imagines laureatæ Constantinopolim per Pherentium, præfectum urbi, illatæ sunt. The Chronologist, published by Cuspinian, likewise assigns the Day: Levatus est imperator dominus Anthemius Romæ prid. idus Aprilis.

(4) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS introduces Rome as speaking to the East, carmine II. v. 478.

Sed si forte placet veteres sopire querelas,
 Anthemium concede mihi. sit partibus istis
 Augustus, longumque Leo: mea jura gubernet
 Quem petii: patrio vestiri murice natam
 Gaudeat Euphemiam fidus divale parentis.
 Adjice præterea privatum ad publica fœdus,
 Sit focer Augustus genero Ricimere beatus,
 Nobilitate micant: est vobis regia virgo,
 Regius ille mihi. si concors annuis istud,
 Mox Lybiam sperare dabis. circumspice tædas

Antiquas, par nulla tibi sic copula præsto est.

And after having related several Nuptials famous in Mythology, the Poet concludes thus:

Quantumvis repetam veteris connubia secli

Transcendunt hic heroas, heroidas illa.
 Hos thalamos, Ricimer, virtus tibi pronuba poscit

Atque Dioneam dat Martia laurea myrthum.

(5) IDEM, L. I. ep. 5. Interveni etenim nuptiis patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis augusti in spem publicæ securitatis copulabatur. Igitur nunc in ista non modo personarum, sed etiam ordinum, partiumque lætitia, Trans-Alpino tuo latere conducibilis visum. quippe cum hoc ipso tempore, quo hæc mihi exarabantur, vix per omnia theatra, macella, prætoria, fora, templa, gymnasia, talassio-fescenninus explicaretur: atque etiamnum e contrario studia fileant, negotia quiescant, judicia conticescant, differantur legationes, vacet ambitus, & inter scurrilitates histrionum totus actionum feriarum status peregrinetur. Jam quidem virgo tradita est, jam corona sponsus, jam palmata consularis, jam cyclade pronuba, jam toga senator honoratur, jam penulam deponit inglorius: & nondum tamen cuncta

† the Head of his Statutes (6), and call'd him his Son, and *Anthemius*, on the other Hand, stil'd him Father, and expressed great Veneration for him (7). *Ricimer* had now not only Reason to hope, that he should still bear the greatest Sway in the new Government, but likewise saw his Family united to the Imperial House.

§ XX. *LEO* begun now to be more sollicitous about defending the *Western Empire* against the *Vandals* (1). *Genferic*, on the other Side, concludes a ^{Peace with} doubled his Enmity against *Anthemius*, because he had in vain endeavour'd, ^{the Roman} with great Earnestness, to place *Olybrius*, who, by his Marriage with the ^{Empire.} Princess *Placidia*, was nearly allied to his House (2), on the Imperial Throne. *Leo* had besides Reason to fear, that the *Vandals*, after having made themselves Masters of whatever belong'd to the *Western Empire* in *Africa*, might, at Length, make an Attempt on *Egypt*; and

cuncta thalamorum pompa defremuit, quia necdum ad mariti domum nova nupta migravit. And, L. 1. ep. 9. Post nuptias patricii Ricimeris, id est, post imperii utriusque opes eventilatas, tandem reditum est in publicam serietatem.

(6) L. 15, 16. C. de episc. audientia, l. 9. C. de pactis conu. &c.

(7) *The Constitution de bonis vacantibus, which was publish'd in the Names of Leo and Anthemius, and is to be met with in the Appendix Codicis Theodosiani, gives the best Account of the mutual Friendship of these two Emperors. Anthemius says, in his Orders to Lupercianus, P.F. P. Ad consultationem clementiæ nostræ, dominus & pater meus, princeps sacratissimus Leo, super his quæ indulgentia principalis in diversos jam contulit, vel processu temporis largietur, certum jus venerabili sanctione constituit, quod sub sacris suæ perennitatis apicibus ad nostram quoque sententiam destinavit. Quumque mundanis compendiis proficit, ut circa regendum utrumque orbem id præcipue custodiendum credamus, quod deliberatio communis elegerit, legem directam licenter amplexi, quod ad omnes jam saluberrima constituta perveniant, sub hac pragmatica jussione ad amplexationem tuam censuimus dirigendam, &c.*

Leo speaks in a higher Strain, in the Constitution itself: Itaque nos, quibus totius mundi regimen commisit superna proviso, & juris regulam & æquitatis rationem volumus custodiri. Pius, ac triumphator, semper augustus filius noster, Anthemius, licet divina majestas, & nostra creatio, pietati ejus plenam imperii commiserit potestatem, tamen prudenti & cauta, qua pollet, æquitate per sacros adfatus nos credidit consulendos, &c.

§ XX. (1) PRISCUS, p. 76. A. *Leo* imperator *Genfericum*, barbararum gentium ducem, per nuntium de *Anthemii* imperio certiolem fecit, eique bellum indixit, nisi *Italiam* & reginas liberas dimitteret. Rediit autem nuntius, & retulit, nolle ipsum denuntiationi parere.

(2) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, L. 1. c. 6. p. 191. C. *Anthemium* senatorem, divitiis & splendore generis inclytum, ut arma adversus *Vandalos* conjuncte moveret, jam *Leo* præmiserat in occidentem, cujus etiam imperatorem ipsum creaverat, præterito *Olybrio*, cui *Gizericus*, utpote *Placidie* *Valentiniani* filie marito, & propter affinitatem amico, imperium petiverat maximo-pere. Repulsa irritatus, ditionem omnem imperatoris vastavit.

therefore

therefore equipp'd, in the Year 468, a large Fleet against them, which was commanded by *Basiliscus*, Brother to *Verina*, his Consort. According to *Theophanes* (3), this Fleet was as numerous, as ever the ancient *Grecians* could describe that of *Xerxes*, and adds that it was re-inforc'd in the Voyage, on the Coasts of the *Western Empire*. We find in other Places that *Anthemius* exerted himself to the utmost, in this War (4): But all this only added to the Honour of *Genseric*, who overcame this, supposed, invincible Fleet (5). Nevertheless, in the Year 470, *Leo* sent an Army by Land against him, which took *Tripoli*, and was besides,

(3) THEOPHANES, p. 99. ad A. CCCCLXI. secundum æram Alexandrinam, qui kalendis Septembris A. C. CCCCLXVIII. exorditur. Hoc anno Leo imperator ingentem classem, & valide instructum exercitum adversus Gisericum, qui Africam obtinebat, emisit. Gisericus quippe, defuncto Marciano, multa mala intulit in provincias Romanæ ditioni subjectas, prædis abactis, plerisque in captivitatem missis, & everfis passim civitatibus. Quibus excandescens imperator naves ex toto oriente centies mille contraxit, ipsasque militibus & armis plene munitas adversus Gisericum destinavit. In eam classem mille & trecenta auri centenaria expendisse narrant. Itaque ducem & præfectum instituit Basiliscum, Verinæ augustæ fratrem, consulis munere jam perfunctum, & frequentibus in Scythas per Thraciam victoriis clarum. Hic, confluyente in auxilium ex occiduo mari navium non pœnitenda manu, cum Giserici classe frequentiores conflictus exercuit, plerasque naves in profundum demersit, & ipsam tandem Carthaginem potentia superavit. Demum donorum illecebris & vi pecuniarum inescatus priorem impetum remisit, & spontaneus denique, prout historiæ Thrax Persicus commisit, profligatur. Referunt alii, Asparem & Ardaburium, Aarii sectatores, cum ob id maxime ad imperii fastigium minime possent pervenire, Leonem, qui

tunc eorum procurator erat, ad imperium evexisse, quasi rerum omnium summam post hæc administrare præstolatos. Ab eorum spe cum animum averteteret imperator, rectam ejus gubernandi rationem labefactare, & in pejus trahere contendebant, & Basilisco imperium se pollicebantur tradere. Quade causa Basiliscum ad exercitum prodendum inclinasse dicunt. Tum Gisericus dolos meditatus, naves hostibus similes materia ad ignem facili replevit, remque noctu molitus, dum Romani dormirent incustoditi, ipsas e terra, vento exinde aspirante, in Romanam classem emisit, adeo ut multa quidem navigia igne consumpta defecerint, alia vero periculo subducta in Siciliam reverterentur.

(4) SUIDAS, in v. *Χαλρίζω*. Cattus historiographus ait, Leonem Macellem, qui post Marcianum imperavit, in expeditione adversus Vandalos infinitam pecuniæ vim consumpsisse. Nam, ut testantur ii, qui pecuniam illam administrarunt, per præfectos quidem prætorio impensa sunt auri librarum quadraginta septem millia: cum sumptus abunde suppeterent, partim ex bonis præscriptorum, partim ex ærario imperatoris Anthemii. Valesius and Pagius observe, that, instead of Cattus, we must read Candidus, of whose History we have now only some Fragments.

(5) See above, Note 3.

so successful, that he, at Length, consented to a Peace (6); the Purport of which is not related by Historians.

§ XXI. THE *West* might have recover'd itself, after this Peace, had Wars between Anthemius and Ricimer. The real Cause of their Difference is not expressly mention'd by Historians. Anthemius was at Rome, and Ricimer in Milan: Both arm'd themselves for a War, and there were not wanting those on both Sides, who fomented the Division. Ricimer, however, sent Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, to Rome, to make Proposals for an Accommodation. Ennodius indeed says, that it was effected (1); but the Animosities broke out again the more violently.

Ricimer

(6) THEOPHANES, p. 101. ad A. 463. secundum æram Alexandrinam, qui in kalendas Septembris A. Christi 470. incidit. Hoc anno Leo imperator Heraclium Edeffenum Flori exconsulis filium & Marsum Isaurum, viros armis strenuos, cum exercitibus ex Ægypto Thebaide, & eremo collectis adversus Gisericum misit. Isti ex improvise Vandalos aggressi, Tripolim & alias Lybiæ civitates plurimas receperunt, & gravius multo, quam antehac navali proelio Basiliscus, Giserici vires attriverunt: adeo, ut de pace cum imperatore Leone facienda legationem mittere pararet, eamque demum a Leone obtinuit, cum nimirum Basilisci, Heraclii & Marfi opera ad struendas Aspari insidias indigeret: Aspar siquidem, ut præmissi, imperatori propter eam, qua circumvallatus erat, potestatem suspectus, imperatoris dolo paulo post neci traditur, cum filiis Ardaburio & Patricio, quorum hunc, ut Asparem sibi demeretur, cæsarem olim declaraverat imperator.

§ XXI. (1) ENNODIUS, in vita Epiphanii, p. 372, describes this Embassy. We shall here supply the Want of other Accounts, by inserting this Relation, notwithstanding that it is filled with extravagant Encomiums. Mox vero per universum mundum sanctam illius conversationem illa, quæ licet in gloriosis actibus tardior

esse solet, fama non tacuit. Sed ad aures Ricimeris, qui tunc secundis ab Anthemio principe habenis rempublicam gubernabat, detulit. Nam imperatore Romæ posito, seminarium inter eos jecit scandali illa, quæ dominantes sequestrat, invidia, & par dignitas, causa discordiæ. Surrexerat enim tanta rabies atque dissensio, ut mutuo bella præpararent; & præterquam origo irarum proprios suggerebat stimulos, lis ista circumstantium consilio nutriebatur. Nutabat status periclitantis Italiæ, & affligebatur ipsis discriminibus gravius, dum expectabat futura discrimina. Interea apud Ricimerem patricium, Mediolani ea tempestate residentem, fit collectio Ligurum nobilitatis: qui flexis genibus, soloque prostrati, pacem orabant principum, & ut ab scandalo utraq; partes desinerent, occasiones gratiæ ab una precabantur offerri. Quid plura contexam? mulcetur Ricimer, & velle se reparare concordiam, permotus multorum fletibus pollicetur. Sed quis ait, potissimum hujus legationis pondus excipiet? quem tantæ molis cura maneat? quis est, qui Galatam concitatum revocare possit, & principem? Nam semper, cum rogarur exuberat, qui iram naturali moderatione non terminat. Tunc uno omnes ore responderunt.

runt. Vester tantummodo ad pacem declinetur assensus. Est nobis persona nuper ad sacerdotium Ticinensis urbis adscita, cui & belluæ rabidæ colla submitunt. At venerabilis, & sæculis omnibus probatus pontifex, posteaquam introgressus est, & proferendi sermonis donatus licentia, quamvis fugitivæ potestatis insignia, ostrum, gemmasque rutilantes reverendæ imaginis fulgore compresferit, (etenim quasi absente imperatore, ita in se oculos traxerat singulorum) tali narratione incipiens, janua oris referavit. Summa cœlestis domini, venerande princeps, est ordinatione dispositum, ut cui tantæ reipublicæ cura mandabatur, per catholicæ fidei dogma deum, & auctorem, & amatorem pietatis agnosceret; per quem bellorum furorem pacis arma confringunt, & calcans colla superbiæ concordia superat, quod fortitudo non prævalet. Sic namque David prædicabilem parcendi magis inimico animus reddidit, quam intentio vindicandi. Sic perfecti sæculorum reges & domini, supplicantibus indulgere cœlesti arte didicerunt. Supernæ namque dominationis instar possidet, qui imperium suum pietate sublimat. Hoc ergo Italia vestra freta iudicio, vel Ricimer patricius, parvitatem meam oratu direxit: indubitanter conjiciens, quod pacem Romanus deo munus tribuat, quam precatur & barbarus. Erit enim triumphus vestris proprie profuturus annalibus, si sine sanguine viceritis. Simul nescio quæ, species fortior possit esse bellorum, quam dimicare contra iracundiam, & ferocissimi Getæ pudorem onerare beneficiis. Gravius enim percellitur, si postulata impetret, quem puduit hætenus supplicare. Tractandus deinde anceps bellandi eventus, in quo tamen si ita prævaluerint peccata certamine, vestro regno defraudabitur, quod partes

tes utræque perdiderint. Nam quæcunque apud Ricimerem, si amicus est, salva sunt, cum ipso a vobis patricio possidentur. Cogitate pariter, quia bene causæ suæ ordinem dirigit, qui pacem primus obtulerit. Hætenus admirandus pontifex prosecutus, loquendi finem fecit. Tunc princeps erigens oculos, desertum se omnium vidit aspectibus, atque in eum invitatos vultus esse cunctorum, quem admirari nec ipse desinebat. Tunc alto trahens verba suspirio, ita orsus est. Quamvis inexplicabilis mihi, sancte antistes, adversus Ricimerum causa doloris sit; & nihil profuerit, maximis eum a nobis donatum fuisse beneficiis. quem etiam (quod non sine pudore & regni & sanguinis nostri dicendum est) in familiæ stemma copulavimus, dum indulgimus amoris reipublicæ, quod videretur ad nostrorum odium pertinere. Quis hoc namque veterum retro principum fecit unquam, ut inter munera, quæ pellito Getæ dare necesse erat, pro quiete communi filia poneretur? Nescivimus parcere sanguini nostro, dum servamus alienum. Nemo tamen hoc credat propriæ causa factum esse formidinis. nam in tanta circumspectione salutis omnium, solum pro nobis timere non novimus. Bene enim apud nos compertum est, perire imperatori laudem suæ virtutis, qui pro aliorum cautela non metuit. Sed ut tuæ venerationi ad liquidum conatus illius aperiamus; quotiens a nobis majoribus donis cumulatus est Ricimer, totiens gravior inimicus apparuit. Quanta contra rempublicam bella præparavit? quantas externarum gentium per illum vires furor accepit? postremo etiam, ubi nocere non potuit, nocendi tamen fomenta suggestit. Huic nos pacem dabimus! hunc intestinum sub indumento amicitiarum inimicum sustinebimus, quem ad fœdus concordiae nec affinitatis vincula tenuerunt? Grandis cautio est, adversarii animum cognovisse. Etenim hostem protinus sensisse, superasse

Ricimer declared for *Olybrius* (2), who was of one of the most noble Families in *Rome*, and, on Account of *Placidia*, his Consort, allied as well to the House of *Theodosius* the Great, as to the Royal Family of the *Vandals*. A *Græcian* Author almost intimates, that *Leo* himself sided with *Olybrius* (3): But History is here so obscure, that we find no other Account, but that it broke out into a War, in which *Anthemius* lost his Life, in the Year 472, and thereby cleared the Throne for *Olybrius* (4). *Ricimer* died himself, on the 18th of *August*. His Actions sufficiently

superasse est. perdunt semper deprehensa odia stimulos, quos occultata conceperant. Sed si in his omnibus reverentia tua, & vadis, & mediator accedit, qui potes spiritali indagine consilia nefanda invenire, & inventa corrigere; pacem, quam & tu poscis, negare non audeo. Postremo, si solitæ caliditatis astutia etiam te fefellerit, certamen jam vulneratus assumat, me tamen, statumque reipublicæ tuis committo & commendo manibus, & gratiam, quam supplicanti, & profuso per se *Ricimeri* negare disposueram, per te primus exhibeo. Profunda enim deliberatione compendiis nostris in hac parte consulimus, si in incertis procellarum erroribus navem ex veri gubernatoris ordinatione flectamus. Quis enim tibi excusare præsumat beneficium postulanti, cui oportuerat ante preces offerri? Hæc imperator. At venerabilis sacerdos. Gratias, inquit, omnipotenti deo, qui pacem suam principis menti inseruit; quem ad instar superni dominatus vicarium suæ potestatis voluit esse mortalibus. Quibus breviter narratis, accepto etiam pro concordie firmitate ab *Anthemio* sacramento, discessit, festinans ad *Liguriam* reverti, quando resurrectionis dominicæ tempus instabat.

(2) See Note 4.

(3) CHRONICON ALEXANDRINUM, p. 321. *Olybrius* Romam missus a Leone imperatore a Romanis invitatus coronatur imperator, ducta uxore *Placidia* illa, quæ a barbaris redempta, seu a captivitate liberata

fuerat. Hi condiderunt ædem sacram sanctæ *Euphemie*, *Olybrii* nuncupatam. Genuit autem *Olybrius* ex *Placidia* *Julianam*, conjugem *Areobindi*, magni illius viri, qui in *Perfide* singulari certamine cum hoste est congressus: ex quibus natus est *Olybrius* minor. *Lambecius*, in *Commentariis de Bibliotheca Vindobonensi*, L. 2. p. 478, gives a Genealogical Account of this Family.

(4) CASSIODORUS, FESTO & MARCIANO Coss. His consulibus *Ricimer*, Romæ factus imperatore *Olybrio*, *Anthemium* contra reverentiam principis, & jus affinitatis, cum gravi clade civitatis extinguit. Qui non diutius peracto scelere gloriatus, post quadraginta dies defunctus est. *Olybrius* autem septimo mense vitam peregit. *Marcellinus* ad eundem annum. *Anthemius* imperator Romæa *Ricimere* genero suo occiditur. loco ejus *Olybrius* substitutus, septimo mense imperii sui vita defunctus est. *Cuspinian's Chronologist* assigns the Time yet more exactly, ad h. A. Bellum civile gestum est Romæ inter *Anthemium* imperatorem, & *Ricimere* patricium. Et levatus est Romæ imperator *Olybrius*, occisus vero imperator *Anthemius* V. idus *Julias*. Defunctus vero est *Ricimer* XV. kal. Sept. QUO ANNO GUNDIBALDUS PATRICIUS FACTUS EST AB IMPERATORE. Defunctus vero est imperator *Olybrius* Romæ X. kal. Nov. *Pagius*, ad A. 432. n. 4. examines the Chronology of these Emperors.

discover what Talents he was endow'd with: But the History of his Times is so doubtful, that Posterity cannot rightly judge, whether he applied them to a good or bad Purpose (5). In the Church of St. *Agatha*, at *Rome*, his Memory was long preserv'd: For, when Cardinal *Frederick Borromeus* caus'd that Fabrick to be repair'd, the following Inscription was found on a Piece of *Mosaick Work*;

FL. RICIMER. V. I. MAGISTER. UTRIUSQUE. MILITIAE. PARTICIUS. ET. EXCONSUL. ORD. PRO. VOTO. SUO. ADORNAVIT (6).

Pope *Gregory* the Great, in the Year 591, consecrated this Church (7), which 'till then, under the *Gothick* Government, belong'd to the *Arians*, to the Use of the *Orthodox Christians*, and deposited there the Relicks of St. *Agatha* (8), from whom it obtained its Name. The Deacon of this Church is always a Cardinal.

And nominates *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians*, who was nearly related to *Ricimer* (1), *Patricius*. The Name of

And nominates *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians*, *Patricius*.

(5) *Historians* have, in the mean Time, given different Characters of him, according to the different Lights they viewed him in. *Jornandes*, for Instance, calls him, c. 45. *Virum egregium*, & pene tunc in Italia ad exercitum singularem. But *Baronius*, because he took him for an *Arian*, will not even allow him that Honour; but taxes *Jornandes* with Partiality to his Country. He himself gives, ad A. 472. n. 9. a very different posthumous Account of him: Sic igitur proditor barbarus, fax occidentalis imperii, perfidus *Arianus*, *Ricimer*, fero licet, tandem sensit se nolentem licet (sicut *Antiochus*) subditum esse deo. Hic ille perfidus, qui instar mancipiorum habuit imperatores, pro arbitrio eos tollens & subrogans, miscens & versans pro ludibrio summam rerum aleam. Hic ille sacrilegus *Arianus*, qui cum tantam sibi in Romanum imperium usurpasset auctoritatem, invictis licet ipsis *Romanæ ecclesiæ* pontificibus, barbarica tamen auctoritate in urbe sibi ecclesiam vindicarat, in quam cum

suis *Arianis Gothis militibus* conveniret. Hereby he means the Church of S. *Agatha*, which we shall mention below. We have likewise observ'd, Not. 7. that it is yet uncertain, whether *Ricimer* was an *Arian* or not.

(6) *Vid. Baronius*, ad A. 472. n. 10.

(7) It is Matter of Doubt, whether the *Arians* first obtain'd it, under the Government of the *Gothick Kings*, or whether *Ricimer* was already a *Profelyte* to that Set; at least the *Suevi*, of which Nation he was, still profess'd, at that Time, the *Orthodox Religion*.

(8) *Gregorius*, L. 4. ep. 19. And *Dialogorum*, L. 3. c. 30. he relates strange Things, that happened at this Consecration. *Baronius*, ad h. A. n. 43. places this Consecration in the Year 591. *F. Montfaucon*, in *Diario Italiae*, p. 131. seq. proves, that the Church, which is to this Day called S. *Agatha's*, is the same that *Gregory* consecrated.

§ XXII. (1) See Note 4. of the foregoing § Conf. *Valesius*, T. 1. p. 217.

this

this King calls upon me here to go back, and continue the History of the *Burgundians* to his Time. *Gundicarius*, who founded this Kingdom, in *Gaul*, left two Sons, *Gundeucus* and *Chilperic*; who went to *Spain*, to succour *Theodoric II*, King of the *Wisi-Goths* (2). At first they abetted the Party of *Avitus* against *Majorianus*, and, favour'd by that Opportunity, extended the Dominion of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul* (3); but afterwards they lived in Peace with the *Roman* Empire. Of *Chilperic* we find but very little that is to be depended on (4): But *Gundeucus* was *Magister Militum* (5), and propagated the Royal Race. His four Sons shared the Kingdom among them. *Gundobald* treated his Brother very ill, as we shall see more particularly in its proper Place (6); but, on the other Hand he perform'd eminent Services for the *Roman* Empire (7). We find, moreover,

(2) See above, § XII.

(3) See above, § XV.

(4) This Chilperick is mentioned by *Greg. Turonensis*, in vit. *S. Romani abbatis*: of which see *Pagius*, ad A. 472. n. 6. *Sid. Apol.* likewise takes Notice of a *Chilperic*, L. 5. ep. 6. p. 134. Namque confirmato MAGISTRO MILITUM CHILPERICO, VICTORIOSISSIMO VIRO, relatu venenato quorumpiam sceleratorum fuisse secreto infusurratum, tuo præcipue machinatu, oppidum *Vasione* parte partibus novi principis applicari. *He* speaks farther in Praise of him, ib. ep. 7. His moribus obruunt virum non minus bonitate quam potestate præstantem. Sed quid faciat unus undique venenato vallatus interprete? Quid inquam faciat, cui natura cum bonis, vita cum malis est? *He* in particular extols this King's Consort. Sane quod principaliter medetur afflictis, temperat lucumorem nostrum *Tanaquil* sua, & aures mariti virosa susurronum sece completas opportunitate falsi sermonis eruderat. Cujus studio scire vos par est, nihil interim quieti fratrum communium apud animum communis patroni, juniorum *Cibyatarum* venena nocuisse, neque quicquam deo propitiante nocitura; si modo, QUANDIU PRÆSENS POTESTAS LUGDUNENSEM GER-

MANIAM REGIT, nostrum, suumque Germanicum præsens *Agrippina* moderetur. But which *Chilperic* is here meant, is uncertain. *Sirmondus*, in his *Annotations*, applies these Passages to *Gundeucus's* Son: *Pagius* ad A. 472. n. 6. to his Brother.

(5) *HILARIUS* papa, in epist. ad *Leontium* episcopum *Arelatensem*, ap. *Baronium* ad A. 463. n. 4. Quantum filii nostri, VIRI ILLUSTRIS, MAGISTRI MILITUM, GUNDUICI sermone est indicatum; prædictus episcopus (nempe *Mamertus Viennensis*) invitis *Dienfib* episcopum consecrare præsumit.

(6) *GREGORIUS TURONENSIS*, L. 2. c. 28. Fuit autem & *Gundeuchus* rex *Burgundionum*, ex genere *Athanasici*, regis persecutoris, de quo supra meminimus. Huic fuerunt quatuor filii, *Gundobaldus*, *Godegifu* filius, *Chilpericus*, & *Godomarus*. Igitur *Gundobaldus* *Chilpericum* fratrem suum interfecit gladio, uxoremque ejus, ligato ad collum lapide, aquis immerfit. Hujus duas filias exilio condemnavit; quarum senior, mutata veste *Mucurena*, junior *Chrotildis* vocabatur.

(7) *ENNODIUS*, in vita *Epiph.* gives an Account of this Prelate's Embassy to *Gundobald*, in the Name of *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostro-*
D d d d 2 *Goths.*

moreover, in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who was in great Esteem among the *Burgundians*, that, at this Time, they still retained their *German* Language and Customs (8); and that many *Romans* of Distinction, who sought Preferment, at the Court of *Burgundy*, were oblig'd to learn their Language. He extols, in particular, in one Place, *Syagrius*, who attain'd to so great a Perfection therein, that the *Burgundians* themselves were oblig'd to use great Caution, when they spoke to him (9). And hence it

Goths, in Italy. Epiphanius is there introduced as putting the King of Burgundy in mind of the great Services he formerly performed in Italy, p. 204. Audi Italiam, nunquam a te divisam & multum de animi tui clementia confidentem: quæ si una voce uteretur hæc diceret: quoties pro me, si reminisceris, ferratum pectus hostibus obtulisti? quoties pugnavisti consilio, ne bella subreperent?

(8) SIDONIUS, *carm.* 12. p. 368.

Quid me, & si valeam, parare carmen,
Fescenninicolæ jubes Diones,
Inter crinigeras situm catervas,
Et Germanicæ verba sustinentem,
Laudantem tetrico subinde vultu,
Quod Burgundio cantat esculentus,
Infundens acido comam butyro?
Vis dicam tibi, quid poemata frangat?
Ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris
Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia,
Ex quo septipedes videt patronos.
Felices oculos tuos & aures,
Felicemque libet vocare nasum,
Cui non allia, sordidæque cepæ,
Ructant mane novo decem apparatus.
Quem non ut vetulum patris parentem,
Nutricisque virum, die nec orto,
Tot tantique petunt simul gigantes,
Quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.
Sed jam Musa tacet, tenerque habenas
Paucis hendecasyllabis jocata,
Ne quisquam satyram vel hos vocaret.

9) SIDONIUS, *L. 5. ep. 5. p. 132.* Immane narratu est, quantum stupeam sermonis te Germanici notitiam tanta facilitate rapuisse. Atqui pueritiam tuam competenter scholis liberalibus memini imbutam, & sæpe numero acriter eloquenterque declamasse coram oratore, satis habeo compertum. Atque hæc cum ita sint, velim dicas, unde subito hauserunt pectora tua euphoniæ gentis alienæ? ut modo mihi post ferulas lectionis Maronianæ, postque desudatam varicosi Arpinatis opulentiam loquacitatemque, quasi de hilario vetere novus falco prorumpas? Æstimari minime potest, quanto mihi ceterisque sit risui quoties audio, quod te præsentem formidet facere linguæ suæ barbarus barbarismus. Adstupet tibi epistolas interpretanti curva Germanorum senectus, & negotiis mutuis arbitrum te disceptatoremque desumit. Novus Burgundionum Solon in legibus differendis: novus Amphion in citharis, sed tricordibus temperandis amaris, frequentaris, expeteris, oblectas, eligeris, adhiberis, decernis, audiris. Et quanquam æque corporibus ac sensu rigidi sint, indolatilesque, amplectuntur in te pariter, & discunt sermonem patrium, cor Latinum. Restat hoc unum, vir facetissime, ut nihilo segnius, vel cum vacabit, aliquid lectioni operis impendas, custodiasque hoc prout es elegantissimus, temperamentum, ut ista tibi lingua teneatur, ne ridearis; illa exerceatur, ut rideas.

is, that the same Author calls that Part of *Gaul*, which the *Burgundians* possess'd, *Germania Lugdunensis* (10).

§ XXIII. *OLYBRIUS* died, in the Year 472, on the 23d of October. His Widow, *Placidia*, returned to *Constantinople*, where the *Anician* Family was, long afterwards, in the highest Reputation (1). *Glycerius* set up for Emperor in the Room of *Olybrius*, A. 473, at *Ravenna*, and was assisted by the King of the *Burgundians* (2). Thus the *German* Princes, who commanded the Army, at a Vacancy of the Imperial Throne, had sometimes a greater Influence, than the Senat, or the Emperor in the *East*. The Time *Glycerius* bore the Imperial Title, in the *West*, was famous for nothing but the Invasion of the *Ostro-Goths*, of which I shall give an Account below: But his Reign was of short Duration: For the Court of *Constantinople* refus'd to acknowledge *Glycerius*, and *Leo's* View was to confer that Dignity on *Julius Nepos*, who commanded in *Dalmatia*, whom he married to a Lady, nearly related to his House (3). *Nepos* was therefore proclaim'd Emperor at *Ravenna*, in the Year 474 (4), and met with little Resistance on the Part of *Glycerius*, who voluntarily re-

(10) See above, Note 4.

§ XXIII. (1) Conf. Pagius, ad A. 472.

n. 4. Some have endeavoured to derive the Counts of Habsburg, and the House of Austria, which is descended from them, from the *Anician* House. *Seltrid*, Abbot of *Zwethal*, writ a Book to that End, entitled *Arbor Aniciana*: and *Petrus Lambecius*, L. 2. *Commentar. de Bibliotheca Vindebonensi*, has taken great Pains to vindicate this Genealogical Treatise: But how difficult the Passages, that have been objected against, are to defend, is likewise well known.

(2) MARCELLINUS in *Chronico*: Leone Aug. V. Coff. *Glycerius* apud *Ravennam*, plus præsumptione, quam electione, cæsar factus est. *Cassiodorus* in *Chronico*: Leone Aug. V. Cos. *Gundebado* hortante, *Glycerius* *Ravennæ* sumsit imperium. *Chronographus* a *Cuspiniano* editus, ad consulatum, V. Leonis augusti: Levatus est imperator *Glycerius*, *Ravennæ* III. non. Martias.

(3) JORNANDES calls her *Neptis Leonis*:

See the following Note 4. *Malchus* says, that she was related to the Empress *Verina*.

(4) IDEM, de successione regnorum, c. 101. Occiso Romæ *Anthemio*, Nepotem filium *Nepotiani*, copulata nepte sua in matrimonio, apud *Ravennam* per *Domitianum* clientem suum, cæsarem ordinavit, qui *Nepos* regno potitus legitime, *Glycerium*, qui sibi tyrannico more regnum imposuisset ab imperio expellens, in *Salona Dalmatiæ* episcopum fecit. *Chronographus Cuspinii*: Dejectus de imperio *Glycerius* in portu urbis *Romanæ*. Eo anno levatus est dominus *Julius Nepos* VIII. kal. *Julias*. *Marcellinus*, in *chronico*, Leone Cos. *Glycerius* cæsar *Romæ* imperium tenens a Nepote, *Marcellini* quondam patricii sororis filio imperio expulsus, in portu urbis *Romæ* ex cæsare episcopus ordinatus est, & obiit. Idem, *Zenone* Aug. II. Cos. *Nepos*, qui *Glycerium* regno repulerat, *Romæ* elevatus est imperator.

sign'd

sign'd to him, and was made Bishop of *Salona*, in *Dalmatia* (5). King *Gundobald* seems, thereupon, to have repair'd to *Gaul*; where he kept his Court, at *Lyons*, as *Godegisilus* his Brother, who alone stood his Ground against him, did his at *Geneva*. They both abandon'd the *Catholick* Faith, to embrace the Errors of *Arianism*.

The *Suevi*
recover
themselves.
Become
Profelytes to
Arianism.

§ XXIV. THESE frequent and violent Revolutions gave the last Shock to the Empire in the *West*. On the other Hand, the *German* Kingdoms thereby flourish'd, more and more, as we shall find in those of the *Suevi*, *Wisi-Goths* and *Burgundians*, in their proper Order. The *Suevi* had indeed retriev'd the Loss they sustained by *Rechiarius's* Overthrow, and enter'd into Treaties with *Theodoric*; but were soon divided among themselves. One Party chose *Fratán*, the other elected *Masdras*, for their King. By this Division, those Countries, in which the *Suevi* had fix'd their Habitations, suffer'd the most. *Masdras* plunder'd some Cities in *Lusitania*, and particularly the present *Lisbon* and *Oporto* (1). *Framarius*, who was chosen after *Fratán's* Decease, took *Chaves* (2), made *Ida-*

(5) IDEM, *de rebus Geticis*, c. 45. Quem anno vix expleto, Nepos Marcellini quondam patricii sororis filius, a regno dejiciens, in portu Romano episcopum ordinavit.

§ XXIV. (1) IDARIUS, *in chronico*, ad A. 1. Majoriani. Suevi in partes divisi pacem ambiunt Gallæciarum: e quibus pars Fratanem, pars Maldram regem appellat. Solito more perfidiæ Lusitaniam prædatur pars Suevorum Maldram sequens. acta illic Romanorum cæde, prædisque contractis, civitas Ulyxippona, sub specie pacis intratur. Idem, ad A. 3. Majoriani. Maldras germanum suum fratrem interficit, & PORTUCALE castrum idem hostis invadit. Idem ad A. 1. Majoriani. Fratanes moritur per pascha & pentecostem. Jubente Maldra, Suevi in solitam perfidiam versi, regionem Gallæciæ adhærentem flumini Durio deprædantur. Isidorus in *Historia Suevorum*, contracts the whole Relation. Occiso Rechiario, Suevi bitarie divisi, pars Fratan, pars Masdran sibi regem constituunt. Masdras autem cum manu Suevorum statim Lusitaniam

deprædatur, acta illuc Romanorum cæde prædisque contractis. Civitas etiam Olisepona sub specie pacis intratur. Nec mora, Fratan mortuo, Suevi, qui cum eo fuerant, ad Masdram revertuntur: regionem Galliciæ adhærentem flumini Durio deprædantur: Masdras autem peracto tertio anno regni sui jugulatur. Quo extincto inter Frumarium, & Remismundum Masdræ filium oritur de regni potestate dissensio. Sed Frumarius, cum manu, quam habebat, Flaviensem civitatem grandi evertit excidio, Remismundus autem vicina sibi pariter Arigenium loca & Lucensis conventus maritima populatur. Frumario autem mortuo, Remismundus omnes Suevos in suam ditionem revocat, pacem cum Gallicis reformat, legatos foederis mittit ad Theodoricum regem Gothorum: a quo etiam per legatos & arma & conjugem quam haberet, accepit.

(2) AQUÆ FLAVIÆ. This Place is situate in the Kingdom of Portugal, in the Province Tralos Montes.

tius their Bishop, Prisoner, and destroy'd the City (3). *Spain* in general was, about this Time. greatly distress'd: For whilst *Gaul* and *Lusitania* were thus Preys to the Fury of the *Suevi*, the *Goths* were not remiss, but extended their Dominions in *Hispania Batica* (4); and even a Party of *Heruli*, who cruis'd in those Seas, ravaged the Coasts of *Gallicia*, and *Cantabria* (5). *Remismund*, the Son of *Masdras*, united, at Length, about the Year 465, the whole Nation under one Scepter. He renewed the former Agreement with the ancient Possessors of *Gallicia* and *Lusitania*; and that he might have nothing to fear, from the *Goths*, he demanded the Daughter of *Theodoric II*, in Marriage, whose Consent he likewise obtain'd (6): But this Marriage was perhaps the Occasion, that the King and Nation of the *Suevi*, embraced the *Arian* Schism, to which the *Wisi-Goths* were Adherents (7): For they were, till then, Members of the Catholick Church. In the mean Time, the Peace with the Provincials was not so strictly observed, but that the *Suevi* sometimes extended their

(3) IDATIUS, *ad A. IV.* Majoriani. Frumarius, cum manu Suevorum quam habebat, impulsus, capto Idatio episcopo, VII. kal. Augusti, in Aquæflaviensi ecclesia eundem conventum grandi evertit excidio. See the Quotation from Isidorus, Not. 1.

(4) IDEM, *ad A. II.* Majoriani. Gothicus exercitus, duce suo Cyrila, a Theodorico rege ad Hispanias missus mense Julio succedit ad Bæticam. Legati Gothorum, & Wandalorum pariter ad Suevos veniunt, & revertuntur. Idem, *ad A. III.* Majoriani. Theudoricus, cum duce suo Sunierico, exercitus sui aliquantam ad Bæticam dirigit manum. He then mentions, in particular, that the City of Scalabis was taken, *ad A. IV.* Majoriani. Suniericus Scalabim, cui adversabatur, obtinet civitatem. Scalabis, at present called Santara, is situate in Portugal, in the Province of Estremadura.

(5) IDEM, *ad annum primum* Majoriani. De Erulorum gente septem navibus in Lucensi litore aliquanti advecti, viri ferme

CCCC. expediti, superventu multitudinis congregatæ duobus tantum ex suo numero effugantur occisis. qui ad sedes proprias redeuntes, Cantabriorum, & Varduliarum loca maritima crudelissime deprædati sunt. The Varduli dwelt in that Part of Biscay, which is at present, in particular, called Guipuscoa. Idem, *ad A. III.* Majoriani. Eruli maritima conventus Lucensis loca non nulla crudelissime invadunt, ad Bæticam pertendentes.

(6) IDEM, *in chron. ad A. III.* Severi. Frumario mortuo, Remismundus omnibus Suevis in suam ditionem regali jure revocatis, pacem reformat elapsam. Legatos Remismundus mittit ad Theodoricum, qui similiter suos ad Remismundum remittit, cum armorum adjectione, vel munerum, directæ & conjuge, quam haberet.

(7) IDEM, *ad A. IV.* Severi. Ajax natione Galata, effectus apostata, & senior Arianus, inter Suevos regis sui auxilio hostis catholicæ fidei, & divinæ trinitatis emergit. Conf. Pag. *ad h. A.*

Dominion:

Euricus,
King of the
Wisi-Goths,
conquers
Part of
Spain.

Dominion: And we find, in particular, that they made themselves Masters of *Coimbra*, by Force (8), and of *Lisbon* by Capitulation (9).

§ XXV As to the *Wisi-Goths*, *Theodoric*, after the Death of *Majorianus* broke the Peace with the *Romans*; and the Dissentions among the Great now hastned the Downfall of their Empire, as it formerly had done the Loss of their Liberty. *Agrippinus*, who was at Variance with *Ægidius*, *Magister Militum* in *Gaul*, surrender'd, in the Year 462, *Narbonne* to the *Goths*, which had, 'till then, been the strongest Barrier of the *Romans*, on that Side (1). *Ægidius*, on the other Hand, defeated *Frederick*, the King's Brother, in the Dominions of the *Armorici* (2). *Theodoric* was murder'd, in the Year 467 (3). His Brother *Euricus*, who was suppos'd to be guilty of the Fratricide, succeeded him on the Throne. The declining Empire betray'd daily more and more its Weakness: And the King of the *Vandals*, who kept up a firm Friendship with the *Ostro-* and *Wisi-Goths*, to distress the *Roman Empire*, on every Side, now excited *Euricus* the more, because *Leo* and *Anthemius* were making all possible Armaments against *Africa* (4). *Euricus* undertook fully to subdue the *Provincia Tarraconensis*, which, excepting some few Districts, that had been left the *Goths*, appertain'd to the *Romans*. He took *Pampelona* and

(8) IDEM, *ad A. II. Anthemii*. *Conimbrica* in pace decepta diripitur, domus destruantur cum aliqua parte murorum, habitatoribusque captis atque dispersis, & regio desolatur, & civitas.

(9) IDEM, *ad A. III. Anthemii*. *Ulixipona* a Suevis occupatur, cive suo, illic præerat, tradente Lusidio. Hac re cognita Gothi, qui venerant, invadunt, & Suevos prædantur, pariter & Romanos, ipsis in Lusitanæ regionibus servientes.

§ XXV. (1) IDATIUS, *ad A. II. Severi*. *Agrippinus Gallus*, & comes, & civis, *Ægidio* viro insigni inimicus, ut Gothorum mereretur auxilia, *Narbonam* tradidit *Theodorico*.

(2) IDEM IBIDEM. Adversus *Ægidium* comitem utriusque militiæ, virum ut fama commendat, deo bonis operibus complacen-

tem, in *Armoricana* provincia *Fretiricus* frater *Theoderici* regis insurgens, cum his cum quibus fuerat superatus occiditur.

(3) MARIUS PUSÆO & JOANNE COSS. (467). Interfectus est *Theodoricus* rex Gothorum, a fratre suo *Euthorico*, *Tolosæ*.

(4) JORNANDES, c. 47. *Euricus* rex *Vesegotharum* *Romani* regni vacillationem cernens, *Arelatum* & *Massiliam* propriæ subdidit ditioni. *Gezericus* etenim *Vandalorum* rex suis cum muneribus ad ista committenda illexit, quatenus ipse *Leonis* vel *Zenonis* insidias, quas contra eum direxerant, præcaveret; egitque ut orientale imperium *Ostrogothæ*, *Hesperium* *Vesegothæ* vastarent, ut in utraque republica hostibus decertantibus, ipse in *Africa* quietus regnaret. Quod *Euricus* grato suscipiens animo, totas *Hispanias* *Galliasque* sibi jam jure proprio tenens,

and *Saragossa*, and brought that whole Province under his Subjection (5). *Spain* was, therefore, now divided between the *Suevi* and the *Goths*. The former possess'd *Gallicia* and a great Part of *Lusitania* and *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and *Bætica* fell to the Share of the latter. The *Roman Empire* had little or nothing left (6); for which Reason, some *Spanish* Historians date the End of the *Roman Dominion*, in *Spain*, from this Time (7).

§ XXVI. IN *Gaul*, *Aruandus*, *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, had, himself, privately sided with the *Goths*, and advised *Euricus* to enter into no Treaties with *Anthemius*, whom he, and other Chiefs, bore an Aversion to, because he was a *Grecian*; but to draw the *Burgundians* over to his Party, and to share *Gaul* with them (1). *Aruandus's* Treachery was detected and punish'd (2): But Forces were wanting, to withstand the

Extends his Dominion in *Gaul* as far as the *Rhone* and the *Loire*.

E e e e

Goths.

nens, simul quoque & *Burgundiones* subegit, Arelatoque degens, decimo nono anno regni sui vita privatus est. The Mention *Jordanes* makes of the Friendship that subsisted betwixt *Gensericus* and *Euricus*, is somewhat illustrated by *Idatius*, who takes Notice, ad A. I. *Anthemii*, of the Ambassy, *Euricus* sent to the King of the *Vandals*.

(5) *ISIDORUS* in *chronico*, *Gothorum* anno imperii *Leonis octavo*: *Euridicus*, pari scelere quo frater succedit in regnum annis XVIII. in quo honore provectus & crimine, statim bello defævit, partesque *Lusitaniæ* deprædatur. Qui prius capra *Pampilona*, *Cæsar-augustam* invadit, totamque *Hispaniam* superiorem obtinuit. *Terraconensis* etiam nobilitatem, quæ ei repugnauerat, exercitus irruptione peremit. In *Gallias* autem regressus, *Arelatum* & *Massiliam* urbes capit, suoque regno utramque subjecit.

(6) *Conf. Faxarda* in *Corona Gothica*, p. 115.

(7) *Conf. Mariana*.

§ XXVI. (1) *SIDONIUS APOLLINAR.* L. 1. ep. 7. Interea legati provinciæ *Galliæ*, *Tonantius Ferreolus* præfectorius, *Afranii Syagrii* consulis e filia nepos. *Thaumasus*

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quoque, & *Petronius*, maxima rerum verborumque scientia præditi, & inter principalia patriæ decora ponendi, prævium *Aruandum* publico nomine accusaturi cum gestis decretalibus insequuntur. Qui inter cetera quæ sibi provinciales agenda mandaverunt, interceptas literas deferebant, quas *Aruandi* scriba correptus dominum dictasse profitebatur. Hæc ad regem *Gothorum* charta videbatur emitte, pacem cum *Græco* imperatore diffuadens, *Britannos* supra *Ligerim* sitos impugnari oportere demonstrans, cum *Burgundionibus* jure gentium *Gallias* dividi debere confirmans, & in hunc ferme modum plurima insana, quæ iram regi feroci, placido verecundiam inferrent. Hanc epistolam læsæ majestatis crimine ardentem jurisconsulti interpretabantur.

(2) *IDEM*, *Relates the whole Affair*, L. 1. ep. 7. He mentions, L. 2. ep. 1. another, named *Seronatus*, who had formed the same Projects: *Exultans* *Gothus*, insultansque *Romanis*, illudens præfectis, colludensque numerariis: leges *Theodosianas* calcans, *Theodoricianasque* proponens, veteres culpas, nova tributa perquirat. He reflects still more severely upon him, L. 5. ep. 13. and

E e e e

L. 7.

Goths. Euricus therefore cross'd the *Rhone*, and took *Arles* and *Marseille* (3). Some Thousands of *Britons*, who would not submit to the *Saxons*, in their own Country, and yet were not in a Condition to resist them, were, at that Time, just retired into *Gaul*, and had fix'd their Habitation among the *Armorici*, where the Country, from them, was called *Britannia*. *Anthemius* lifted these new Comers against the *Goths*. *Reotinus*, their Leader †, whom *Jornandes* calls a King, encamped at *Bourges*, there to wait for the *Roman* Troops: But he was defeated by *Euricus*, and all that could escape fled to the adjacent Countries of the *Burgundians*, who were in Peace and Alliance with the *Roman Empire* (4). The Impotence of *Anthemius* (5), and the Revolutions which ensued, therefore left an open Field for the *Goths*. They turned their Arms against *Auvergne*, which Country, in Regard to its Situation, might be of Service to them, to secure the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, and to cover their Dominions which were between those two Rivers (6). They besieged *Augustonemetum*, the Capital, from the Ruins of which afterwards arose the present *Clairmond*. *Ecdicius*, Son to the Emperor *Avitus*, (as it seems, with the Assistance of the

L. 7. ep. 7. he says of his Arverni. Illi amore reipublicæ, Seronatum BARBARIS PROVINCIAS PROPINANTEM, non timere legibus tradere; quem convictum deinceps respublica vix præsumsit occidere.

(3) See the Testimonies of *Isidorus* and *Jornandes* in the foregoing §. Not. 4, 5.

† Among *Sidonius Apollinaris's* Letters, we meet, L. 3. ep. 9. with one to *Riothamus*, who, according to *Sirmondus's* Conjecture, was the same Leader of the *Britons*, whom *Jornandes* mentions.

(4) *JORNANDES* de rebus Geticis, c. 45. Euricus ergo Vesegotharum rex crebram mutationem Romanorum principum cernens, Gallias suo jure nifus est occupare. Quod comperiens Anthemius imperator, protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Quorum rex Riothimus cum XII. millibus veniens, in Biturigas civitatem oceano e navibus egressus, susceptus est. Ad quos rex Vesegotharum Euricus innumerum ductans exercitum advenit, diuque pugnans, Riothimum Britonum regem, ante quam Ro-

mani in ejus societate conjugerentur, superavit. Qui ampla parte exercitus amissa, cum quibus potuit fugiens, ad Burgundionum gentem vicinam, Romanis in eo tempore fœderatam advenit.

(5) *SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS*, L. 2. ep. 1. ad *Ecdicium*. Si nullæ a republica vires, nulla præsidia, si nullæ, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes: statuit te auctore nobilitas, seu patriam dimittere, seu capillos.

(6) *IDEM*, L. 7. ep. 1. Rumor est, Gothos in Romanum solum castra movisse. Huic semper irruptioni nos miseri Arverni janua sumus. Namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaria fomenta subministramus, quia quod necdum terminos suos ab oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, solum sub ope Christi moram de nostro tantum obice patiuntur. Circumjectarum vero spatia, tractumque regionum jam pridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impressio.

Burgundians

Burgundians) (7), made a brave Defence (8); nor did *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who, before he was a Divine, had married his Sister, and was now Bishop there, bestir himself less, for the Good of the Country, with his Pen. *Nepos* was, in the mean Time, chosen Emperor, and was persuaded by the Chiefs, as well of Italy as *Gaul*, to make Peace with the *Goths*: And in *Gaul*, among others, *Leontius*, Bishop of *Arles*, *Faustus*, Bishop of *Riez*, and *Græcus*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, were themselves employ'd in the Treaty (9). *Nepos* sent besides, in particular, *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Pavia*, to *Tholouse*, to bring the Peace with their King to a Conclusion: and *Ennodius* says it was actually concluded, towards the End of the Year, 474, or the Beginning of the ensuing Year (10). By Virtue of this Peace,

Auvergne

(7) IDEM, L. 3. ep. 4. Oppidum siquidem nostrum, quasi quendam sui limitis obicem, circumfusarum nobis gentium arma terrificant. Sic æmulorum sibi in medio positi lachrymabilis præda populorum, suspecti Burgundionibus, proximi Gothis, nec impugnantum ira, nec propugnantum caremus invidia.

(8) IDEM, *Speaks on that Account in Praise of him*, L. 3. ep. 3. The Emperor, Julius Nepos, created him Patricius, in Regard to his eminent Services: Sidonius Apollinaris, on that Occasion, congratulates his Wife, who had likewise embraced the Ecclesiastical State, L. 5. ep. 16. Ravenna veniens quæstor Licinianus, cum primum tetigit, Alpe transmissa, Galliæ solum, literas adventus sui prævias misit, quibus indicat, esse se gerulum codicellorum, quorum in adventu fratri etiam tuo Ecdicio, cujus æque titulis ac meis gaudes, honor patricius accedit; celerrime, si cogites ejus ætatem, si merita, tardissime. Namque ille jam pridem suffragium dignitatis ineundæ non soluit in lance, sed in acie? ærariumque publicum ipse privatus non pecuniis, sed manubiis locupletavit. Hoc tamen sancte Julius Nepos, armis pariter summus augustus ac moribus, quod decessoris Anthemii fidem, fratris tui sudoribus

obligatam, quo citior, hoc laudabilior absolvit. siquidem iste complevit, quod ille sæpissime pollicebatur. Quo fit, ut deinceps pro republica optimus quisque possit, ac debeat, si quid cuipiam virium est, quia securus, hinc avidus impendere: quandoquidem mortuo quoque imperatore, laborantum devotioni quicquid sponderit princeps, semper redhibet principatus.

(9) SIDONIUS, L. 7. ep. 6. ad Basilium, (Bishop of Aix): In sacratissimorum pontificum, Leontii, Fausti, Græci, urbe, ordine, caritate medius inveniris. Per vos mala fœderum currunt, per vos regni utriusque pacta conditionesque portantur. Agite quatenus hæc sit amicitia, concordia principalis, ut episcopali ordinatione permessa, populos Galliarum, quos limes Gothicæ fortis incluserit, teneamus ex fide, etsi non tenemus ex fœdere.

(10) ENNODIUS in vita Epiphani, p. 381. We shall here add his Relation, tho' it has more the Appearance of a Panegyrick, than a History: Post Glycerium ad regnum Nepos accessit. Tunc inter eum & Tolosæ alumnos Getas, quos ferrea Euricus rex dominatione gubernabat, orta dissensio est: dum illi Italici fines imperii, quos trans Gallicanas Alpes porrexerat novitatem spernentes, non desi-

Auvergne was surrender'd to the *Goths*, how much soever *Sidonius Apollina-*
ris

nerent incescere: E diverso Nepos, ne in usum præsumptio male suada duceretur, districtius cuperet commissum sibi a deo regnandi terminum vindicare. Hinc utrinque litium cœperunt fomenta consurgere. Et dum neutræ partes conceptum tumorem vincendi studio deponunt, sic exsuperabat causa discordiæ. Attigerat jam beatissimus vir octavum in sacerdotio annum: cum repente Nepotis animum summovendæ dissensionis amor infudit: ut repulso simultatis veneno, servaret inter reges charitas, quod tueri arma vix poterant. Evocantur ad consilium Liguriæ lumina, viri maturitatis, quorum possit deliberatione labans reipubl. status reviviscere, & in antiquum columen soliditas desperata restitui. Tantique ad tractatum coiere ex jussu principis, quanti poterant esse rectores. Seritur de ordinanda legatione sermo. In beatissimum virum Epiphanium mentes omnium & oculi diriguntur: fiunt cunctorum sententiæ, quasi unius & ore proferuntur & pectore. Quid plura? cum lætitia Christi miles occasionem laboris amplectitur, & spe effectum præcipit, de negotii æstimatione confidens, agendi speciem melioraturus inquit: actionem pene conclamata, & valde difficilem cœlestis potentiæ præsidio percunctatus est, suscepit, implevit. Cujus itineris molestias necessitatesque non valeam per ordinem digerere, nec si mihi centum linguarum fluminibus permeatus irriguos verba fundantur: nam egressus Ticinensi oppido, donec ad destinata loca pertingeret, tali viæ suæ fatigationem arte geminavit, ut si temperius, jumentorum defectum considerantes, in futuræ mansionis diverforia successerunt, præter psalmorum continuationem, præter lectionis

perseverantiam, quorum nihil nisi stando faciebat, eligebat secessum nemorosa fronte conclusum, ubi connexis arborum brachiis nox domestica texeretur: quod solum refugus per umbracula opaca sol nesciret, & totum viridanti cespiti gratia naturalis sterneret. Ibi profusus in oratione, continuis fletibus expertem pluviarum terram oculorum imbribus irrigabat. Reddebantur arva illa fecunda orationum copia, quæ frugum esse non poterant. Tali exercitio se macerans Tolosanam, in qua Euricus tunc rex degebat, urbem ingressus est, quem jam prævia opinio Gallorum auribus, qualis esset, intimaverat, sacerdotibus præcipue ejusdem regionis, quos attonitos de advenientibus inquisitio profunda sollicitat. Erat præterea ea tempestate consiliorum principis & moderator, & arbiter, Leonomine, quem per eloquentiæ meritum non una jam declamationum palma susceperat: qui summo cum gaudio adventum pontificis indicavit notiæ publicæ. Evocatur ex tempore regi præsentandus antistes. Aa quem illico ut ingressus, vidit, salutavit, adgressus est. Quamvis te stupende terrarum princeps, multorum auribus reddat virtutis fama terribilem; & gladii, quibus finitimos continua vastitate premis, segetem quandam inimici germinis metant: nullam tibi tamen superni gratiam numinis dira bellandi præstat ambitio: nec ferrum fines tuetur imperii, si cœlestis dominus offendatur. Regem te habere memento, cui oportet considerare quid placeat: qui cum susceptum hominem portaret ad cœlum, pro immensæ hæreditatis munere, pacem discipulis iterata sæpius admonitione commendat: cujus nos præcepti necesse est esse custodes:

ris endeavour'd to prevent it (11). The *Goths*, on the other Hand, re-
stored

todes: præcipue cum noverimus, virum fortem dici non posse, quem vicerit indignatio. Deinde perpendere nos convenit, quod nemo diligentius propria tuetur, quam qui aliena non appetit. Quo circa Nepos, cui regimen Italiæ ordinatio divina commisit, ad hæc nos impetranda destinavit; ut reductis ad fidem mentibus, terræ sibi convenæ dilectionis jure societur. Qui licet certamina non formidet, concordiam prius exoptat. Nostis in communi, quo sit dominiorum antiquitas limitata confinio: qua sustinuerint partes istæ illarum rectores famulandi patientia. Sufficiat, quod elegit: aut certe patitur amicus dici, qui meruit dominus appellari. Hæc vir insignissimus Epiphanius. At Euaricus gentile nescio quod murmur infringens, mollitum se adhortationibus ejus vultus sui serenitate significat. Leo vero nominatus superius tanto allocutionis ipsius tenebatur miraculo, ut crederet verbis hujuscemodi expugnari posse mentes si fas est dici etiam si contra justitiam postularet. Taliter tamen fertur ad interpretem rex locutus: licet pectus meum lorica vix deferat, & assidue manum orbis æratus includat, nec non & latus muniat ferri præsidium: inveni tamen hominem, qui me armatum possit expugnare sermonibus. Fallunt qui dicunt Romanos in linguis scutum, vel spicula non habere. Norunt enim & illa, quæ nos miserimus verba repellere; & quæ a se diriguntur, ad cordis penetralia destinare. Facio ergo, venerande papa, quæ poscis: quia grandior est apud me legati persona, quam potentia destinantis. Accipe nunc fidem: & pro Nepote pollicere, quod servet intermeratam concordiam: quando te promississe, jurasse est. His dictis, inito etiam pactionis

vinculo, verendus pontifex valedicto discessit. Ad quem statim peccatorum turba dirigitur, ut secuturo die regis epulis interesset: quem ille jam compererat jugitur per sacerdotes suos polluta habere convivia. Cui excusavit, dixitque, sibi non esse in more positum, alienis aliquando prandiis vesci; perendie se magis velle proficisci, quod constitutum maturavit implere: & Tolosam tantis comitantibus egressus est: ut pene deserta urbs, discedente nostro pontifice, cerneretur. Tantos enim in brevi devinxerat sibi charitate sincera, ut captivitatem flerent, quos apud patriam remanere necessitas constringebat.

(11) SIDONIUS APOLL. L. 7. ep. 7. *ad Gracum, Bishop of Marseilles.* Siquidem nostri hic nunc est infelicitis anguli status; cujus, ut forma confirmat, melior fuit sub bello, quam sub pace conditio. *And farther:* Hoccine meruerunt inopia, flamma, ferrum, pestilentia, pingues cædibus gladii, & macri jejuniis præliatores? Propter hujus tamen inclytæ pacis expectationem, avulsas muralibus rimis herbas in cibum traximus: crebro per ignorantiam venenatis graminibus infecti, quæ indiscretis foliis succisque viridantia, sæpe manus fame concolor legit. Pro his tot, tantisque devotionis experimentis, nostri (quantum audio) facta jactura est. Pudeat vos precamur hujus fœderis, nec utilis, nec decori. Per vos legationes meant. Vobis primum, quanquam principe absente, non solum tractata referantur, veram etiam tractanda committuntur. Veniabilis sit quæsumus, apud aures vestras veritatis asperitas, cujus convicii invidiam dolor eripit. Parum in commune consulitis: & cum in concilium.

stored *Arles* and *Marseilles* (12), and the *Rhone* became thus the Boundary of the *Gothick* Kingdom to the *East*, as the *Loire* was to the North.

Transacti-
ons between
him and the
Franks.

§ XXVII. As therefore, the Kingdom of the *Wisi-Goths* comprehended that Part of *Gaul*, which was encompassed by the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, as well as *Hispania Tarraconensis* and *Betica*, beyond the *Pyrenees*, it is easy to conceive, that the History of other *German* Nations was oft entangled with that of the *Goths*. *Euricus*, among the Rest, had likewise to do with the *Franks*, who together with the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, at that Time, kept *Gaul* in Aw. *Sidonius* mentions, in particular, those, who dwelt on the *Wahl*, and calls them *Sicambri*; because they possess'd the Country formerly inhabited by that Nation. He boasts, in another Passage, of I know not what Advantages gained over them, by *Euricus*, and that he prescrib'd them such Terms of Peace as he himself pleased (1). We find likewise, in that Author, some farther Tokens of Treaties with the *Franks* (2) and *Saxons*. The latter continued still to infest the Coasts of *Gaul*, (probably from *Britain*) and came even to the *Aquitanian* Shoar, into the Dominions of the *Wisi-Goths*. By a Letter of *Sidonius Apollinaris*,

we

cilium convenitis, non tam curæ est publicis mederi periculis, quam privatis studere fortunis. quod utique sæpe diuque facientes, jam non primi comprovincialium cœpestis esse, sed ultimi. At quousque istæ poterunt durare præstigiæ. Non enim diutius ipsi majores nostri hoc nomine gloriabuntur, qui minores incipiunt non habere. Quapropter vel consilio, quo potestis, statum concordie tam turpis incidite: Adhuc si necesse est obsideri, adhuc pugnare, adhuc esurire delectat. Si vero tradimur, qui non potuimus viribus obtineri, juvenisse vos certum est, qui barbarum suaderetis ignavi.

(12) V. PAGIUS, ad A. 474. n. 11.

§ XXVII. (1) SIDONIUS APOLL. L. 8. ep. 3. ad Leonem, p. 215. Sepone pauxillulum conclamatissimas declamationes, quas oris regii vice conficis: quibus ipse rex inclytus modo corda terrificat gentium trasmarinarum, modo de superiore cum BARBARIS

AD VACHALIM TREMENTIBUS FOEDUS VICTOR INNODAT; modo per promotæ limitem sortis, ut populos sub armis, sic frænât arma sub legibus. He calls them several Times *Sicambri*, and, among others, in the Passage quoted in the following §. n. 2.

(2) See n. 2. of the following §. L. 4. c. 20. he takes Notice of a Nuptial Solemnity, where *Sigismer*, a German Prince, fetched home his Bride. *Valesius* imagines, that this *Sigismer* was a Prince of the *Franks*, and his Bride a Daughter of the *Gothick* King. This Conjecture is not, indeed, supported by any History; but that Letter merits, nevertheless, to be here inserted, because we there meet with so lively a Description of the Pomp and Equipage of the ancient German Princes. Tu cui frequenter arma, & armatum, & armatos inspicere jocundum est, quam voluptatem putamus mente conciperes, si *Sigismerem* regium juvenem, ritu atque cultu gentilitio ornatum, utpote

we see, that the Inhabitants of the Coasts of *Sainctogne* were in great Fear of them (3); and, in another Place, he mentions the *Saxons*, who

utpote sponsum seu petitorum, prætorium foci expetere vidisses? Illum equus quidem phaleris comptus, immo equi radiantibus gemmis onusti antecedeabant, vel etiam subsequebantur: cum tamen hoc magis ibi decorum conspiciebatur, quod præcursoribus suis, siue pedissequis, pedes & ipse medius incescit, flammeus cocco, rutilus auro, lacteus serico; tum cultui tanto, coma, rubore, cute concolor. Regulorum autem, sociorumque comitantum forma & in pace terribilis: quorum pedes primi perone setoso talos adusque vinciebantur; genua, crura, suræque sine tegmine. Præter hoc vestis alta, stricta, versicolor, vix appropinquans poplitibus exertis: manicæ sola brachiorum principia velantes, viridantia saga limbis marginata puniceis, penduli ex humero gladii balteis supercurrentibus strinxerant clausa bullatis latera rhenonibus. Eo quo comebantur ornatu, muniebantur. lanceis urcatis, securibusque missilibus dextræ refertæ, clypeis lævam partem adumbrantibus, quorum lux in orbibus nivea, fulva in umbonibus, ita censum prodebat, ut studium. Cuncta prorsus hujusmodi, ut in actione thalamorum non appareret minor Martis pompa, quam Veneris.

(3) IDEM, L. 8. ep. 6. p. 222. seq. Sed ecce dum jam epistolam, quæ diu garrit, claudere optarem, subitus a Santonis nuntius: cum quo dum tui obtentu aliquid horarum sermocinanter extrahimus, constanter asseveravit, nuper vos classicum in classe cecinesse, atque inter officia nunc nauræ, modo militis, littoribus oceani curvis innerare contra SAXONUM PANDOS MYOPARONES, quorum quot remiges videris, to-

tidem te cernere putes archipiratas; ita simul omnes imperant, parent, docent, discunt latrocinari. Unde nunc etiam ut quam plurimum caveas, causa successit maxima monendi. Hostis est omni hoste truculentior. Improvisus aggreditur, prævisus elaboratur: spernit objectos, sternit incautos: si sequatur, intercipit, si fugiat, evadit. Ad hoc exercent illos naufragia, non terrent. Est eis quædam cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solum, sed familiaritas. Nam quoniam ipsa, si qua tempestas est, hinc securos efficit occupandos, hinc prospici vetat occupaturos, in medio fluctuum scopulorumque confragosorum, spe superventus læti periclitantur. Præterea priusquam de continenti in patriam vela laxantes, hostico mordaces ancoras vado vellant, mos est remeaturis, decimum quemque captorum per æquales & cruciarias pœnas, plus ob hoc tristi, quod superstitioso ritu, necare; superque collectam turbam periturorum mortis iniquitatem sortis æquitate dispergere. Talibus eligunt votis, victimis solvunt: & per hujusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati, quam sacrilegia polluti, religiosum putant cædis infausæ perpetratores, de capite captivo magis exigere tormenta, quam pretia. Quamobrem metuo multa, suspicor varia: quanquam me e contrario ingentia hortentur. Primum quod victoris populi signa comitaris, &c. *This Account of the Ships, used by the ancient Saxons, and of their Dexterity in Fighting at Sea, may serve to illustrate what I have observed in the foregoing Books. As for those Ships in particular, which Sidonius Apollinaris calls Myoparones, we have a more exact Description of them in Isidorus.*
He

who treated on Affairs of Peace and War, with King *Euricus*, at *Bourdeaux* (4).

He causes
the Laws of
the *Wisi-*
Goths to be
reduced into
Order. Of his
Court. His
Zeal for his
Religion.

§ XXVIII. *EURICUS* was not contented with securing his Kingdom by Arms and Alliances; but form'd the prudent Resolution, of accustoming his Subjects, by Degrees, more and more, to that Polity, which *Athaulph* despair'd of ever introducing among the *Goths*. As Laws are an indissoluble Ty of Civil Society; and, at the same Time, highly instrumental in the Art of governing, he prescribed the *Goths* a written and perpetual Law; whereas they had, 'till then, been only directed by their Customs, and the arbitrary Decision of their Judges (1). *Sidonius*, in a Letter, which he wrote from *Bourdeaux*, whither he had followed King *Euricus*, gives his Friend a great Idea of that Prince's Court, and says, that the *Ostro-Goths*, *Saxons*, *Heruli*, *Burgundians* and *Franks* were, in all their important Affairs, influenc'd by that Monarch; and that even the Emperor in the *East* sought his Friendship (2). This King had, besides the *Goths*, likewise foreign Troops in his Service; and some *Romans*, or *Provincials*, were now every where in the Service of the *German* Kings as the *Germans* were formerly in that of the *Roman* Emperors. *Leo*, in particular, whose Office was to treat

He says, in originibus, L. 19. c. 1. Mioparo quasi minimus paro: idem & CARABUS. Est enim parva scapha ex vimine facta, quæ contexta crudo corio genus navigii præbet, quales utuntur Germanorum piratæ in oceani littoribus vel paludibus ob agilitatem, de qualibus historia, Gens, inquit, Saxonum mioparonibus non viribus nituntur, fugæ potius, quam bello parati. And farther, Carabus parva scapha, ex vimine facta, quæ contexta crudo corio, genus navigii præbet.

(4) See Not. 2. of the following §.

§. XXVIII. (1) *ISIDORUS, p. 213.* Sub hoc rege Gothi legum instituta scriptis habere cœperunt: nam antea tantum moribus, & consuetudine tenebantur. *Theodoric may, however, have instituted some single Laws, which were, perhaps, the Leges Theodoricianæ, mentioned above by Sidonius, § 26. not. 2.*

(2) *SIDON. APOLL. L. 8. ep. 9.*

Nos istic positos, semelque visos,
Bisjam menstrua luna conspicatur:
Nec multum domino vacat vel ipsi,
Dum responsa petit subactus orbis.
Istic Saxona cœrulum videmus,
Assuetum ante fallo, solum timere:
Cujus verticis extimas per oras,
Non contenta suos tenere morsus,
Altat lamina marginem comarum:
Et sic crinibus ad cutem recisis
Decrescit caput, additurque vultus.
Hic tonso occipiti, senex Sicamber,
Postquam victus es, elicis retrorsum
Cervicem ad veterem novos capillos.
Hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur,
Imos, oceani colens recessus,
Algo prope concolor profundo.
Hic Burgundio septipes frequenter

Flexo

treat with the foreign Ambassadors at the *Gothick* Court, is highly praised (3.) This Minister's Zeal for the Honour of his Master was such, that he was desirous of having his History transmitted to Posterity, by which Means his own Fame would likewise have been perpetuated. This Task, he propos'd to *Sidonius Apollinaris*; but he declined it (4): And the whole Design probably came to nothing; which obliges us to collect the Successes of this Reign, from the Writings of its Enemies. The Difference in Point of Religion render'd the late Revolution the most insupportable to the conquer'd Countries. *Euricus* was a zealous *Arian*, and his Priests insinuated to him, that all the Success of his Arms was a Re-

Flexo poplite supplicat quietem.
Istis Ostrogothus viget patronis,
Vicinosque promens subinde Chunos,
His quod subditur, hinc superbit illis.
Hinc Romane tibi petis salutem;
Et contra Scythicæ plagæ catervas
Si quos Parrhæsis ursa fert tumultus,
Eorice, tuæ manus rogantur,
Ut Martem validus per inquilinum
Defenset tenuem Garumna Tibrim.
Ipse hic Parthicus Arsaces precatur,
Aulæ Susidis ut tenere culmen
Possit fœdere sub stipendiali.
Nam quod partibus arma Bosphoranis
Grandi hunc surgere sentit apparatu,
Mœstam Persida jam sonum ad duelli
Ripa Euphratide vix putat tuendam,
Qui cognata licet sibi astra fingens,
Phæbea tumeat propinquitate,
Mortalem hic tamen implet obsecrando.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINAR. *speaks often in Praise of him; and, among the Rest, L. 8. ep. 3. See Note 1. of the foregoing §. and L. 4. ep. 22. See the following Note.*

(4) IDEM. *Gives us this Account, L. 4. ep. 22. which Letter is address'd to Leo himself. Vir magnificus Hesperius, gemma amicorum literarumque, nuper urbe cum rediit e Tolosatium, præcipere te dixit, ut epistolarum curam, jam terminatis libris earum,*

converteremus ad stylum historiæ. Reverentia summa, summo & affectu, talem atque tantam sententiam amplector, idoneum quippe pronuncias ad opera majora, quem mediocria putas deferere debere. Sed quod fatendum est, facilius audeo hujusmodi suscipere judicium quam suscipere consilium. Res quidem digna quam tu juberet: sed non minus digna quam faceret. Namque & antiquitus, cum C. Cornelius C. Secundo paria suavisset, ipse postmodum quod injunxit arripuit. Eoque ab exemplo nunc me melius aggredieris: quia & ego Plinio, ut discipulus assurgo, & tu vetusto genere narrandi jure Cornelium antevenis; qui sæculo nostro si revivisceret, teque qualis in literis & quantus habere conspiceretur, modo verius Tacitus esset. Itaque tu molem thematis missi recte capeffis; cui præter eloquentiam singularem, scientiæ ingentis magna opportunitas. Quotidie namque per potentissimi consilia regis, totius sollicitus orbis, pariter ejus negotia & jura, fœdera & bella, loca, spatia, merita cognoscis. Unde quis justius sese ad ista succinxerit, quam ille, quem constat gentium motus, legationum varietates, facta ducum, pacta regnantum, tota denique publicarum rerum secreta didicisse? quique præstanti positus in culmine, non necesse habet, vel suppressere verum, vel concinnare mendacium?

ward for his Zeal, which they call'd Piety (5). Religious Controversies were probably not wanting; and *Sidonius Apollinaris* extols *Basil*, Bishop of *Aix*, for having bravely confuted a *Goth*, who was a zealous Defender of the *Arian* Error (6). But a Party, which is protected by the Court, and has the Power in Hand, seldom remains within the Limits of Conviction. The Persecution does not indeed appear to have been so rigid, as it is represented by *Gregorius Turonensis* (7): But the King gave the Church a very great Shock, by not filling the vacant Sees (8). *Crocus*, Bishop of *Nimes*, and another Bishop, named *Simplicius*, were sent into Exile (9); but whether on Account of Religion, or for any Temporal Matter, is uncertain.

§ XXIX.

(5) SIDONIUS, L. 7. ep. 6. Sed quod fatendum est, præfatum regem Gothorum, quanquam sit ob virium merita terribilis, non tam Romanis mœnibus, quam legibus Christianis infidiaturum paveſco. Tantum, ut ferunt, ori, tantum pectori ſuo catholici mentio nominis acet, ut ambigeas, ampliusne ſuæ gentis, an ſuæ ſectæ teneat principatum. Ad hoc, armis potens, acer animis, alacer annis, hunc ſolum patitur errorem, quod putat ſibi tractatum conſiliorumque ſucceſſum tribui pro religione legitima, quem potius aſſequitur pro felicitate terrena. Propter quod diſcite cito catholici ſtatus valetudinem occultam, ut apertam feſtinetis adhibere medicinam. Burdegala, Petrocorii, Ruteni, Lemovices, Gabalitani, Eluſani, Vaſates, Convenæ, Auſcenſes, multoque jam major numerus civitatum, ſummis ſacerdotibus ipſorum morte truncatis, nec ullis deinceps episcopis in defunctorum officia ſucceſſis, (per quos utique minorum ordinum miniſteria ſubrogabantur) latum ſpiritualis ruinæ limitem traxit.

(6) SIDON. APOLL. L. 7. ep. 6. p. 181. Probe memini, qui polleas igne ſenſuum, fonte verborum, qui viderim Modaharium, civem Gothum, hæreſeos Arianæ jacula vi-

brantem, quo tu ſpiritualium teſtimoniorum mucrone confoderis.

(7) GREG. TURONENSIS, L. 2. c. 25. Hujus tempore, & Evaricus rex Gothorum, excedens Hiſpanum limitem, gravem in Galliis ſuper Chriſtianos intulit perſecutionem. Truncabat paſſim perversitati ſuæ non conſentientes, clericos carceribus ſubigebat; ſacerdotes vero alios dabat exilio, alios gladio trucidabat. Nam & ipſos ſacrorum templorum aditus ſpinis juſſerat obſerari, ſcilicet, ut raritas ingrediendi, oblivionem faceret fidei. Maxime tunc Novempopulanæ, GEMINÆQUE GERMANIÆ urbes ab hac tempeſtate populatæ ſunt. He appeals to *Sidonius Apollinaris's Epistles*: But if we compare them with his Relation, we may ſoon perceive that he has added conſiderably. *Valeſius imagines*, T. 1. p. 240. that Aquitania prima & ſecunda is by him call'd Germania Gemina, becauſe it was inhabited by the Goths, as a German Nation; as *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls the Country of the Burgundians, Germania Lugdunenſis; Others chuſe to deviate from the Letter, and read Aquitania Gemina, inſtead of Germania Gemina.

(8) See the foregoing Note 5.

(9) SIDONIUS APOLLINAR. L. 7. ep. 6. p. 184.

§ XXIX. THE Motions made by the *Goths*, in *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, Emperor now, oblige me to turn my Pen towards the *East*. *Aspar*, a *Patricius*, Leo's Differences with the *Goths* in *Thrace*, and *Magister militum presentium*, had 'till now had the greatest Share in the Management of the Affairs of State, at *Constantinople*. He had more than once serv'd as a Prop to support the Empire; and *Leo* himself ow'd to him his Promotion to the Imperial Dignity: No Alien perhaps ever engross'd more Posts of Honour, in the *Roman* Empire, to his own Family, than this *Aspar*, whom some Historians call a Native of the Country of the *Alani*, others a *Goth*. *Ardaburius*, his Father, and he himself had been *Consuls*. His eldest Son, who was likewise nam'd *Ardaburius*, was *Patricius* and *Magister Militum*; the next, named *Patricius*, had not only been *Consul*, but *Leo* had already nominated him *Cæsar*, and promised him *Leontia*, his Daughter, in Marriage: *Hermeneric*, his youngest Son, had likewise been *Consul*, in the Year 465. But the Face of Affairs was suddenly changed in the Year 471; and *Zeno*, who was afterwards Emperor, way-laid him and his two eldest Sons, by *Leo's* Order, and kill'd them on the Spot (1). *Aspar* had married the Sister of the *Gothick* Prince, *Theodoric*, who is generally furnam'd the Son of *Triarius*. This Prince took Occasion from thence to take up Arms against the Emperor. He demanded three Articles; first all *Aspar's* Estate; secondly, a more convenient Habitation for his People in *Thrace*; and, thirdly, the Command of the Army, in the same Manner as *Aspar* had enjoy'd it. *Leo* not readily complying with these Conditions, *Theodoric* sent Part of his Troops to invade the Country about *Philippis*, and himself laid Siege, with the Rest, to *Arcadiopolis*, which Place he took. *Leo* begun thereupon to be more tractable than before, insomuch that *Theodoric* concluded a Peace. Among other Conditions were these, that he should have Satisfaction, with Regard to the Post of General, which he demanded; and that a Subsidy of 2000 Pounds of Gold should be annually paid to his *Goths*; for which they should assist the *Roman* Empire, against all its Enemies, except the *Vandals* (2); which last Limitation proceeded, without Doubt, from the good Understanding *Genferic* lived in with these *Goths*.

§ XXX.

p. 184. Taceo vestros Crocum, Simplicitumque collegas, quos cathedris sibi traditis eliminatos, similis exilii cruciat poena dissimilis. Namque unus ipsorum dolet, se non videre quo redeat. alter se dolet videre, quo non redit.

must refer the Reader to the Examinations made into it at large, by Valesius, T. I. p. 213. and Pagius ad A. 470. n. 23.

(2) MALCHUS, p. 92. Leo imperator misit Logium Silentiarium legatum ad barbaros, qui in Thracia erant. At barbari lubenti animo legatum exceperunt, & legatos quoque

§ XXIX. (1) As for *Aspar's* History, we

The *Ostro-Goths* raise Commotions in *Pannonia*. *Widemir* invades *Italy*: His Nation incorporates with the *Wisi-Goths*.

§ XXX. THE Motions of the *Ostro-Goths* were still greater in their Consequences. *Pannonia* was of too small an Extent, for their Kings *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, and the Nation itself desired Leave to try their Fortune abroad. The two Princes cast Lots, which Way each should direct his Course. The *East* fell to the Share of *Theodemir*, and *Italy* to *Widemir*. *Widemir* died soon after he entered *Italy*. His Son, who bore the same Name, came to an Agreement with *Glycerius*, and went to *Gaul*, where he joined the *Wisi-Goths* (1): The Name and Renown of the *Ostro-Goths* was, therefore, only supported by *Theodemir*, and his Successors.

§ XXXI.

quoque ad imperatorem, Romanorum amici esse cupientes miserunt, per quos tria ab eo petierunt. Primum Theuderichum eorum ducem, omni hereditate quam illi reliquerat Aspar, frui: secundum, ut liceret illi in Thracia habitare: tertium, ut & eorum ordinum quorum Aspar fuerat, dux esset. Prima duo omnino denegavit imperator, solum tertium, ut dux fieret, dummodo sine fraude ejus amicus esset, concessit, & ita legatos dimisit. Sed Theuderichus, barbarorum princeps, ubi legatos suos ab imperatore re infecta excepit, suarum copiarum partem in Philippos campos immisit: cum altera parte Arcadiopolim omni apparatu oppugnaturus obsedit. Neque tamen eam armis cepit, sed fame, eos enim qui intra civitatem erant, eo inopiæ & angustiarum redegit, ut equorum & aliorum animalium, quæ curribus agendis inserviunt, & mortuorum cadaverum esu, sese, dum illis si qua ex parte auxilium adveniret, toleraverunt. Quo non adveniente, in extremam desperationem adducti, deditionem fecerunt. Qui vero missi erant ad Philippos campos, solum ea, quæ circa urbem erant, combusserant, neque quicquam præterea atrox aut grave commiserant. His ita in Thracia grassantibus, nihil secius ipsosmet barbaros fames corripuit & urfit, ita ut legatos ad

imperatorem mitterent, qui de pace agerent, quæ his conditionibus est facta: duo millia librarum auri Gothis singulis annis pendi: Theuderichum duorum exercituum, qui maximi sunt, & circa imperatorem militant, ducem constitui. In alia ditione, quam Romana, Gothorum imperatorem esse, neque quemquam eorum, qui ab eo deficere voluerint, ab imperatore admitti. Contra quemcunque voluerit imperator, exceptis Vandalis, a parte imperatoris pugnare.

§ XXX. (1) JORNANDES, c. 56. Minuentibus deinde hinc inde vicinarum gentium spoliis, cœpit & Gothi victus vestitusque deesse: & hominibus, quibus dudum bella alimoniam præstitissent, pax cœpit esse contraria; omnesque cum clamore magno ad regem Theodemir accedentes Gothi orant, quacunque parte vellet duceret exercitum. Qui accito germano, missaque sorte, hortatus est, ut ille in partem Italiæ, ubi tunc Glycerius regnabat imperator, ipse vero ceu fortior ad fortius regnum accederet, orientale quidem. quod & factum est. Et mox Videmir Italiæ terras intravit, & extremum fati munus reddens, excessit rebus humanis, successorem relinquens regni Videmir filium suum. Quem Glycerius imperator muneribus datis, de Italia ad Gallias transtulit, quæ a diversis circumcirca gentibus premebantur,

§ XXXI. *THEODEMIR* pass'd the *Sæve*, and the *Sarmatæ*, ^{Theodemir} who were encamped thereabouts (in the Service, it seems, of the Emperor) ^{invades Illy-} did not venture to oppose his Passage. At *Nizza*, he was joined by *Theo-* ^{ricum. State} ^{of the} *doric* his Son. They then turned towards *Greece*, directed their Course to *Eastern Em-* ^{pire.} *Thessalonica*, took *Heraclea* and *Larissa*, and besieged *Thessalonica*, the Ca-
pital of *Illyricum Orientale*. The Revolution, which, at the same Time, happen'd in the *East*, gave this Undertaking its wish'd for Success: For *Leo* died there in *January*, 474, and *Leo* the younger, his Grand-Son, by his Daughter, a Prince, in the 16th or 17th Year of his Age, did not long survive him. This *Leo* immediately admitted *Zeno*, his Father, to a Share in the Government; and, after having reigned 10 Months, in the Month of *November*, of the same Year, left the Throne wholly to him, by an untimely Death. But *Zeno* had need of all his Art to secure his Dignity, and as the *Patricius Clarianus*, who commanded in *Thessalonica*, was not in a Condition to repel the *Goths*, he concluded a Peace with them (1).

bantur, adferens vicinos sibi Vesegothas eorum parentes regnare. Quid multa? Videmir acceptis muneribus, simulque mandatis a Glycerio imperatore, ad Gallias tendit, seseque cum parentibus jungens Vesegothis, unum corpus efficitur, & sic Gallias Hispaniasque tenentes suo jure defendunt, ut nullus sibi alius prævaleret.

§ XXXI. (1) JORNANDES, c. 56. Theodemir autem frater senior cum suis transit Saum, amnem, Sarmatis militibus interminans bellum, si aliquis obstaret ei. Quod illi verentes quiescunt: imo nec prævalent ad tantam multitudinem. Videns Theodemir undique sibi prospera provenire, Naissum primam urbem invadit Illyrici, filioque suo Theoderico confociatus adstat & in villam comites per castra Herculis transmittit Ulpianam. Qui venientes tam eam, quam & Iopes, mox in deditionem accipiunt, nonnullaque loca Illyrici inaccessibilia, sibi tunc primum pervia faciunt. Nam Heracleam, & Larissam, civitates Thessaliæ pri-

mum præda capta, jure bellico potiuntur. Theodemir vero rex animadvertens felicitatem suam quam etiam filii: nec hac tamen contentus egrediens Naissitanam urbem, paucis ad custodiam derelictis, ipse Thessalonicam petiit, in qua Clarianus patricius a principe directus cum exercitu morabatur. Qui dum videret vallo muniri Thessalonicam, nec se eorum conatibus posse resistere, missa legatione ad Theodemir regem, muneribusque oblatis, ab obsidione eum urbis retorquet. Initoque foedere Romanus ductor cum Gothis loca eis jam sponte, quæ incoherent, tradidit, id est, Ceropellas, Europam, Medianam, Petinam, Bereum & alia, quæ SIUM vocantur. Ubi Gothi cum rege suo, armis depositis, composita pace quiescunt. Nec diu post hæc & rex Theodemir in civitate Cerras fatali ægritudine occupatus, vocatis Gothis Theodoricum filium regni sui designat heredem, & ipse mox rebus humanis excessit.

He

He resign'd to them the Province of *Pautalia* (2), which received its Name from the Capital, *Ulpia Pautalia*, situate in *Dacia Mediterranea*; tho' by some it is plac'd in *Illyricum*, and by others in *Thrace* (3). The Emperor's View was, to make Use of these *Goths*, the more easily to put a Stop to the Proceedings of *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius* (4). This new *Ostro-Gothick* Kingdom is likewise call'd *Regnum Sium* (5). *Theodemir* died soon after, in the City of *Cerras* (6); and left his Kingdom, in the Hands of *Theodoric* his Son, who soon after acquir'd great Fame, and at last became Master of *Italy*.

Orestes
makes *Romulus*, his
Son, Em-
peror.

§ XXXII. THE Affairs of that State drew daily nearer to their total Declension. *Julius Nepos* appointed the *Patricius Orestes, Magister militum* (1). *Orestes* was a Native of *Pannonia*, and, after *Attila* subdued that

(2) MALCHUS, p. 79. Jussit regionem in PANTALIA assignare, quæ Illyricæ partis est provincia, non longo intervallo distans ab ingressu Thraciæ. Quod eo consilio faciebat, ut si qua Theodorichus, Triarii [filius] se commovere susciperet, Balamerum adversarium sibi proxime imminere sciret; atque etiam si Balamerus conventa violare, & pacem turbare vellet, cum in medio duorum exercituum, Illyrici & Thraciæ degeret, eum facilius opprimere posset. Other Writers have already observed, that Malchus confounds Balamir and Vodemir together, and that we must read Pautalia, instead of Pantalia.

(3) PAGIUS, ad A. 475. n. 7 and 8, treats largely of the City of *Ulpia Pautalia*, and of the Country which took its Name from it. Leunclavius says, in his *Historia Musulmanica*, p. 266. that this Country, (which is now included in the Kingdom of Bulgaria) is at present call'd *Paulutzen*.

(4) See the Passage cited from Malchus above, Not. 2. In the same Malchus, we find *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius*, represented, as putting the other *Theodoric* in Mind of the

Emperor's Designs against them both, p. 89. D. Multa convicia illi faciebat, perjurum eum vocans, puerum dementem, & sui generis hostem & proditorem, qui Romanorum mentem non nosset, neque quo tenderent eorum consilia videret. Etenim volunt sedentes, & otiosi efficere, ut Gothi, per Gothos deleantur, &c.

(5) See the Passage from *Jornandes* above, Not. 1. The Geographer of *Ravenna* likewise mentions the same Cities, L. 3. c. 9. Item non longe ad superscriptam *Theffalonicam* sunt civitates id est *Ceras*, *Europa*, *Mediana*, *Petina*, *Bereum*, *Quesium*, &c. *Pagius*, ad A. 475. n. 7.

(6) JORNANDES, See above, Not. 1.

§ XXXII. (1) IDEM, c. 45. p. 418. Quod audiens *Nepos* imperator, præcepit *Decio*, [l. *Ecdicio*] relictis *Galliis* ad se venire, in locum ejus *Oreste* magistro militum ordinato: qui *Orestes* suscepto exercitu & contra hostes egrediens, a *Roma* *Ravennam* pervenit, ibique remoratus, *Augustulum* filium suum imperatorem effecit. Quo comperto, *Nepos* fugit in *Dalmatias*, ibique defecit privatus regno, ubi jam *Glycerius* dudum imperator

that Country, was for some Time in his Service ; by whom he was likewise sent several Times to the Court of *Constantinople*. After *Attila's* Decease, he went to *Italy*, and there raised himself to the Dignity of *Patricius*. Having now the Command of the Army, he employed the Reserve of the *Roman* Forces against *Nepos* himself ; who, in this Emergency, retir'd by Sea to *Dalmatia*, where he was, during his Life-Time, acknowledg'd Emperor : But *Orestes* caus'd *Romulus*, his Son, who is, by some Modern Writers erroneously call'd *Momylus* (2), and had hardly pass'd his Infancy, to be the same Year, 475, on the 31st of *October* (3), proclaimed Emperor.

§ XXXIII. BUT this Rebellion was soon suppress'd by another. *Odoacer* rose in Arms against him, the next Year (1), at *Pavia* (2), and, on the 25th of *August*, was proclaimed King, by the *Syrri*, *Rugi* *Odoacer*, Prince of the *Rugi*, makes himself Master

imperator episcopatum Salonitanum habebat. Marcellinus in chronico Zenone Aug. II. Coss. (475.) Nepos, qui Glycerium regno pepulerat, Romæ elevatus est imperator. Nepote Orestes protinus effugato, Augustulum filium suum in imperium collocavit. Anonymus a Valesio editus: Nepos factus imperator Romæ. Mox eveniens Ravennam: quem persequens Orestes patricius cum exercitu, metuens Nepos adventum Orestis, adscendens navem fugam petit Salonam, & ibi mansit per annos quinque postea vero a suis occiditur.

(2) Conf. Banduri in numismatibus imperatorum, T. 2. p. 604.

(3) ANONYMUS a VALESIO editus: Augustulus, qui ante regnum ROMULUS, a parentibus vocabatur, a patre Oreste patricio, factus est imperator. Chronographus a Cuspiniano editus: Zenone II. Cos. Intra- vit Ravennam patricius Orestes cum exercitu, & fugavit imperatorem Nepotem ad Dalmatias V. kal. Septembris. Eo anno levatus est Augustulus imperator Ravennæ, a patricio Oreste patre suo, pridie kal. Novembris.

§ XXXIII. (1) CASSIODOR, in chron. Ba-

filiscus II. & Armatus Cos. (476). His Coss. of Italy ; ab Odoacre Orestes, & frater ejus Paulus dethrones Romulus. extincti sunt, nomenque regis Odoacer assumptum, cum tamen nec purpura, nec regalibus uteretur insignibus. Marcellinus ad E. A. Odoacer rex Gothorum Romam obtinuit. Orestem Odoacer illico trucidavit, Augustulum filium Orestis, Odoacer in LUCULLANO Campaniæ CASTELLO exilii pœna damnavit. Chronographus a Cuspiniano editus: Levatus est Odoacer rex X kal. Sept. Eo etiam anno occisus est Orestes patricius Placentiæ V. kal. Sept. Item eo anno occisus est Paulus frater ejus in Ravenna, pridie nonas Septembris. Marius, Basilisco & Armato Coss. His Coss. levatus est Odoacer rex.

(2) ENNODIUS, in vita B. Epiphani, p. 386. Spe novarum rerum perditorum animos inquietas: Odoacrem ad regnandi ambitum extollit. Et ut hæc perniciēs in Ticinensi civitate contingeret, Orestem ad eam fiducia munitionis invitat. He then relates at large the Calamities Pavia underwent, and concludes: Sublato tamen Oreste, & propter Placentinam urbem extincto, deprædationis impetus conquievit.

and,

and *Heruli*. The Extraction of this Prince is as obscure, as the other Circumstances of this Revolution: We may, with the most Probability, suppose him to have been of the *Rugi*. *Eugippius* relates, that he came in a mean Condition to *Italy*, and by the Way visited *S. Severinus* (3), who foretold his future good Fortune; which he afterwards, when King, gratefully remember'd (4). By this Relation he seems to have raised himself to such a Height, by his Services in War, that he could now assume the Purple. A few Days after, he defeated *Orestes*, near *Piacenza*, and his Brother, *Paul*, near *Ravenna*. *Romulus* himself fell into his Hands at *Ravenna*: But his Youth and comely Appearance, so far raised his Compassion, that he granted him his Life, and sent him to a Fortrefs † in *Campania*, where he allowed him an annual Pension of 6000 *Roman* Guilders of Gold (5): But the Royal Title, which *Odoacer*, this Year, assumed, does not seem to have regarded *Italy*; but only those *German* Nations (6), who chose him for their Chief.

Zeno de-throned; but restored by the Assistance of *Theodoric*, the Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*.

§ XXXIV. THE *East* was in such Confusion, that *Italy* could hope for no Relief from thence. *Basiliscus*, Brother to the Empress *Verina*, with her Assistance, seiz'd the *Imperial* Throne, at the Beginning of the Year 476; and *Zeno* was so distress'd, that he, and *Ariadne* his Consort,

(3) *EUGIPPIUS*, in vita *S. Severini*, c. 7. Qua devotione etiam ante hoc factum quidam barbari, cum ad *Italiam* pergerent, promerendæ benedictionis ad eum intuitu diverterunt: inter quos & *Odoachar*, qui postea regnavit *Italiæ*, vilissimo tunc habitu, juvenis statura procerus advenerat. Qui dum se, ne humile tectum cellulae suo vertice contingeret, inclinasset, a viro Dei gloriosum se fore cognovit. Cui etiam valedicenti, vade inquit ad *Italiam*, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus, sed multis cito largiturus.

(4) *IDEM*, c. 32. Hisdem temporibus *Odobagar* rex, sancto *Severino* familiares litteras dirigens, si qua speranda duceret, dabat simpliciter optionem, memor illius præfagii, quo cum expresserat quondam regnaturum. Tantis itaque, sanctus colloquiis invitatus, *Ambrosium* quendam exultantem rogat absolvi. Cujus *Odobagar* gratulabundus paruit imperatis.

† *MARCELLINUS* calls it *Castrum Lucullanum*: See his Words, not 1. This is the present *Castello d'Ovo*, near *Naples*.

(5). *ANONYMUS* a *VALESIO* editus: Superveniente *Odoacre*, cum gente *Schyrorum*, occidit *Orestium* in *Placentia*, & fratrem ejus *Paulum* ad *Pinetas*, foris classem *Ravennæ*. Ingrediens autem *Ravennam* deposuit augustum de regno, cujus infantia misertus, concessit ei sanguinem, & quia pulcher erat, donavit ei redditum 6000, solidos, & misit eum intra *Campaniam*, cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Etenim pater ejus *Orestes* *Pannotos*: qui eo tempore, quando *Attila* ad *Italiam* venit, se illi junxit, & ejus notarius factus fuerat. Unde profecit, & usque ad patriciatus dignitatem pervenit.

(6) Hence *Marcellinus* calls him *Rex Gothorum*: *Jornandes*, cap. 16. gives him the Title of *Turcilingorum* Rex. Others stile him, *Rex Herulorum*.

were

were oblig'd to fly to *Isauria*, his native Country (1). The *Gothick* Prince, *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius*, sided, in this Rebellion, with *Basiliscus*: But *Zeno*, the next Year, 477, made himself again Master of *Constantinople*, to which the Eminent Services of the other *Theodoric*, Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Pantalia*, did not a little contribute (2).

§ XXXV. *GENSERIC*, who in so long a Reign had acquir'd a *Genferic dies.* Renown superior to that of any Prince cotemporary with him, died at State of the last, in the Year 477, on the 25th of *January* (1). He was succeeded, Kingdom by *Hunoric*, his Son, whose Reign became remarkable, as well by the Cru- of the Van- elty he exercised in the Royal House (2), as by the Continuance of the dals. Persecution

§ XXXIV. I. MARCELLINUS, ZENONE, AUG. II. COS. Zeno imperator Verinæ socrus suæ, & Basilisci fratris ejus insidiis circumventus, cum Ariadne uxore sua profugus in Isauriam tendit. Regnum Zenonis Basiliscus tyrannus invasit.

(2). IDEM, BASILISCO & ARMATO COSS. The Anonymous *Writer publish'd by Valesius, mentions the Services Theodoric, on this Occasion, did for the Emperor.* At ubi ille (sc. Zeno) egressus est, mox Basiliscus, qui ei ut dictum est insidiabatur, arripuit imperium. Basiliscus imperavit annos II. Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem, NOVAM, in qua erat THEODERICUS DUX GOTHORUM, filius Valameris, & eum in solatium adversus Basiliscum objectans militem, post biennium veniens, obsidens civitatem Constantinopolim, &c. Pagius *observes, that this Author, as well as Malchus, confound Valamir with Theodimir.* Ennodius *greatly magnifies these Services, in the Panegyrick, which he afterwards spoke before Theodoric, when the latter reigned in Italy.* p. 295. Pulsa est exemplo principalis urbe reverentia, & in vacuum possessionem nullo adscitus sanguine tyrannus accessit, qui aula potitus, desinivit, postquam metu hostes suos debellaverat, nihil super-

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esse quod gereret. cum animos tuos sine annorum suffragio impulit lux naturæ, ne aut causa melior te coram posito subjaceret: aut non beneficium necessitatis tempore redderes, quod pacis acceperas. In ipsis congressionis tuæ foribus cessit inuasor, cum profugo per te sceptrum redderetur de salute dubitanti. Ventilemus historias, interrogentur annales. apud quos constitit, refusum exuli quem cruore suo rex genitus emerat, principatum? Castrensis gloria turmarum participatione dispergitur: nec ad unam referri potest, quod venerit collatione multorum. Singularis boni fructus est ambitionis refrænatio, illo maximo tempore, quo sine opinionis damno possis adquisita retinere. Par te, inclyte domine, laus respicit donati diadematis, & defensi. Site illarum rector partium non amavit, perculsus præfuit reipublicæ: si dilexit, obnoxius. usus es in eorum fide meritum teste purpurato.

§ XXXV. I. V. NORRISIUS in *historia Pelagiana*. L. 2. c. 21. add. RUINART in *historia persecutionis Vandalicæ*, p. 482.

(2). VICTOR L. 2. c. 5. p. 25. Desiderans post obitum suum filiis, quod non contigit, regnum statuere, Theodoricum fratrem, filiosque ejus, Gentonisque fratris nihilominus filios crudeliter cæpit insequi. Quorum

G g g g

nullum

Persecution of the *Orthodox-Christians*: But as his History must give Way to the Conclusion of another, we shall here only add some Observations on the Constitution of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*, and the Customs of that Nation. *Hunoric* stiled himself King of the *Vandals* and *Alani* (3); which latter had already been oblig'd, in *Spain*, to submit to the Dominion of the *Vandals*. As for the Disposition in the Royal Family, *Genferic* had appointed, that the eldest of his Male-Successors should always be Heirs to the Crown (4). The Mention we made before, of the Division of their Country (5), may serve to shew, that they were much more careful for preserving the Royal Power, than many modern Writers imagine (6). The Nation, of which, at the same Time, the Army consisted, was divided into Thousands (7), and each Thousand had its Comman-

nullum dimitteret, nisi ei mors desiderii sui voluntatem auferret. Primo sciens uxorem Theoderici fratris astutam, credo, ne forte maritum aut majorem filium, quia prudens & sapiens videbatur, consiliis acrioribus adversus tyrannum armaret, crimine imposito, gladio eam interfici jubet. Postquam occiditur & ille filius magnus litteris institutus, cui secundum constitutionem Geiserici, eo quod major omnibus esset, regnum inter nepotes potissimum debebatur. Accenditur, adhuc crudelius aliquid perpetrare. Adstante vulgo in media civitate pro gradibus plateæ novæ, episcopum suæ religionis, nomine Jocundum, quem patriarcham vocitabant, præcepit incendio concremari, ob hoc quod in domo Theoderici, germani regis, acceptissimus habebatur; cujus forte suffragio memorata domus regnum poterat obtinere. In quo impietatis scelere futurum nobis adesse prospeximus malum, aientes invicem singuli nobis: Qui in suo ita crudelis effectus est sacerdote, quando nostræ religioni, vel nobis parciturus est iste? tunc & Gentonis majorem filium, nomine Godagis, cum uxore, absque solatio servi aut ancillæ crudeli ex filio delegavit. Fratrem vero Theodericum, post occisionem uxoris, & filii, nudum atque destitutum, similiter relegavit. Post

cujus mortem filium qui supererat, infantulum duasque filias ejus adultas, impositas afinis longius affligendo projecit.

(3) VICTOR, L. 4. c. 2. produces the *Edit*, which Hunoric published against the Catholics. It is entitled thus: Rex Hunerix VANDALORUM & ALANORUM; universis populis regno nostro subjectis.

(4) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, L. 1. c. 7. Haud diu superstes Gizericus, grandævus decessit, condito testamento: quo præter alia multa illud Vandalis mandavit, ut regnum Vandalicum ei semper obveniret, qui per virilem stirpem recta serie propinquitatis Gizericum ipsum attingens, cognatos suos ætate præcurreret. Igitur Gizericus cum a capta Carthagine annos XXXIX. Vandalis imperasset, fato, ut diximus functus est. Jornandes likewise takes Notice of this Regulation, in the Passage quoted, L. 9. § 5. not. 4.

(5) See Book 9. § 19.

(6) MARINUS FRECCIA de subfeudis baronum, L. 1. p. 22. says of the Vandals: Non illis opinio erat bene regendi ac disponendi ordinem regis dignitatis: sed excoriandi, invadendi, atque prædandi.

(7) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, L. 1. c. 5. See above, L. 9. §. 5. n. 9.

der(8). The Account we have of their Arms, Garments, Laws and Punishments, agrees entirely with the Customs of those other *German Nations*, whose Descent is said to be from the *Vandalick Branch*. Among their Arms we find, besides the Sword and Bows (9), a particular Mention made of Battle-Axes (10). They retain'd their ancient Habits †, insomuch that even the *Romans*, who serv'd in the King's Court, were oblig'd to lay aside their *Roman Apparel*, and to dress like *Germans* (11). *Salvianus* says, in Praise of them, that their Laws were very severe in enforcing Chastity and Modesty (12), and that they did not imitate the Lasciviousness then in Vogue in *Africa* (13); but rather prohibited it even among single People,

(8) IDEM, IB. VICTOR, L. I. c. 10. Fuit autem hic Vandalus de illis, quos MILLENARIOS vocant.

(9) VICTOR, *De persecut. Vandalica*, L. I. c. 13. Intröeunt evaginati spatibus, arma corripunt: alii quoque tecta conscendunt, & per fenestras ecclesiæ sagittas spargunt.

(10) IDEM, L. I. c. 1. Ubi forte venerabilis aulæ clausas repererant portas, certatim iustibus dextralium, aditum reserabant.

† The following Words of Victor, L. I. c. 12. give us the same Idea of their Habits. De palliis altaris, pro nefas! camisas sibi, & femoralia faciebant.

(11) VICTOR, L. 2. c. 3. p. 24. Sugerunt regi de illo [*Eugenio episcopo*] ut suum nequaquam sederet thronum, neque ad dei populum verbum faceret consuetum. Deinde ut quoscunque mares vel fœminas in habitu barbarico incedentes in ecclesia conspiceret, prohiberet. Ille respondit ut decuit. Domus dei omnibus patet, intrantes nullus poterit repellere. Maxime quia ingens fuerat multitudo nostrorum catholicorum, in habitu illorum incedentium, ob hoc quod domui regiæ serviebant.

(12) SALVIANUS, L. 7. p. 137. Quid?

Hispanias nonne vel eadem majora forsitan vitia perdiderunt? quas quidem cœlestis ira etiam si aliis quibuslibet barbaris tradidisset, digna flagitiorum tormenta toleraverant puritatis inimici. Sed accessit hoc ad manifestandam illic impuditiæ damnationem, ut Wandalis potissimum, id est, pudicis barbaris traderentur. Dupliciter in illa Hispanorum captivitate ostendere deus voluit, quantum & odisset carnis libidinem & diligeret castitatem, cum & Wandalos, ob solam maxime pudicitiam superponeret, & Hispanos ob solam vel maxime impudicitiam subjugaret.

(13) IDEM. IBID, 154. Ingressos hæc loca Wandalos quis non putet omni se vitiorum atque impuritatum cœno immerfisse, aut, ut levissime dicam, saltem illa fecisse, quæ ab Afris jugiter facta fuerant, in quorum jura migrarant? Et certe si ea tantum, continentissimi ac modestissimi judicandi erant, quos non fecisset corruptiores ipsa felicitas. Quotus enim quisque sapientum est, quem secunda non mutant, cui non crescat cum prosperitate vitiositas? Ac per hoc temperatissimos fuisse Wandalos certum est, siquales illi fuerunt qui capti ac subjugati sunt, tales illi fuere victores. Igitur in tanta affluentia rerum atque luxuria nullus eo-

People, and look'd so narrowly into their Actions, that even the *Romans*, who liv'd among them, were oblig'd to be more circumspect (14). We find among the Punishments they inflicted, that, in certain Cases, the Hair of Men, as well as Women, were tore off their Heads, with a Kind of jagged

rum mollis effectus est. Num quid parum videtur; Certe familiariter etiam nobiles hoc fuere Romani. Sed quid adhuc addo? Nul- lus vel qui Romanorum illic mollium pollue- retur incestu? Certe hoc apud Romanos jam- pridem tale existimatum est, ut virtus potius putaretur esse quam vitium, & illi se magis virilis fortitudinis esse crederent, qui max- ime viros feminei usus probrositate fregissent. Unde etiam illud fuit, quod lixis puerorum quondam exercitus prosequentibus, hæc quasi bene meritis expeditionibus stipendia laboris decernebantur, ut quia viri fortes es- sent, viros in mulieres demutarent. Proh ne- fas! et hoc Romani. Plus addo, & hoc Ro- mani non hujus temporis: attamen ne ve- teres accusemus, Romani, sed non antiqui, jam scilicet corrupti, jam dissoluti, jam sibi & suis dispares, & Græcis quam Romanis similiores. Ut (quod sæpe jam diximus) mi- nime mirum sit, si Romana respublica ali- quando patitur, quod jam dudum meretur. Hæc ergo impuritas in Romanis & ante Christi evangelium esse cœpit, & quod est gravius, nec post evangelia cessavit. Et quis post hæc non admiretur populos Wan- dalorum, qui ingressi urbes opulentissimas ubi hæc omnia passim agebantur, ita deli- tias corruptorum hominum indepti sunt, quod corruptelas morum repudiarunt, & usum bonarum rerum possident, malarum inquinamenta vitantes. Sufficere igitur ad laudem eorum hæc possunt, etiamsi alia non dicam: abominati enim sunt virorum im- puritates. Plus adhuc addo: abominati e-

tiam feminarum, horruerunt lustra ac lupa- naria, horruerunt concubitus contactusque meretricum.

(14) IDEM IB. p. 157. Diximus quippe, p'enas fuisse impuritatibus monstruosis A- fricæ civitates, & præcipue illi reginam & quasi dominam, Wandalos autem iis omni- bus non fuisse pollutos. Non tales ergo isti, de quibus loquimur barbari ad emen- dandam nostrarum turpitudinum labem ex- titerunt. Abstulerunt enim de omni Africa sordes virorum mollium, contagiones etiam horruerunt meretricum; nec horruerunt tan- tum, aut temporarie summovertunt, sed pe- nitus jam non esse fecerunt. O pie domine, o salvator bone, quantum efficiunt per te studia disciplinæ, per quæ mutari possunt vitia naturæ, sicut ab illis scilicet immutata sunt. At quomodo immutata? Interest e- nim, non solum effectus rerum, sed etiam effectuum causas dicere. Difficile est quippe, impudicitiam verbo aut jussione tolli, nisi fu- erit ablata; & difficile est, pudicitiam ver- bo exigere, nisi fuerit exacta. Quod isti uti- que scientes, sic impudicitiam summove- runt, quod impudicas conservaverunt; non interficientes mulierculas infelices, ne vitio- rum curam crudelitate respergerent, & dum peccata auferre cuperent, ipsi in peccatorum refecatione peccarent. Sed ita errantes e- mendaverunt, ut factum eorum medicina esset, poena non esset, jusserunt siquidem & compulerunt omnes ad maritalem tho- rum transire meretrices, scorta in connubia conver-

ged Club (15). The same Punishment is prescrib'd in the Laws of the *Burgundians* and *Franks*, and gave Rise to the *German* proverbial Expression, *an Haut und Haare kommen* (to come to Skin and Hair), or to touch to the Quick.

§ XXXVI. *HUNORIC* renew'd the Peace with *Zeno* (1) the Empe- *Hunoric re-*
ror, and was so far prevail'd on, by the Intercession of that Prince, and of news the
Placidia, the Emperor *Olybrius's* Widow, as to permit the Church of *Peace with*
Carthage *the Roman* Empire.

converterunt; implentes scilicet Apostoli dictum atque mandatum, ut & unaquæque mulier virum haberet suum, & unusquisque vir conjugem suam; ut, quia cohiberi incontinentia sine hac carnalis usus permixtione non posset, ita legitimum usum calor corporalis acciperet, ut peccatum incontinentia non haberet. In quo quidem non id tantummodo provisum est, ut viros foeminae haberent, quæ sine viris esse non possent, sed etiam, ut per conservatores domesticos salvæ essent quæ seipsas fervare nescirent; & adhærentes jugiter gubernaculo maritali, etiamsi ad improbum eas facinus consuetudo anteaetæ impuritatis inliceret conjugalis tamen custodia ab improbitate prohiberet. Ad-diderunt quoque hoc ad libidinem comprimendam: severas pudicitiae sanctiones, decretorum gladio impudicitiam coërcentes; ut puritatem scilicet utriusque sexus, & domi conubii reservaret affectus, & in publico metus legum; ac sic duplici præsidio castimonia niteretur, cum & intus esset quod amaretur, & foris quod timeretur. Leges autem ipsæ nequaquam illis sunt legibus consentaneæ, quæ ita partem improbitatis remonent, ut partem obscœnitatis admittant; aut ut Romana illa decreta, quæ scortatores quidem ab alienis uxoribus removerunt, ad omnes autem solitarias passim admiserunt, adulteria vetantes, lupanaria ædificantes. Ti-

muerunt videlicet, ne nimis casti homines ac puri essent, si ab omni eos penitus impuritate prohiberent. At non ita isti de quibus loquimur: qui sic inhibuerunt scorta ut adulteria; qui & feminas nullis esse volunt feminas, nisi maritis suis; & viros nullis volunt mulieribus esse masculos, nisi uxoribus suis; qui evagari obscœnas libidines extra legitimum thorum non sinunt; leges suas scilicet ad divinæ legis regulam dirigentes, ut nihil sibi in hac re crederent licere, quod deus voluit non licere.

(15) VICTOR, *L. 2. c. 4.* At ubi ab homine dei tale responsum accepit, statuit in portis ecclesiæ collocari tortores: qui videntes foeminam, vel masculum in specie suæ gentis ambulantes, ilico palis minoribus dentatis jactis in capite, crinibusque in eisdem colligatis, ac vehementius stringentes simul cum capillis omnem pelliculam capitis auferebant. Nonnulli autem, dum hoc fieret, statim oculos amiserunt, alii ipso dolore defuncti sunt. Mulieres vero post hanc poenam, capitibus pelle nudatis, præcone præeunte per plateas, ad ostensionem totius civitatis ducebantur.

§ XXXVI. (1) MALCHUS, *p. 95.* Eodem quoque anno legati a Carthagine Bizantium venire, quos Alexander, uxoris Alliaris [*l. Olybrii*] procurator ducebat, qui jam olim a Zenone, Placidia consentiente, eo.

Carthage, again to chuse a Bishop (2). *Zeno* was indeed, by Virtue of this Peace, in no Danger on the Part of the *Vandals*; but it involv'd him in the more Broils with the *Goths*. *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius*, even approach'd *Constantinople*, the Capital, in the Year 481; but died soon after (3). The other *Theodoric* was indeed likewise several Times at Variance with the Court (4); but was reconcil'd, and prov'd so serviceable, that he was created *Patricius*, and, in the Year 484, even promoted to the Consulship (5).

Zeno endeavours to relieve the Western Empire.

§ XXXVII. *ZENO*, after having, in some Measure, restor'd the Empire in the *East*, was at Leisure to consider the State of the *West*. *Odoacer's* Interest in the Senat was such, that they sent an Ambassy from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, to congratulate *Zeno* on the Recovery of his Dignity, and at the same Time to remonstrate, that it was needless for *Italy* to be govern'd by a separate Emperor, but that it might very well be under the Administration of the Court of *Constantinople*; that they had all plac'd their Confidence in *Odoacer*, and therefore begg'd, the Emperor would nominate him *Patricius*, and entrust *Italy*, and the other Countries appertaining thereto, to his Management (1). The Troops in *Gaul*, on the other Hand,

eo missus fuerat. Dicebant vero legati, Honorichum velle cum imperatore sine fraude amicitiam contrahere, neque vero ista, quæ in speciem dici videbantur, quia magnam belli suspicionem dederat, a verisimilitudine abhorrebant. Etenim a morte Genferici in omnem mollitiem devenerant, neque amplius sollicitudini aut timori Romæ erant. Neque exercitus alere continuarent, quos Genfericus ad omnes occasiones instructos habebat, ut semper celeritate exequendi aliorum consilia præveniret, & interverteret. Legatos *Zeno* liberaliter accepit, & honore debito est prosecutus, & muneribus pro merito ornatos dimisit & Alexandrum comitem privatarum rerum fecit. Pagius places
this in the Year 480, ad A. 480. n. 3.

(2) Conf. Pagius, ad A. 480. n. 2.

(3) MARCELLINUS in Chronico, Placido solo Cos. (481). Theodoricus Triarii filius rex Gothorum, adscitis suis usque ad Anaplum, quarto urbis milliario advenit: nulli tamen Romanorum noxius, continuo reversus est.

Porro in Illyricum properans, dum inter suorum moventia plaustra progreditur, jacentis super carpentum teli acumine, & pavescentis equi sui impulsione, fixus transverberatusque interiit.

(4) IDEM, in chronico, Zenone III. Cos. (479.) Sabinianus magnus Illyricianæ utriusque militiæ ductor creatus, curiam fragilem, collapsamque justum reipublicæ censum, vel præpaventem fovit, vel dependentem tutatus est. Disciplinæ præterea militaris ita optimus institutor coercitorque fuit, ut priscis Romanorum ductoribus comparetur. Theodoricum idem Sabinianus regem, apud Græciam debacchantem, ingenio magis quam virtute deterruit.

(5) IDEM, FAUSTO Cos. (483). Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum Zenonis augusti munificentis pene pacatus, magisterque præsentis militiæ factus, consul quoque designatus.

§ XXXVII. (1) MALCH. p. 93. C. Augustus

Hand, with the Countries and People still belonging to the *Roman Empire*, were in continual Hopes, that *Julius Nepos* would recover himself, and they, as well as he, implor'd the Emperor *Zeno's* Assistance (2). *Zeno* could not well refuse his Aid to *Julius Nepos*, since the latter had been made Emperor by *Lco*. He had himself met with almost the same Fate, *Nepos* now suffer'd; which generally excites, in Persons of all Ranks, a Kind of Love and Compassion. He therefore gave good Hopes to *Nepos's* Ambassadors, and returned this Answer to the *Roman* Senators; that during the Life of *Julius Nepos*, their lawful Emperor, they must act consistently with the Obedience due to him. He very civilly told *Odoacer*, that he must apply for the *Patriciat* to the Emperor *Nepos*, who would not refuse it him; that he hoped, at the same Time, he would then not only imitate the Manners of the *Romans*, but sincere-

gustus Orestis filius, ut audivit, Zenonem iterum orientis imperium, expulso Basilisco, recuperasse, senatum veteris Romæ legationem ad Zenonem mittere coëgit, quæ illi significaret, urbem proprio imperatore non indigere. Unum quidem imperatorem, sed communiter illi utriusque imperii fines tutandos esse, Odoacrum sibi propositum assumisse idoneum, qui salvas res faceret. Ille enim & scientia reipublicæ administrandæ & rei militaris peritia præstat. Itaque orare, ut illum Zeno patriciatus dignitate ornaret, & Italicam diocesin regendam committeret. Profecti sunt igitur ex senatu veteris Romæ viri, qui hos sermones Byzantium deferrent.

(2) IDEM, p. 93. D. Iisdem diebus venerunt & a Nepote nuncii, qui Zenoni restitutum imperium gratularentur, & ipsum obtestarentur, cum easdem calamitates, quas Nepos expertus esset, ut omni opera & studio illum in recipiendo imperio prompto & alacri animo adjuvaret: & pecunias & exercitus, & alia quæ opus forent, suppeditaret, quod illi reditum ad pristinam fortunam elaboraret & conficeret. Hæc qui di-

cerent Nepos misit. Candidus, p. 19. C. mentions the Ambassy sent by the Gauls.

(3) IDEM, p. 94. A. At Zeno his qui venerant, hæc responsa dedit. Et senatoribus, illos ex duobus, qui ab oriente imperium susceperant, unum expulisse, & Anthemium occidisse. Nunc quid sibi factu opus esset, illos dixit perspicere. Imperatore enim superstitite non aliam debere valere sententiam, quam illum amplecti & adhærere. Ad ea vero, quæ barbarus nunciarat, recte & juste facturum, si a Nepote imperatore Odoacer patriciatus dignitatem susciperet. Eam illi missurum, nisi Nepos præveniret. Hortari, simul atque eam adeptus fuerit, ut cultum Romanis convenientem assumat & usurpet. Se quoque confidere fore, ut imperatorem, qui illum hoc honore affecerit, siquidem iusta facere voluerit, observet & colat. Sed tamen in litteris regiis, quibus Odoacro eam dignitatem mittere renuit, eum patricium nominavit. Quæ Zeno cum Nepoti studebat, ex suis, Nepotis malorum commiseratione duci, & proprio casu communi hominum casu ingemiscere edoctus, faciebat. Eo quoque illum impulit Verina, quæ Nepotis uxori, cujus erat consanguinea, favebat.

ly promote the Interests of the Empire. He stil'd him however, as it were beforehand, *Patricius*, in that very Letter.

Odoacer's
Govern-
ment. Ex-
tinction of
the Imperial
Title in the
West.

§ XXXVIII. *JULIUS NEPOS* lost his Life soon after : *Odoacer* was therefore freed from the Opposition he fear'd from his Side (1). With the Death of *Nepos*, the Imperial Title in the *West* became properly extinct; and this Empire at last underwent the same Fate which all terrestrial Things are subject to. *Odoacer* indeed declin'd the Imperial Title; but govern'd nevertheless as absolutely in *Italy* as if he had assum'd it. Such Devastations had already been made in this Country, that some Provinces were almost wholly depopulated (2). *Rome* had herself suffer'd as much, and perhaps more, by the intestine Wars between *Anthemius* and *Ricimer*, than by the *Goths* and *Vandals* (3). *Odoacer* endeavour'd now to render his Government as agreeable as possible to the Publick. *Baronius* says, in Praise of him, that tho' he was of the *Arian* Sect, yet he never persecuted those who were of the *Roman* Church (4): And *Ennodius* relates, that he exempted the City of *Pavia* from Taxes, for five Years, at the Intercession of *Epiphanius*, their Bishop (5). *Genseric* likewise allow'd him, at first, on certain Conditions, the quiet Possession of *Sicily* (6).

The History
of the
Franks re-
sumed.

§ XXXIX. THE *Vandals*, *Goths*, and *Suevi*, had, for some Time, so employed the *Roman* Historians, that they could hardly so much as think of the *Franks*. *Germany* was, indeed, still the proper Seat of

§ XXXVIII. (1) MARCELLINUS in *chron. ad consulatum* Basilii. *Nepos*, quem dudum *Orestes* imperio abdicaverat, Viatoris & *Ovidæ* comitum suorum infidiis, haud longe a *Salonis*, sua in villa occisus est.

(2) GELASIUS *papa adversus Andromachum senatorem* : apud *Baronium*, ad *A.* 496. n. 36. Quid *Tuscia*, quid *Æmelia*; cæteræque provinciæ, in quibus hominum prope nullus existit: ut bellica necessitate consumerentur, *Lupercaliorum* fecit offensio, quæ longe ante vastatæ sunt, quam *Lupercalia* tollerentur?

(3) IDEM, *l. c.* n. 42. Num quid *Lupercalia* deerant, cum urbem *Alaricus* ever-

tit? & nuper cum *Anthemii* & *Ricimeris* CIVILI FURORE SUBVERSA EST, ubi sunt *Lupercalia*? cur istis non profuerunt?

(4) BARONIUS ad *A.* 476. n. 11.

(5) ENNODIUS, p. 389. Nam directâ legatione ad *Odoacrem*, quinquennii vacationem fiscalium tributorum impetravit.

(6) VICTOR VITENSIS, *L. i. c. 4.* *Siciliam* *Odoacro* *Italiæ* regi, postmodum tributario jure concessit, ex qua ei *Odoacer* singulis quibusque temporibus, ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam tamen sibi reservans partem.

their

their Power; where, on the right Banks of the *Rhine*, they now not only possessed the *Insula Batavorum*, but likewise the Countries about the *Lippe*, *Roer*, *Sieg*, and *Lane*. We observed before (1), that under *Clodio* they gained a sure Footing in *Germania secunda* and *Belgica secunda*, and, in particular, that the City of *Cologne* remained in the Hands of the *Franks*; that *Clodio* had taken *Cambray*, and subjected to his Dominion all the Country as far as the *Somme*. These Conquests they seem to have retained, and thereby to have been induced to engage in those Treaties with the *Wisi-Goths*, which we mentioned above (2). *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in a Poem, address'd to the Emperor *Majorianus*, gives them the Dominion of both Sides of the *Waal* (3); and, in a Letter to *Arbogastes*, Count of *Triers*, a Successor of the famous General of that Name, he complains, that the *Roman* Language and Laws were quite lost on the *Rhine* (4). Thus we have continued the Series of the first Kings of the *Franks*, as well as our Materials would admit, down to *Meroveus* (5). This Prince is said to have died in the Year 456 (6). *Gregorius* gives many Romantick Stories of *Childeric*, his Son, which *F. Daniel* sufficiently proves to be groundless (7). A much more authentic Monument of this King was found in the Year 1653, when his Sepulcher was accidentally discover'd in the City of *Tournay*, at a Place which is indeed, at present, within the Wall, but was, probably, in the

§ XXXIX. (1) See above, Book 9. § 21.

(2) See above, § 17.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLL. carmine 13. ad Majorianum augustum, v. 30.

Sic RIPÆ DUPLICIS tumore
fractō

Detonsus VACALIM bibat Sicamber.

(4) IDEM, L. 4. ep. 17. Sic barbarorum familiaris, quod tamen nescius barbarismorum. par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque;

fed quorum dextera solebat non stylum minus tractare, quam gladium. Quocirca sermonis pompa Romani, si qua adhuc uspiam est, Belgicis olim sive Rhenanis abolita terris, in te refedit: quo vel incolumi, vel perorante, etsi apud limitem ipsum Latina jura ceciderunt, verba non titubant.

(5) See L. 9. § 29.

(6) See PAGIUS, ad A. 456. n. 8.

(7) In the Preface to his histoire de France, p. 75.

open Field formerly (8). But *Clovis*, or *Lewis*, his Son, was the first who truly exalted the Name of the *Franks*, and founded that Monarchy, under which *Gaul* and the People of *Magna Germania* were united: His Reign therefore opens a fresh Period in the *German History*.

The State
of the Ger-
man Nati-
ons at the
Conclusion
of this Pe-
riod.

§ XL. THE Series of the Kings of the *Franks* may therefore, in the Sequel, serve for a Foundation to the *German History*; and from thence properly flow that of the *Alemanni*, *Bavarians*, *Frisii*, *Saxons* and *Thuringians*, whom we left all in *Germania Magna*. In the mean Time, as we make a Pause at the Downfall of the *Roman Empire*, let us once more look back on the *Germans*, who were dispers'd in the Dominions formerly thereunto belonging. *Odoacer* was Master of *Italy*, together with the Provinces on this Side of the *Alps*, which were accounted a Part thereof, and the Island of *Sicily*. *Theodoric*, in the mean While, waited, in *Illyricum*, for an Opportunity of depriving him of those Dominions. That Spirit and Industry, to which *Genferic* ow'd his Rise, begun, by Degrees, to slacken in the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, under the Reign of *Hunoric*. The *Saxons* remain'd Masters of the Southern Part of the Island of *Britain*. *Gallicia* and *Lusitania* was inhabited by the *Suevi*. The remaining Part of *Spain*, and those Countries in *Gaul*, which reach from the *Pyrenees* as far as the *Loire* and the *Rhone*, were in the Possession of the *Wisi-Goths*. Adjacent to these, we find the Kingdom of the *Burgundians* flourishing in the Countries, situate on the other Side of the *Rhone*, and about the Rivers *Isere* and *Durance* (1). The other Part of *Gaul* was partly inhabited by the fugitive *Britons*, who fix'd their Habitation, on that Coast, which from them received the Name of *Bretagne*; partly by the *Franks* on the *Waal*, and in *Belgica Secunda*. Those Troops and States which 'till then acknowledged the *Roman* Dominion and Name, were, by Reason of the Fluctuation of the Affairs of

(8) V. CHIFLETII *anastasis Childerici*.
Mabillon *sur les anciennes sepultures des rois de*
France, p. 375.

§ XL. (1) See above, § 15. n. 4.

the Empire, dubious which Party to declare for, 'till they were reliev'd from this Uncertainty by the Valour of *Clovis*.

§ XLI. FROM the Histories of these new Kingdoms, we may form ^{Reflections} some Idea of the yet more ancient Migrations of the Nations, recorded ^{on the} in History. To conclude, let us here add some Reflexions on the Cir- ^{Foundation} cumstances, that promoted the Establishment of these States, and on ^{of the} the Consequences of those Revolutions. As to the former, all ancient ^{German} *Christian* Writers have therein acknowledg'd the Hand of Providence; ^{Kingdoms} but some modern Authors proceed too rashly, and have attempted to ^{in the Ro-} prove the particular Causes of each Event, by which they have ma- ^{man Pro-} nifestly involv'd themselves in many absurd Contradictions. The Cir- ^{vinces :} cumstances however, a Connection of which was here subservient to the Views of Heaven, appear, partly, on the Side of the *Germans*, and partly on that of the *Roman* Empire. History has hitherto suffici-
ently shewn, how inexhaustible the Number of the *Germans* was, and how great was their Propensity to War, and their Valour. Their natural Vigour, their Education, and their whole Method of Life, turn'd their Genius that Way. They were, besides, often drawn into the Field, by Necessity; and, as Liberty frequently infuses and supports magnanimous Resolutions, so were they often excited thereto by a Thirst after Glory. What was there then, that such a People could not perform, whose Number of Soldiers equall'd that of their Men, and whose Temerity bid Defiance, even to Death (1)? As their Wives and Children follow'd them to the Camp, an Army might, wherever it pitch'd its Tents, immediately form a new Nation, and the Prince, by whom it was commanded, establish a separate Kingdom. By their many Wars, they, at the same Time, acquir'd a Knowledge of the Art of War, and of the Advantages thence arising; so that they learned not only to conquer, but likewise to maintain their Conquests (2). The *Romans*, on

§ XLI. (1) See above, L. 2. § 37.

(2) Conf. L. 9. § 49.

the other Hand, who had lost the Affection of the Inhabitants of their Provinces, without which no Army is capable of protecting a State, were now made sensible of those Chaſtisements which Injuſtice, at Length, brings upon itſelf, and combines in revenging the ſo long contemptuouſly diſregarded Groans of the Subject. Their Earneſtneſs for War was ſo ſtrangely vaniſh'd, that one might with Reaſon have ask'd, where are now thoſe *Romans*, who formerly conquer'd great Part of the World? Many of the brighteſt Genius's devoted themſelves to the Church; many others choſe rather to ſpend, in Indolence, the Riches, amafs'd by their Anceſtors. The Debility of the Government, under *Honorius* and *Valentinian*, III; the frequent Revolutions after the Death of the latter; the mutual Jealouſies of the Nations, which appear'd on thoſe Occaſions; the bad Underſtanding with the *Grecian* Court, and the Diſſentions among the Great, haſtned, at laſt, the Subverſion of the Empire; which appears the leſs ſurprizing in Hiſtory, as it had been long foreſeen. The Countries themſelves experienc'd, at Length, the Advantages they gain'd by their new Maſters. The external good Appearance of the Conquerors gain'd them a Confidence, which their Manners prov'd afterwards not to have been miſplac'd. *Salvianus* declares frankly to the *Romans*, that the *Germans* were, in many Reſpects, more virtuous, than they (3); and that the Subjects were happier under their Dominion,

(3) *SALVIANUS* takes frequent Notice of this; and, particularly, p. 88. Porro autem quantum ad conversationem Gothorum aut Wandalorum pertinet, quid est in quo eis aut præponere nos aut etiam comparare possimus? Ac primum ut de affectu & caritate dicam, (quam præcipuam dominus docet esse virtutem, & quam non solum per omnes scripturas sacras, sed etiam, per se ipse commendat, dicens: In hoc sciatur quod discipuli mei estis, si vos invicem diligatis,) omnes se fere barbari, qui modo sunt unius gentis & regis, mutuo amant, omnes pene Romani se mutuo persequuntur. Quis enim civis non invidet civi? quis plenam vicino exhibet caritatem? omnes quippe a se, etsi loco non absunt, affectu absunt; etsi habitatione junguntur, mente disjuncti sunt.

than

than under that of the *Romans* (4), and therefore desir'd never to fall into their Hands again (5).

§ XLII. Now, as the Inhabitants of *Italy, Gaul and Spain*, after being united with these Aliens, and become one People, changed, in some Measure, by that Mixture, their Blood and Temper; so likewise it happen'd in their Constitution, Laws, Arms, Languages, Apparel and Manners. The frequent Revolutions had brought many Calamities upon the *Roman* Provinces. If eminent Services had sometimes pay'd the Way to the *Imperial* Throne, or at least to Stations, which even Kings condescended to; the *Germans*, on the other Hand, now introduc'd a Liberty, which the whole Nation enjoy'd. Hence it was, that Kings sought Advice in their national Conventions; and the Bishops, who, at this Time, took a considerable Share in the Management of the Affairs of State, had the first Vote in those Conventions. The Veneration, which the *Germans* paid their *Pagan* Priests, caus'd them the more readily to allow

And on the
Revolutions
ther-by
caus'd in
Europe.

(4) IDEM, p. 90. Inter hæc vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculcantur, in tantum, ut multi eorum & non obscuris natalibus editi, & liberaliter instituti, ad hostes fugiant, ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur; quærentes scilicet apud barbaros Romanam humanitatem, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his ad quos confugiunt discrepent ritu, discrepent lingua, ipso etiam, ut ita dicam, corporum atque induviarum barbaricarum sœdore dissentiant, malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem, quam in Romanis injustitiam sævientem.

(5) IDEM, p. 95. Ubi enim, aut in qui-

bus sunt, nisi in Romanis tantum, hæc mala? quorum injustitia tanta, nisi nostra? Franci enim hoc scelus nesciunt. Chuni ab his sceleribus immunes sunt. Nihil horum est apud Wandalos, nihil horum apud Gothos. Tam longe enim est, ut hæc inter Gothos barbari tolerant, ut ne Romani quidem, qui inter eos vivunt, ista patiantur. Itaque unum illic Romanorum omnium votum est, ne unquam eos necesse sit in jus transire Romanorum. Una & consentiens illic Romanæ plebis oratio, ut liceat eis vitam quam agunt agere cum barbaris. Et miramur, si non vincuntur a nostris partibus Gothi, cum malint apud eos esse quam apud

allow the same Prerogatives to the *Christian* Teachers. As they were not fond of living in Cities, being unaccustom'd to the mechanick Arts and Trade practis'd in them, and were oblig'd to be always in a Readiness to support their Conquests; they left most of the Cities to their former Inhabitants, and even confirm'd their Constitutions, appointing only certain Counts, or other Officers, to keep them in Subjection. They themselves remain'd in the Field, and divided the Lands in Proportion to the Services, each Possessor was to perform. This, their Regulation, gave Rise to Feodal Tenures; to the Creation of Nobles; to Orders of Knight-hood; to military Exercises and Turnaments; all which Things differ'd widely from the Customs of the ancient *Romans*. They long preserved their Language, as well as their Manners and Apparel, and those *Romans*, who hoped to make their Fortunes among the *Germans*, were forc'd to conform thereunto (1). Wherever they exceeded the ancient Inhabitants in Number, there their Language, likewise, prevail'd, as the *Anglo-Saxon*, for Instance, in *Britain*, and that of the *Franks* in *Belgica*: But in other Countries, where the Number of the Conquerors was inferior to that of the conquer'd there the former accustom'd themselves in Time to the Language of the Country; but at the same Time intermix'd much of the Idiom, and many Words of their own. Thus *Altrede* acknowledges (2), that the *Spanish* Tongue was, in some Measure, corrupted by the *Germans*, especially the *Goths*, but not so greatly, as afterwards by the *Saracens*. The Case was the

apud nos Romani. Itaque non solum transfugere ab eis ad nos fratres nostri omnino nolunt; sed ut ad eos confugiant; nos relinquunt. Et quidem mirari possum quod hoc non omnes omnino facerent tributarii pauperes & egestuosi, nisi quod una tantum causa est quare non faciunt, quia transferre

illuc resculas atque habitatiunculas suas, familiasque non possunt.

§ XLII. (1) See, for Instance, what we observ'd before of the Burgundians, § XXII. and of the Vandals, § XXXV.

(2) ALTREDE, c. II. p. 66.

same with Regard to the *French* and *Italian* Tongues. Their Laws underwent almost the like Change; in some Countries those of the *Germans* only took Place, in others, the ancient Inhabitants retain'd indeed the *Roman* Laws, but those were, in many Respects, oblig'd to give Way to the *German* Customs. The *Roman* Dress was almost entirely changed for theirs. But, what is most surprizing, their military Art was preferr'd to that of the *Romans*, as well with Regard to the Regulation of their Armies, as to their Manner of fighting and their Arms: And the Origin of the present Art of War is, in many Respects, to be found, in the ancient Wars of the *Germans*.

The End of the first VOLUME.



to the Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. in relation to the matter of the proposed sale of the land in the State of California, and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
[Signature]

A N

I N D E X,

Explaining the principal PROPER NAMES of
PERSONS, PLACES and THINGS, con-
tain'd in the First VOLUME.

N B. THIS *Index*, tho' not in the Original, I thought a very necessary Addition to such a Work as the preceding History; without which it would be impossible for a Reader, who is not already perfectly vers'd in Antiquity, History, and Geography, to form a clear Idea of many Things contain'd in it; and therefore would not omit it, tho' it has been collected with an infinite Labour. The Reader must not, however, expect to find in it an Explanation of every proper Name he will meet with in the Work itself; that would have furnish'd a Volume alone: I have been oblig'd to confine myself to the principal and most remarkable. As to the Names of Places and Nations, I have, nevertheless, omitted very few, or perhaps none of any Note; and for the former, I have given a short Description of those more modern Places, by the Names of which I have explain'd those of the Ancients: But for Persons, it would have been endless to have inserted the Names of the *Roman* Consuls, and other Magistrates and Officers; and the same of the *German* Chiefs, and of Authors that are but seldom quoted: I have, therefore, of the former, only inserted such as are remarkable for some extraordinary Action; and, of the latter, only taken Notice of those that are frequently mention'd, or are most consulted. I have sometimes given Place, in this Index, to Proper Names, which are actually explain'd in the Work itself; and I have thought it highly necessary so to do, where the same Names frequently occur, in different Parts of it, tho' generally but once explain'd.

A

ABARITANA, a Province of
Africa.

ABOTRITES }
ABOTRITI }

A People of *Dacia*, who
were likewise called *Pre-*
dene centri.

ABGANDESTRUS, a Prince of the *Catti*.

ACHAIA, sometimes taken for all *Greece*; sometimes for a Part of it only, in *Pe-loponnesus*.

ACIMINICUM, by some supposed to be *Salankemen*, a little Town in *Upper-Hungary*, on the *Danube*, near *Belgrad*.

ACQUITAIN, the third Part of *Ancient Gaul*, now containing *Guienne*, *Gascony*, &c.

ACQUITANI, the People of that Country.

ACRUMAR, a Prince of the *Catti*.

ACTIUM, a Promontory of *Epirus*, now call'd the *Cape of Figalo*, famous for a Naval Victory gain'd near it, by *Augustus*, over *M. Anthony*.

ADDA, a River that arises in the *Alps*, and parting the Duchy of *Milan*, from the State of *Venice*, falls into the *Po*, above *Cremona*.

ADGANDESTER, a Prince of the *Catti*.

ADIGE, a River of *Gallia Cisalpina*, (now *Italy*) which has its Source in the Mountains, on the Borders of *Tyrol*, and falls into the Sea near the *Po*, in the *Adriatick Gulph*.

ADRANA } a River in *Hesse*, which falls
ADRANUS } into the *Fuld*, about six
Miles from *Cassel*.

ADRIAN, the fifteenth *Roman* Emperor, the Successor of *Trajan*, a great Favourer of Learning.

ADRIANOPE, (by the *Turks* call'd *Endren*) a City in *Thrace*, on the River *Hebrus*; sometime the Seat of the *Turkish* Empire.

ADRIATICK-SEA (or *Gulph*) the *Gulph* of *Venice*, at the Bottom of which that City is situate.

ADUATICA, v. *Atuatica*.

ADUATICI, v. *Atuatici*.

ÆDUI, a People of *Gaul*, near *Autun*, in the Country now call'd *Lower Burgundy*.

ÆGEAN Sea, a Part of the *Mediterranean*, which lies between *Greece*, *Asia-Minor*, and the Isle of *Crete*.

ÆMILIA (*Æmilia Via*) a *Roman* Road in

Italy, from *Rimini* to *Aquileia*, and from *Pisa* to *Dertona*.

ÆMILIANUS, a *Moor* by Birth, proclaim'd Emperor, by the Army, in *Pannonia*, but three Months after kill'd by the same Army: He was, however reckon'd the 32d *Roman* Emperor.

ÆNOBARDUS, v. *Domitius*.

ÆRA (*Roman*) the Period from which the *Romans* reckon'd; viz. the Building of *Rome*.

ÆSTII, an ancient *Northern* Nation, that inhabited the Coasts of the *East-Sea*, particularly a Part of *Prussia*, *Curland*, and *Livonia*.

ÆTIUS, a *Roman* Consul, a Nobleman of *Rome*, slain by *Valentinian*.

AGANARIC, a Prince of the *Alemanni*, v. *Serapio*.

AGATHIAS, a *Greek* Poet and Historian, in the 6th Century.

AGRARIÆ, v. *Leges*.

AGRI DECUMATES, certain Fields in *Germany*, in or about the Duchy of *Wittemberg*; or, in general, such Lands as the *Romans* tax'd a tenth Part of their Produce, particularly the *Limites*.

AGRIPPA, Son-in-Law of *Augustus*, a victorious Prince.

AGRIPPINA, the Daughter of *Germanicus*, Wife of *Domitius* and *Claudius*, and Mother of *Nero*: Also another of the same Name, the Mother of this, and Wife of *Germanicus*.

AHENOBARBUS, v. *Domitius*.

AISNE, v. *Affona*.

AIX, a City in *Provence*, anciently in *Gallia Narbonensis*.

ALANI, a warlike People of the ancient *Scythians*, near the Lake *Mæotis*, in *Muscovy*.

ALARIC, a Prince of the *Heruli*.

ALARIC, a King of the *Suevi*, about the Middle of the 5th Century.

ALARIC, a Native of the Island of *Peuce*, and King of the *Wisi-Goths*, who took *Rome* about the Year 410.

ALAVIUS, a Prince of the *Goths*, by some call'd King.

ALBIS, v. *Elb*.

ALBINUS (*Claudius*) proclaimed Roman Emperor, by the Army in *Gaul*, at the same Time that *Julian Didius* was by the Senat, and *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*, but could not support that Dignity.

ALEMANNI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, who inhabited between the *Mayn*, the *Rhine*, and the *Danube*, and from whom the *French* call all the *Germans* so. They took their Rise from the *Suevi*, who remained after *Maraboduus's* Retreat, mixt with Strolers of all Nations.

ALEMANNIA, the Country inhabited by that People.

ALEXANDER *Severus*, the 25th Roman Emperor, who, by his Virtue and Prudence, very much restored the then disorder'd State of *Rome*.

ALEXANDRIA, a famous City of *Egypt*, built by *Alexander*, the Great, 330 Years before *Christ*.

ALISO, by some suppos'd to be the Town now call'd *Iselburg*; or, according to *Junius*, *Wesel*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*; but more probably *Elsen*, v. *Elsen*.

ALLECTUS, an Usurper of the Imperial Dignity in *Britain*, after the Murder of *Carausius*.

ALLOBROGES, an ancient People of *Gallia Transalpina*, who inhabited that Country, which is now call'd the *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*.

ALPS, a Ridge of High Mountains, which separate *France* and *Germany* from *Italy*.

ALPS (the *Cottian*, or *Cottiaæ Alpes*) that Part of them which separate the *Dauphiny* from *Piedmont*.

ALRUNES } certain Sorceresses among the
ALRUNÆ } *Goths*.

ALSATIA, a Province of *Germany*, in the Upper Circle of the *Rhine*, divided into three Parts; *Alsatia Proper*, and the

Upper and *Lower Alsatia*, which two latter, were yielded to *France* by the Peace of *Munster*.

ALTINGIUS, a noted Burghermaster of *Groningen*, in the seventeenth Century, who, among other Works, publish'd a *Notitia Germaniæ Inferioris*.

ALTINUM, an ancient City of *Italy*, within the State of *Venice*, long since in Ruins.

AMALI, a Royal Family among the *Ostro-Goths*.

AMASIA }
AMASIUS } v. *Ems*.

AMAZONS, a Warlike People of *Scythia*, who are said to have cut off their Right Breasts, that it might not hinder their Shooting. The ancient Warlike Women, call'd *Amazons*, dwelt where now the Province of *Amasia* is, in *Natolia*, on the *Black Sea*.

AMBIANI }
AMBIANIENSES } The People of *Amiens*.

AMBIGATUS, a King of the *Celtæ*.

AMBIORICUS }
AMBIORIX } A Prince of the *Eburones*, and afterwards General of the *Gauls*, in the Time of *Julius Cæsar*.

AMBIVARITI, an ancient People of *Brabant*, between the *Rhine* and the *Mæse*.

AMBRONES, an ancient People, who lived in that Country, which is now call'd the *Canton of Bern*, in *Switzerland*.

AMBROSIUS, a Bishop of *Milan*, in the fourth Century.

AMIENS, an ancient City of *Gaul*, built by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, now the chief City of *Picardy*, on the River *Somme*, anciently *Samara*.

AMISIA }
AMISIUS } v. *Ems*.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, a famous *Latin* Historian, in the Reigns of the Emperours *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian*: Of the thirty-one Books he wrote, the first thirteen are lost.

AMSIVARII, v. *Anfibarii*.

ANCHIALOS, a City of *Thrace*, near the *Euxine Sea*, now call'd *Kenkis*.

ANCHILE } a Sort of short Shield, re-
ANCHILIUM } ported to have fallen from
Heaven, in the Time of *Numa Pompil.*

ANCHISES, a *Trojan*, the Son of *Capys*,
and Father of *Æneas*.

ANDERNACH, a Town upon the *Rhine*,
in the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*.

ANDES, *Angers*, in *France*, the Capital
of the Duchy of *Anjou*.

ANDES, the ancient Inhabitants of the
Duchy of *Anjou*.

ANDOMADUNUM LINGONUM, v. *Langres*.

ANGERS, v. *Andes*.

ANGLES } an ancient People, dwelling
ANGLI } near the *Baltick*, who being
driven thence by the *Danes*, together
with the *Saxons*, were afterwards invited
by the *Britains* to the Southern Part of
the Island now call'd *Great Britain*,
which they in Time peopled.

ANGRIVARII, an ancient People of *Low-
er Germany*, who dwelt between the *Ems*
and the *Weser*, below the *Lippe*.

ANNIUS, (*Joh.*) of *Viterbo*, a *Dominican*
Monk, towards the End of the fifteenth
Century, who is reckon'd among the
learned Impostors.

ANSIBARII } an Ancient People of *Low-
ANSIVARII } er Germany*, of and about
the Town of *Ansestaet*, or *Amstlin*.

ANTHEMIUS, a *Roman* Emperour, in the
West, who succeeded *Libius Severus*, at-
ter an *Interregnum* of two Years.

ANTIOCH, an ancient and famous City,
once the Capital of *Syria*, or rather of
the *East*: It is situate on two Rivers,
the *Orontes* and the *Phaspar*, not far from
the *Mediterranean*.

ANTONINUS, v. *Caracalla*.

ANTONINUS Pius, the sixteenth *Roman*
Emperor, a good and worthy Prince.

ANTONIUS (M. or *Mark Anthony*) who
with *Octavius* and *Lepidus* form'd the
second *Triumvirate*.

APAMEA, a City of *Bithynia*, built by *Ni-
comedes*, the Son of *Prusias*.

APENNINE *Alps*, Part of the *Alps* so call'd,
which run from the other *Alps* thro' the
Middle of *Italy*

APOLLO (or *Phæbus*) feign'd the Son of
Jupiter, by *Latona*, the Twin-Brother of
Diana.

APOLLO *Hyperboreus*, the Northern *Apollo*.

APPIA VIA (the *Appian High Way*)
which led from *Rome*, into *Campania*,
and from the Sea to *Brandusium*.

AQUÆ MATTIACÆ, the Baths of *Wif-
bade*, within four German Miles of *Franc-
fort* on the *Mayn*, and two of *Mentz*.

AQUILEJA, formerly a Patriarchal and
famous City of *Italy*, not far from the
Adriatick, now little more than a Heap
of Ruins.

ARA UBIORUM, v. *Bonn*.

AQUÆ SEXTIÆ, v. *Aix*.

ARAR } v. *Saone*.
ARARIS }

ARBOGASTES, a *Frank* by Birth, but Ge-
neral in the *Roman Army*.

ARCADIUS, a Son of *Theodosius*, who
shared the Empire with his Brother
Honorius, the fifty-fourth Emperor of
Rome.

ARCHIAS, a famous Poet of *Antioch*,
much beloved by *Tully*.

ARCHIPELAGUS, v. *Ægean Sea*.

ARDARICUS, a King of the *Gepidæ*.

ARDENNE (the Forest of,) in *France*, reach-
ing from the *Rhine*, to the City of *Tour-
nay*, in the Low Countries.

ARDUENNIAN Forest, v. *Ardenne*.

ARGENTUARIA, the Castle of *Horbург*,
near the City of *Colmar*, in Upper
Alsace.

ARGENTORATUM, v. *Straßburg*.

ARGONAUTS, *Jason*, and his Companions,
who sail'd in the Ship call'd *Argo*, to
Colchis, to fetch the Golden Fleece.

ARGOS, a noted City of *Peleponnesus*, of
which *Juno* was tutelar Goddess.

ARIANS, the Disciples and Followers of
Arius, a noted Heretick, in the Time
of

of *Constantine*, the Great, who denied our Saviour to be consubstantial and co-equal with God the FATHER.

ARIARIC, a King of the *Goths*, in the Reign of *Constantine*.

ARIOGESUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

ARIOVISTUS, a King of the *Suevi*, noted for his Bravery, in the Wars against *Julius Cæsar*.

ARLES, a City in *Provence*, in *France*, on the *Rhone*, formerly the Capital of a Kingdom of that Name, and famous for a Council held there, in 312, or 14.

ARMENIA, a Country of *Asia*, divided into *Major* and *Minor*, now call'd *Turcomania*.

ARMINIUS, a valiant and successful Prince and General of the *Cherusci*, who vanquish'd *Q. Varus*.

ARMORICI, the ancient People of *Armorica*, a Part of *Gallia Celtica*, now *Bretagne*.

ARPUS, a Prince of the *Catti*.

ARRAS, the Capital of *Artois*, upon the *Scarpe*.

ARTESIA, v. *Artois*.

ARTOIS, a Province of the *Spanish Netherlands*.

ARVERNI, an ancient People of *France*, on the *Loire*, whose chief City was *Arvernium*, now *Clermont*, the Capital of *Guienne*.

ASCIBURGUM, a City of *Ancient Germany*, between *Vetera* and *Gelduba*. The present City *Aschaffenburg*, in *Franconia*, is so call'd; but, by the Situation, does not seem to be this.

ASTINGI, a Royal Family among the *Vandals*.

ASPAR, a *Goth*, by Birth; but *Patricius* and *Magister Militum*, in *Rome*.

ASSONA, a River of *Champagne*, in *France*, which runs into the *Oise*, near *Compeigne*, now call'd the *Aisne*.

ASTI, the Capital of a County of the same Name, on the River *Tanaro*, in *Piedmont*.

ASTIGI } A People of *Andalusia*, in
ASTINGI } *Spain*.

ASTORGA, a City of *Spain*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*.

ASTURES, the Inhabitants of *Asturia*, in *Spain*.

ATAULPH, v. *Athaulph*.

ATAX, a King of the *Alani*.

ATHANARIC, a Prince of the *Wisi-Goths*.

ATHANASIUS, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the 4th Century, a great Opposer of *Arianism*.

ATHAULPH, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*, who intended to have sack'd *Rome*, and call'd it *Gothia*; but was dissuaded from it by his Wife *Placidia*.

ATHENS, one of the most ancient and noble Cities of *Greece*, the Capital of *Attica*.

ATHOS (Mount), a Mountain in *Macedonia*, in the Province of *Jamboli*, which runs into the *Ægean Sea*, like a *Peninsula*, and is 90 Miles in Compass.

ATREBATES, an ancient People of *Gaul*, who lived in that Part of the *Netherlands*, which is now call'd *Artois*.

ATTALUS, proclaim'd Emperor by *Alaric*, but soon deposed by him.

ATTICA, a Country of *Greece*, between *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, famous on Account of its Capital *Athens*.

ATTILA, a warlike *Scythian* Prince, who, among other pompous Titles, gave himself that of *Hunnorum, Medorum, Gothorum, ac Danorum rex, metus orbis, Deique flagellum*.

ATTUARI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, who inhabited between the *Maese* and the *Rhine*, whose Country is now a Part of the Duchy of *Gueldres*.

ATUATICA, the Capital of the *Eburones*, now *Tongres* in *Brabant*.

ATUATICI, the Inhabitants of those Parts; the Remains of the *Cimbri*.

AUGSBURG (q. d. *Augustus Burg*) a famous City of *Germany*, and a Place of great Trade, a free Imperial City, the Capital

Capital of *Swabia*, on the *Lech*, not far from the *Danube*; famous for the *Augustan* Confession.

AUGST, now a Village only; but a famous Pass, in *Swisserland*, on the *Rhine*, two German Miles from *Basil*.

AUGUSTA *Nemetum*, v. *Spire*.

AUGUSTA *Rauracorum*, v. *Augst*.

AUGUSTA *Trevirorum*, v. *Triers*.

AUGUSTA *Vangionum*, v. *Worms*.

AUGUSTA *Vindelicorum*, v. *Augsburg*.

AUGUSTONEMETUM, v. *Clairmont*.

AUGUSTUS, (*Augustus Cæsar*, or *Octavius*) the second Emperour of *Rome*, the Son of *Octavius*, a Senator, and Nephew of *Julius Cæsar*.

AVITUS, a Roman Lieutenant, in *Lower Germany*, who assumed the Imperial Dignity, in *Gaul*.

AURELIANUS, the thirty-seventh Roman Emperour, famed for his Liberality, but was withal cruel and bloody.

AURELIUS VICTOR, a Roman Historian, in the fourth Century.

AURELIUS, (*M. Antoninus*,) with *L. Verus* made the seventeenth Roman Emperour; he was surnamed the *Philosopher*, and endued with all the Virtues becoming a Prince.

AURINIA, a famous German Sorceress.

AUSONIUS, an excellent Poet of the fourth Century, of *Bourdeaux*, in *France*.

AUSTRIA, a Province, and one of the ten Circles of *Germany*, divided into two Parts, the *Upper* and *Lower*, by the *Enns*, which flows into the *Danube*.

AUTUN, (or *Augustodunum*,) a very ancient City of *Burgundy*, on the River *Arroux*.

AUXERRE, a large and beautiful City of *Burgundy*, in *France*, on the River *Yonne*, about twelve Leagues from *Sens*.

AXONA, v. *Affona*.

B

BABAI, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.

BACCHUS, the God of Wine; by the

Heathens, feign'd the Son of *Jupiter* and *Semele*.

BACENIS, a Forest of *Ancient Germany*, which parted the *Suevi* from the *Cberusci*, by some supposed to be the Forests of *Thuringia*, by others the *Black Forest*.

BADEN, a small, but very populous Marquisate of *Germany*, on the *Rhine*.

BÆTICA, in the ancient Geography, about a third Part of *Spain*, containing *Andalusia*, and a Part of *Granada*.

BÆTIS, a River of *Spain*, now call'd *Guadalquivir*.

BAGAUDÆ, an ancient People of *Gaul*, who twice revolted from the *Romans*, and were both Times defeated.

BAITORITUS, a Prince of the *Sicambri*, the Brother of *Melo*.

BALBINUS (*Clodius*) with *Pupienus* made the twenty-seventh Roman Emperour; but they were both slain by the Soldiers, after they had reign'd only nine or ten Months.

BALEARES ——— } several Islands in
BALEARIAN Islands } the *Mediterranean*,
formerly so call'd, of which *Majorca* and
Minorca are the chief.

BALLOMAR, a King of the *Marcomanni*.

BALTÆ, a Royal Family among the *Goths*.

BALTICK, (the *East-Sea*, *Mare Balticum*, or *Sinus Codanus*) a very large Gulph; the principal Passage to which, out of the *German Ocean*, is thro' the *Sound*; it washes Part of the *German*, *Danish*, *Swedish* and *Polish* Coasts, and is remarkable for having no Ebb nor Flood.

BARCELONA, a City of *Catalonia*, in *Spain*, with an excellent Port upon the *Mediterranean*.

BASIL ——— } a City of *Ancient Germany*,
BASILEA } now the principal City of all
Swisserland, on the *Rhine*.

BASILIVS MAGNUS, an Archbishop of *Cæsarea*, in the 4th Century.

BASTARNÆ } an ancient People of *Sar-*
BASTARNI } *matia Europæa*.

BATAVA CASTRA, v. *Passau*.

BATAVI, the ancient Inhabitants of the Island of *Batavia*.

BATAVIA, now *Holland*, a Part of which still retains the Name of *Betowe* or *Be-terwe*.

BAVARI } the Inhabitants of *Ba-*
BAVARIANS } *varia*.

BAVARIA, one of the ten Circles of *Germany*, which had anciently its own Kings, and afterwards Dukes, who are now Electors.

BAVAY, (or *Bavais*, *Bagacum Nerviorum*) a very ancient Town in *Hainault*, in *Flanders*.

BAUTO, a *Frank* by Birth, but a General in the *Roman* Service.

BAZAS, the chief City of a small Territory of that Name, in the Lower *Guienne*, in *France*.

BEDRIAC, a Village between *Verona* and *Cremona*, famous for a Battle between *Otto* and the Army of *Vitellius*.

BELGÆ, now the *Low-Dutch*: The Original *Belgæ* were supposed to be of *German* Extraction; but passing the *Rhine*, settled themselves in *Gaul*.

BELGIA, the *Low Countries*, or *Netherlands*, containing 17 Provinces, sometimes call'd *Gallia Belgica*.

BELGICA, (*Gallia Belgica*) *Belgic Gaul*.

BELGRADE, a great and strong City of *Hungary*, on the South-side of the *Save*, where it falls into the *Danube*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Servia*, in the Principality of *Rascia*; sometimes the Bulwark of *Christendom*.

BELIZONE, a little Town, in the Duchy of *Milan*, on the River *Tesin*, with two strong Castles, which defend the Passes of the *Alps*.

BELLOVACI, an ancient renown'd People, among the *Belgæ*, the Inhabitants of *Bellovacum*, now call'd *Beauvais*, in *France*, formerly *Cæsaromagus*.

BELLOVESUS, a Prince of the *Celtæ*, Nephew of *Ambigatus*.

BERGAMO, a City of *Italy*, belonging to the *Venetians*, but formerly to *Milan*.

BERCEA, a City of *Macedonia*, now call'd *Veria*.

BEROSUS, a *Chaldean* Historian, and Priest of *Belus*, whom some pretend to have been co-eval with *Moses*; but is generally supposed to have liv'd in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 276 Years before the Birth of *Christ*.

BESANÇON, the Capital of the *Sequani*, now the chief City of *Burgundy*.

BETHASII, a People of *Belgium*, about *Ju-liers*.

BETHLEHEM, of *Judea*, the Place of the Nativity of our Saviour.

BEUGA, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.

BIBRACTE, a Town of *Burgundy*, now call'd *Autun*, the Capital of the *Ædui*.

BINGEN, an ancient City of *Upper Germany*, in the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*, near the *Rhine*, four German Miles from that Capital.

BITHYNIA, a Country of *Asia Minor*, adjoining to *Troas*, over against *Thrace*.

BITURICES } a People of *Guienne*, in
BITURIGES } *France*, of the Country of *Berry*.

BLACK SEA, the *Euxine Sea*, up from the *Ægean*, along the *Hellespont*, to the *Mæotick Lake*, and that which is peculiarly call'd *Pontus*.

BLEDA, the Brother of *Attila*, a King of the *Hunns*.

BLEMMYÆ, an ancient Nation of *Æthiopia*, of whom, from a Custom of holding down their Heads, it was fabulously reported, that they had Eyes in their Breasts.

BOEOTIA, a Country in *Greece*, parted from *Attica*, by Mount *Citheron*. It had formerly several other Names, and was famous for its Capital *Thebes*; but is now call'd *Stramulipa*.

BOHEMIA, a great Kingdom, belonging to the House of *Austria*, which, tho' almost

most encompass'd by the *German Territories*, is properly no Part of *Germany*, tho' generally esteem'd so. It has been a separate Kingdom ever since 1086, and has a particular Language. The Kings of *Bohemia* have, however, a Vote in the Electoral College.

BOJARES } v. *Boji*.

BOJARI

BOIEMUM, v. *Bojobemum*.

BOJI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who were afterwards call'd *Bojarii*, suppos'd the ancient Inhabitants of *Bavaria*: According to *Tacitus*, anciently a Nation of *Gaul*.

BOJOCALUS, a Leader of the *Anfibarii*.

BOJOHEMUM, v. *Bohemia*.

BOJORIX, a King of the *Cimbri*, conquer'd by *Marius*.

BOLOGNA, a City of *Romandiola*, in *Italy*, heretofore a *Roman Colony*, situate at the Foot of the *Appennines*, on the little River *Reno*.

BOLUS, a King of the *Cimbri*.

BOLZANUM, a City on the River *Eisack*, in the Bishoprick of *Trent*.

BONITUS, a General of the *Franks*.

BONN } an ancient City of *Germany*, on
BONNA } the *Rhine*, the usual Residence of the Elector of *Cologne*. It was anciently a *Roman Colony*, call'd *Colonia Julia Bonna*.

BONOSUS, a Governor of *Rætia*, who assuming the Title of *Roman Emperor*, in that Country, in the Reign of *Probus*, was by him defeated, taken Prisoner and hang'd.

BORADES, v. *Borani*.

BORANI, an ancient People supposed by some to be the same as the *Burii*, v. *Burii*.

BORBETOMAGUS, v. *Worms*.

BORCKHUM, (*the Island of*) on the *German Ocean*, not far from the Province of *Groningen*, to which it belongs.

BOSPHORUS, two Streights of the Sea so

call'd, one *Bosphorus Thracius*, or the Streights of *Constantinople*, the other *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, or the Streights of *Cassa*, otherwise call'd *Os Maotidis*.

BOTZEN, v. *Bolzanum*.

BOULOGNE, a small County of *France*, on the *British Sea*, in the Province of *Picardy*.

BOURDEAUX, the Capital of the Province of *Guienne*, in *France*, a rich and populous City, with a fine Haven, at the Mouth of the River *Garonne*.

BRAGA, a City of *Portugal*, on the River *Morillo*.

BREGENTZIAN Lake, the Lake of *Constance*.

BRENNER, a Mountain in *Tyrol*, between the Rivers *Inn*, *Aycha* and *Adige*, beyond *Inspruck*.

BRENNI, v. *Breuni*.

BRENNUS, a Commander of the *Galli Semnones*, who took *Rome*, and besieg'd the Capital; but for a large Sum of Money rais'd the Siege.

BRESCIA, a City of *Italy*, now under the *Venetians*, the Metropolis of the Territory of *Bresciano*.

BREUNI, a People of *Rætia proper*, or *prima*.

BRINNO, a Duke and General of the *Caninefati*.

BRISGOW, a Province of *Germany*, on the East of the *Rhine*, now belonging Part to the Empire, and Part to *France*.

BRITAIN, the Island containing *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales*.

BRITONS, the Inhabitants of that Island.

BRIXEN, the Capital of a Bishoprick of that Name, in *Tyrol*.

BRIXENTES, a People of *Rætia proper*, or *prima*.

BRIXIA, v. *Brescia*.

BRIXINUM, v. *Brixen*.

BRUCTERI, an ancient People of the *Netherlands*, in *East-Friesland*, afterwards call'd *Broeckmoreland*.

BUCHERIUS (*Ægidius*) an Historian of the County of *Artois*, in the *Low-Countries*, in the 17th Century, who wrote a very valuable Work call'd *Belgium Romanum*, &c.

BUCINOBANTES, an ancient People of *Germany*, who liv'd opposite to *Mentz*.

BUDA, a famous City in *Lower Hungary*, the Capital of all *Hungary*, on the *West Side* of the *Danube*, with a strong Castle, on the *West Side* of it; and a Citadel reckon'd almost impregnable.

BULGARIA, a Part of the *Lower Moesia*, between Mount *Hæmus* and the *Danube*.

BURGUNDI } the ancient Inhabitants
BURGUNDIANS } of *Burgundy*.

BURGUNDIONES, v. *Burgundi*.

BURGUNDY, the *Upper* and *Lower*; the former once possess'd by the *Sequani*, now *Franche Comte*; the latter formerly inhabited by the *Hædui*, now the Duchy of *Burgoin*.

BURII, an ancient People of *Germany*, who inhabited the Island of *Bornholm*.

BYZANTIUM, a City of *Thrace*, call'd at several Times, *Ligos*, *Nova Roma*, and now *Constantinople*; v. *Constantinople*.

BYZAZYNA, a City and Province of *Africa*, within the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

C

CÆCINUS, a River of *Locris*.

CÆNOMANI, v. *Cenomani*.

CÆRÆSI, a People of *Belgic Gaul*.

CÆSAR, the Surname of the *Julians*, in *Rome*, afterwards given in general to all the *Roman Emperours*.

CÆSAR (*Julius*) the first *Roman Emperour*.

CÆSAREA, the chief City of *Cappadocia*.

CÆSIAN Forest (*Cæsia Sylva*) supposed to be a Part of the *Hercynian Forest*; about the Duchy of *Cleves* and *Westphalia*.

CALAIS, v. *Caletum*.

CALETES } an ancient People of *Belgic*
CALETI } *Gaul*, inhabiting the Country

call'd *Le Pais de Caulx*, in *Normandy*, betwixt the *Seine* and the *Sea*.

CALETUM, the Town of *Calais*, in *Picardy*, over-against *Dover*.

CALIGULA, the 4th *Roman Emperour*, the Successor of *Tiberius*, and Son of *Germanicus*, a very wicked Prince.

CAMBRAY, a City in *Hainault*, upon the *Scheld*, on the Borders of *Picardy*.

CAMERACUM, v. *Cambray*.

CAMILLUS, a valiant and noble *Roman*, who, after he was banish'd, was chosen Dictator, and saved *Rome* from Ruin by the *Gauls*.

CAMPANIA, the pleasantest Part of *Italy*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

CAMPI CANINI, a Place in the *Milanesse*, in *Italy*, not far from *Belizona*.

CAMPI CATALAUNICI, supposed to be the large Plain, which begins about two Miles from *Chalons sur Marne*.

CANDAX, a King of the *Alani*.

CANINEFATES } an ancient People of the
CANINEFATI } Lower Part of *Germany*, near *Batavia*, about where *Gorckum*, on the *Maese*, in *South Holland*, now is.

CANNABAUDES, a Duke of the *Goths*.

CANNÆ, a poor Village in *Apulia*, famous only for a great Overthrow of the *Romans* there by *Hannibal*.

CANTABRI, an ancient warlike People of *Spain*, properly of the Provinces of *Guipuscoa* and *Biscay*.

CAPITOL, one of the 7 Hills in ancient *Rome*, on which the *Romans* had a famous Fortrefs, founded by *Tarquinius Priscus*, A. U. C. 139, and perfected by *Tarquinius Superbus*, A. U. C. 221.

CAPITOLINUS (*Mons Capitolinus*) v. *Capitol*.

CAPITOLINUS (*Julius*) a *Roman Historian*, towards the Conclusion of the 3d, and the Beginning of the 4th Century.

CAPITOLIUM, v. *Capitol*.

CAPA BOCO, a City of *Sicily*, built by the
K k k k *Romans*.

- Romans*, on the most Western Promontory of that Island.
- CAPPADOCIA, a large Country in *Asia Minor*, upon the *Euxine Sea*.
- CAPREÆ } an Island on the Coast of *Campania*.
CAPREA }
- CAPUA, a City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Province *di Lavoro*.
- CARACALLA (*Antoninus*) who with his Brother *Geta* are reckon'd the 22d *Roman* Emperour; but he barbarously slew *Geta*, in the 2d Year of their Reign; and so remain'd Emperour alone.
- CARAUSIUS, a *Ménapiër*, by Birth, and an experienc'd Seaman, in the Reign of *Dioclesian*, who seizing the *Roman* Fleet, under his Command, went over to *Britain*, and caus'd himself to be proclaimed Emperour there, which Dignity he enjoy'd for several Years.
- CARBILLO } a City of *Spain*, near *Car-*
CARBULO } *duba*.
- CARINUS, the 43d *Roman* Emperour, and eldest Son of *Carus*, proud, cruel, and very dissolute.
- CARIOVALDUS } a General of the *Che-*
CARIOWALD } *rusci*.
- CARNI, an ancient People, who inhabited a Part of *Noricum*, whose Country is yet call'd *Carniola*.
- CARNUNTUM, a *Roman* Fort in *Pannonia*.
- CARNUTES } an ancient People of *France*,
CARNUTI } inhabiting the Territory, yet call'd *Chartrain*.
- CARPI, an ancient People near the *Danube*.
- CARTHAGE, once the most famous City of *Africa*, the Rival of *Rome*, built by Queen *Dido*, about 70 Years after *Rome*, according to some; but *Justin* will have it built before *Rome*; *Appian* before the Destruction of *Troy*; and *Vossius* before *Tyre* itself.
- CARTHAGENA, a City of *Murcia*, in *Spain*, built by *Ajdrubal*, General of the *Carthaginians*.
- CARTHAGO, v. *Carthage*.
- CARTHAGO NOVA, v. *Carthagena*.
- CARUS, the 41st Emperour of *Rome*, who, being found dead in his Tent, after a terrible Tempest, was said to have fallen by the Divine Vengeance, for attempting to carry his Victories beyond *Ctesiphon*.
- CASAUBON, two famous *French* Writers, Father and Son, of the 16th and 17th Century, both very well known in *England*.
- CASPIAN Sea, a vast Lake between *Persia*, *Great Tartary*, *Muscovy* and *Georgia*, said to be 600 Miles long, and near as broad.
- CASSANDRIA, a City of *Macedonia*.
- CASSIODORUS, a learned Historian of *Lucania*, in the 6th Century.
- CASTELLUM *Menapiorum*, v. *Kessel*.
- CASTOR (and *Pollux*) two Brothers, who are said to have freed the Seas from Pirates, and, according to the *Mythology* of the Ancients, to have been converted into Stars: Also the *Gemini*, or *Twin-Stars*.
- CASTRA VETERA, an ancient City in *Lower Germany*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*; some say where *Santen*, others where *Byrthen* now is.
- CASTRA ULPIA, v. *Cleves*.
- CASTRUM ALISONIS, v. *Elsen*.
- CASTRUM MARTENA, v. *Martena*.
- CATALAUNIA } a Province and Princi-
CATALONIA } pality of *Spain*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Arragon*.
- CATIVULCUS, a Prince of the *Eburones*, who poison'd himself rather than to fall into *Cæsar's* Hands.
- CATTI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who inhabited Part of the Country, now call'd *Hesse*, and *Thuringia*, from the Mountains of *Hartz*, to the *Wefer* and the *Rhine*.
- CATUALDA, a Person of Distinction among the *Gothones*.

- CATULUS, (*Lucretius*) a learned Roman Citizen, the Companion of *Marius*.
- CATZENELLENBOGEN, a Country in the Province of *Wetterau*, in Germany, anciently inhabited by the *Catti*.
- CELEJA, a City of *Noricum Mediterraneum*, now *Cilley*.
- CELETÆ, a People of *Thrace*, about the Mountains of *Rhodope* and *Hæmus*.
- CELLARIUS, a famous Critick of the foregoing Century, particularly skill'd in ancient History and Geography.
- CELTÆ, an ancient People of *Gaul*, in that Part call'd *Gallia Cometa*, between the River *Garamna* and *Sequana*, from whom that Country was likewise call'd *Gallia Celtica*.
- CELTIBERI, an ancient People of *Spain*, descended from the *Celtæ*, who settled about the River *Iberus*, or *Ebro*.
- CELTIBERIA, the Country they inhabited, now call'd *Arragon*.
- CELTICK *Gaul*, v. *Celtæ*.
- CENIS, (*Mount*) that Part of the *Alps* which parts *Savoy* from *Piedmont*.
- CENNI, an ancient People of *Celtick* Extraction.
- CENOMANI, a People of *Gallia Celtica*, in the Country now call'd *Le Mansseau*, next adjoining to that of the *Insubres*.
- CENTRONES, an ancient People of *Flanders*, about the City of *Courtray*.
- CEPIO (*Q. Servilius*) a Roman Consul, who coming to a miserable End, it was accounted to him as a Judgment for a Sacrilege he committed at *Tbolouse*.
- CHAIBONES, an ancient People, who inhabited on the Coasts of the *East Sea*.
- CHALCEDON, a City of *Bitbunia*, opposite to *Byzantium*.
- CHALONS (on the *Marne*) a City of *France*, in the Middle of *Champagne*, not far from *Rheims*, anciently call'd *Civitas Catalaunorum*.
- CHALONS sur *Saone*, a City of *Burgundy*, in *France*, anciently call'd *Cabillo Æduorum*.
- CHARIOMER, a King of the *Cherufci*.
- CHATTI, v. *Catti*.
- CHAUCI, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, who inhabited Part of the Countries now call'd *Bremen*, *Luneburg*, *Friesland* and *Groningen*.
- CHERSONESUS *Cimbrica*, a Peninsula on the *Baltick*, now *Jutland*, Part of *Holstein*, *Ditmarsh* and *Sleswic*.
- CHERUSCI, a great and warlike People of *Ancient Germany*, between the *Elb* and the *Weser*, about the Country now call'd *Mansfield*, Part of the Duchy of *Brunswick*, and the Dioces of *Hildesheim* and *Halberstadt*.
- CHIAVENNA, the Capital of a County of that Name, on the River *Meira*, with a strong Castle, in *Switzerland*.
- CHILDEBERT, a King of the *Franks*, suppos'd to be Son of *Pharamond*.
- CHILDERIC, a King of the *Franks*.
- CHILPERIC, a King of the *Burgundians*, in *Gaul*.
- CHLODIO, a King of the *Franks*.
- CHLODOVIUS, v. *Clovis*.
- CHNODOMAR, a King of the *Alemanni*.
- CHODOMARIN, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.
- CHRYSOPOLIS, a City of *Bitbunia*, now call'd *Scutari*, opposite to *Constantinople*.
- CHRYSOSTOM (St.) Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who died *Anno* 407.
- CHUS, *Causus Annis*, v. *Vagus*.
- CICERO (M. T.) the greatest Orator the Roman State ever bred.
- CICERO, (Q.) the Brother of M. T. Cicero, the famous Orator, and J. Cæsar's Legatus in *Gaul*.
- CILICIA, a Country in *Asia Minor*, now call'd *Caramania*.
- CILLEJA, v. *Cilley*.
- CILLEY, the Capital of a Country of that Name, in *Austria*, situated on the River *Saine*.
- CIMBERIUS, a King of the *Suevi*, and Brother of *Nasua*.
- CIMBRI, a very ancient Northern People, who inhabited *Chersonesus Cimbrica*.

CIMMERII, an ancient People near the *Euxine Sea*, whence the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*.

CINGETORIX, a Prince of the *Treviri*.

CIVILIS (*Claudius*) a Prince of the *Batavi*.

CIVITAS NEMETUM, v. *Spire*.

CIVITAS VANGIONUM, v. *Worms*.

CLAIRMOND, (or *Clermont*) there are several Places of this Name in *France*.

CLASSICUS, a Prince of the *Treviri*.

CLAUDIAN } a famous Poet under *Theo-*
CLAUDIANUS } *dosius* and *Honorius*, born
at *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*, and call'd *Præ-*
gloriosissimus Poetarum.

CLAUDIUS (*Cæsar*) the 5th Roman Emperor, who succeeded *Caligula*.

CLAUDIUS, II. the 35th Roman Emperour, a great and accomplish'd Prince.

CLEVES, the Capital of a Duchy of that Name, in *Lower Germany*, not far from the *Rhine*, by some suppos'd to have been built by *Julius Cæsar*.

CLODIUS, v. *Chlodio*.

CLOTARIUS, a King of the *Franks*, suppos'd to be the Son of *Pharamond*.

CLOVIS, a King of the *Franks*, the first who founded that Monarchy under which *Gaul*, and the People of *Germania Magna*, were united.

CLUVERIUS, a noted Geographer of *Dantzic*, in the Beginning of the 17th Century.

CNIVA, a King of the *Goths*.

COIMBRA, an ancient City of *Portugal*, once destroy'd, but now rebuilt, on the River *Mendego*.

COLCHIS, a Country in *Asia*, near the *Pontus*, including the present *Mingrelia* and *Georgia*.

COIRE, the Capital of the Country of the *Grisons*.

COLIAS, a Duke of the *Goths*.

COLOGN, a City and University, in *Germany*, the Metropolis of the Archbishoprick of that Name, on the *Rhine*,

and in the Circle of the *Lower Rhine*; so call'd on Account of *Agrippina*, *Nero's* Mother, settling a Colony there.

COLONIA *Agrippina* } v. *Cologn*.
COLONIA *Ubiorum* }

COLONIA *Julia Bonna*, v. *Bonn*.

COLONIA *Trajana*, an ancient Roman Colony, in *Lower Germany*, according to some now *Keyserswaert*, on the *Rhine*; but, as others will, *Kellem*, now a Village in the Duchy of *Cleve*; and again, according to others, now *Santen*.

COLONIA *Ulpia*, v. *Cleves*.

COLUMNÆ *Milliaria*, certain Columns on the Roman High Ways, placed at the Distance of every Mile or 1000 Paces.

COMIUS, a King of the *Atrebates*.

COMMODUS, the 18th Roman Emperor, the Son and Successor of *M. Aurelius*, a very profligate Prince.

COMO (*the Lake of*) a great Lake, in the Duchy of *Milan*.

CONCORDIA, an ancient City of the Province of *Friuli*, in *Italy*, now in Ruins.

CONDRUSI, (*Clientes Trevirorum*) an ancient People of *Belgium*, whose Country is yet call'd *Condrotz*, between *Liege* and *Namur*.

CONSTANCE (*the Lake of*) thro' which the *Rhine* flows. It is near 30 Miles long, and situate between *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*.

CONSTANS, who with his two Brothers, made the 47. Roman Emperour, Son of *Constantine the Great*: A good Prince; but was unfortunately slain by *Magnentius*, when but 30 Years of Age.

CONTANS, the Son of *Constantine*, the Usurper.

CONSTANTINE the Great, the 46th Roman and the first Christian Emperour, the Son of *Constantius* and *Helena*.

CONSTANTINE, the Younger, the Son of *Constantine the Great*, who, with his two Brothers, made the 47th Roman Emperour,

Emperour, and was slain in *Italy*, in a War with his Brother *Constans*.

CONSTANTINE, an Usurper of the Imperial Dignity in *Britain*, at the Beginning of the 5th Century; but put to Death by Orders of *Honorius*.

CONSTANTINOPLE, formerly the Seat of the *Eastern Roman Empire*, now the Residence of the *Ottoman Porte*, and the Capital of *Romania*; by the *Turks* it is call'd *Stamboul*.

CONSTANTIUS (*Chlorus*) who with *Galerius*, made the 45th *Roman Emperour*, the Father of *Constantine the Great*.

CONSTANTIUS, the Younger, who, with his two Brothers, made the 47th *Roman Emperour*, the Son of *Constantine the Great*, a wicked Prince, but the last Survivor of the three.

CONSTANTIUS, a Native of *Pannonia*, who having assum'd the Imperial Dignity in the *West*, in the Reign of *Honorius*, was at Length admitted a Sharer with him in the Empire.

CONSUL, a *Roman Magistrate*, whereof two were chosen annually, to govern, (after the Kings were depos'd) for the Space of a Year.

CORBULO, a *Roman Procunful* of *Syria*, noted for having caus'd the Trench call'd *Fossa Corbulonis* to be made.

CORINTH, a famous and rich City of *Achaia*, in the Middle of the *Isthmus*, going into the *Peleponnesus*.

CORSICA, a considerable Island in the *Mediterranean*, near *Sardinia*, belonging to the *Genoese*.

COTINI, v. *Gothini*.

COURTRAY, a Town in *Flanders*, on the *Lys*.

CRASSUS (P.) a skilful Lawyer, Brother of *L. Crassus*, the Orator.

CREMONA, an ancient City of *Gallia Cisalpina*, which retains its Name to this Day, and is the Metropolis of the *Cremonese*, in *Italy*.

CRETA } one of the noblest Islands in the
CRETE } *Mediterranean*, now call'd *Candy*, at the Mouth of the *Sigean Sea*.

CRISPUS, the Son of *Constantine the Great*, by his first Wife, who was put to Death on a false Accusation of his Mother-in-Law.

CTESIPHON, a Town of *Affyria*, called *Calamio*, over-against *Seleucia*.

CYPRUS, an Island in the *Mediterranean Sea*, between *Syria* and *Cilicia*, which was conquer'd by our K. *Richard*, I, when he was going to the *Holy Land*.

CYRENE, an ancient and once fine City of *Africa*, situate over-against *Matapan*, the most Southern Cape of *Morea*.

CYZICUS, formerly one of the largest Cities of *Asia Minor*, in an Island of the same Name, on the *White Sea*.

D

DACI, the Inhabitants of *Dacia*.

DACIA, an ancient Country of *Scythia*, beyond the *Danube*, containing Part of *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*.

DACII, v. *Daci*.

DALMATIA, a Part of *Illyricum*, now call'd *Sclavonia*, lying between *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and the *Adriatick Gulph*.

DALMATIANS, the Inhabitants of that Country.

DANES, the Inhabitants of *Denmark*.

DANIA, v. *Denmark*.

DANUBE, the largest River in *Europe*, which has its Rise in *Swabia*, and after flowing thro' that Country, *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Bessarabia*, and Part of *Tartary*, taking in its Course a great Number of noted Rivers (some say 60) falls into the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*, in two Arms.

DARDANIA, the ancient Name of a Country in the *Upper Moesia*, which became afterwards a Part of *Dacia*.

DECEBALUS, a King of the *Daci*.

DECIUS, the 30th *Roman* Emperour, a cruel Persecutor of the *Christians*; but otherwise possessed of many good Qualities.

DECUMATES, v. *Agri Decumates*.

DEMER, a River of *Brabant*.

DENGIZIC, the Son of *Attila*, a King of the *Hunns*.

DENMARK, a Kingdom to the North of *Germany*, chiefly on the *Baltick*.

DEXIPPUS (*Herennius*) a famous Orator, Historian, and Philosopher of *Athens*, in the 3d Century.

DIANA, a Heathen Goddess, the Daughter of *Jupiter* by *Latona*.

DICENÆUS, a famous *Gothick* Philosopher.

DICENIUS, a *Grecian* Philosopher.

DIO Cassius, a *Greek* Historian and Consul of *Rome*.

DIOCLETIAN, surnamed *Jovianus*, with *Maximian*, made the 44th *Roman* Emperour, who both reign'd with great Success, near 20 Years, and then resign'd the Empire.

DIODORUS SICULUS, an ancient Historian of *Sicily*, who lived in the Reigns of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*.

DISPARGUM, the Residence of *Chlodio*, King of the *Franks*.

DIVITIACUS, a Nobleman among the *Sequani*, devoted to *Cæsar* and *Cicero*.

DOESBURG, a Town in the County of *Zutphen*, at the Mouth of the *Fossa Drusi*.

DOMITIAN, the 12th *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Vespasian*, and a cruel Persecutor of the *Christians*.

DOMITIUS *Ahenobarbus*, the Father of *Nero*.

DON, v. *Tanais*.

DONATISTS, the Disciples and Followers of *Donatus*, Bishop of *Carthage*, a Heretick, who taught that the true Church was in *Africa*, and that, in the *Trinity*, the Son was less than the Father, and

the *Holy Ghost* than the Son.

DONAU, v. *Danube*.

DRAW (or *Drave*) a River arising in the *Alps*, in *Tyrol*, which, after having separated *Lower Hungary* from *Sclavonia*, falls into the *Danube* near *Esseck*.

DRUIDS, the Priests of the *Ancient Gauls*.

DRUMA, a *Goth* by Birth, but a General in the *Roman* Service.

DRUSUS, a Son-in-Law of *Augustus*.

DUITZ, a Town of *Germany*, on the *Rhine*, opposite to *Cologne*, suppos'd by some to be built by *Constantine*, the Great.

DUNKIRK, a large, and till of late a very strong and well fortified Town, Castle and Sea-Port of *Flanders*; the Harbour and Fortifications of which were demolish'd pursuant to the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

DUNMORIX, one of the Chiefs of the *Ædui*.

DURANCE, a very rapid River of *Provence*, in *France*, arising in the *Cottian Alps*, and unites with the *Rhosne*, below *Avignon*.

DYRRHACHIUM, a City of *Macedonia*.

E

EBURONES, an ancient People of *Germany*, inhabiting Part of the Country now the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and the County of *Namur*.

EGYPT, one of the most ancient, fertile and celebrated Kingdoms in *Africa*.

EICHELSTEIN, an ancient Monument of Stone in the Vineyards, near *Mentz*, by some suppos'd to be *Drusus's* Monument; but the Vulgar have various other Traditions of it.

EDER, v. *Adranus*.

ELB, a large and noble River in *Germany*, which has its Source in the *Riesen Gebirge* (or Giants Mountains) in *Silesia*, on the Confines of *Bobemia*, and passing thro' *Bobemia*, *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, falls into the *North Sea*, at *Ritzbuttel*, about 60 Miles below *Hamburg*.

ELITOVIVS, a General of the *Cenomani*.

ELSE,

ELSE (or *Alms*) a small River in *Westphalia*, which falls into the *Lippe* at *Elsen*.

ELSEN, supposed by some to be the Castle of *Aliso*, built by *Drusus*, (v. *Aliso*) now a small Town at the Conflux of the *Alms* and the *Lippe*, in the Bishoprick of *Paderbon*.

ELVE, v. *Elb*.

ELYSIAN *Fields*, a fictitious Place, where the Heathen Poets feign'd the Souls of the Blessed inhabited after this Life.

ELYSII CAMPI } v. *Elysian Fields*.
ELYSIUM }

EMBDEN, a City of *Lower Germany*, in the Circle of *Westphalia*, the Metropolis of the Principality of *East Friesland*, on the River *Ems*.

EMS, a River in *Lower Germany*, which has its Rise in the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and passing by *Embsen*, and the Bay of *Dullert*, falls into the *German Ocean*.

ENNODIUS, a Bishop of *Pavia*, in the 6th Century.

EOCHARIS, a King of the *Alemanni*.

EPIRUS, a Country in *Greece*, between *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, and the *Jonian Sea*, by some now call'd *Albania Inferior*.

ERASMUS, (*Desiderius*) otherwise call'd *Roterodamus*, from the Place of his Birth, a very learned and famous Writer, of the 15th and the Beginning of the 16th Century.

ERFURT, an ancient City of *Germany*, yet the Capital of *Thuringia*, on the River *Jera*.

ERMANARIC, a King of the *Greuthungi*.

ERMERIC, v. *Ermaneric*.

ESATECH, a General of the *Franks*.

ETSCH, v. *Adige*.

EUGENIUS, an Usurper of the Title of *Roman Emperour*, in the Reign of *Theodosius*; but being taken Prisoner, by him, was beheaded.

EUMENIUS, an ancient *Latin Panegyrist*, of *Autun*, towards the Conclusion of the 3d, and the Beginning of the 4th Century.

EUNAPIUS, an Historian of *Sardis*, who lived in the Reigns of *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian*.

EURICUS, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*.

EUSEBIUS, (*Pamphili*) an Ecclesiastical Historian, and Bishop of *Cæsarea*, in the 3d Century, a great Propagator of *Arianism*.

EUTROPIUS (*Flavius*) an Historian, and Secretary of *Constantine, the Great*, who wrote the *Roman Affairs*, to the Time of *Flavius Valens*.

EUTROPIUS, an Eunuch, who bore great Sway at the Court of the Emperour *Arcadius*, at *Constantinople*.

EXDER, a River in *Holstein*, arising not far from the *East Sea*; but having separated *Holstein* from *Sleswick*, falls into the *German Ocean*, below *Tonningen*.

EYSENAC, a small City and University of *Germany*, in *Thuringia*, belonging to a Duke of that Name, of the House of *Saxony*.

F

FANO, a Papal City, in the Duchy of *Urbino*, in the Gulph of *Venice*.

FANUM *Fortunæ*, v. *Fano*.

FARNOBIUS, a Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*.

FASTI *Capitolini*, a sort of *Roman Calendar* or *Annals*, kept in the *Capitol*.

FASTIDA, a King of the *Gepidæ*.

FELETHEUS, a King of the *Rugii*.

FERETRIUS, v. *Jupiter*.

FESOLE, an ancient City in the Duchy of *Florence*, anciently one of the 12 considerable Cities of *Hertruria*.

FESTUS (*Sextus Pompejus*) a *Latin Writer*, who wrote 20 Books *de Verborum significatione*.

FILIMER, a King of the *Goths*.

FINNI, an ancient People of *Prussia*.

FLANDERS, the largest and noblest of the 17 Provinces call'd the *Low-Countries*.

FLAVIUS, a Prince of the *Cherusci*, and Brother of *Arminius*.

FLAVUM, anciently reckon'd the Eastern Mouth of the *Rhine*, now called the *Vlie*,

Vlie, and is a Passage out of the *Zuyder Sea*, into the *North Sea*; likewise anciently a Castle at the Mouth of it.

FLORENCE, one of the principal Cities of *Italy*, the Capital of *Tuscany*, and the Residence of the Great Duke, built 70 Years before the Birth of Christ, on the River *Arno*.

FLORIANUS, the 39th Roman Emperour, who succeeded *Tacitus*, but reign'd only two or three Months.

FLORUS (L. A.) an Historian, in the Reigns of the Emperours *Trajan* and *Adrian*, with the latter of whom he was in great Favour.

FORUM *Flaminii*, a City of *Umbria*, three Miles from *Fulginium*, yet call'd *For-flamine*.

FORUM *Hadriani*, a Town in the Island of *Batavia*.

FORUM *Julium*, *Frejus*, an ancient Town on the Coast of *Provence*, in *France*.

FOSI, an ancient People of *Germany*, about *Ditmarsch*.

FOSSA *Corbulonis*, a Canal, in *Holland*, call'd the *Leek*, which makes a Communication between the *Rhine* and the *Mosa*, made by *Corbulo*.

FOSSA *Drusi*, (or *Drusiana*) the new *Yssel*, in *Guelderland*, being a Canal made by *Drusus*, for a Communication between the Old *Yssel*, and the *Rhine*.

FOSSA *Mariana*, a Canal made by *C. Marius*, near *Marseilles*, for the Conveyance of Ships from the Sea, into the *Rhone*.

FOSSÆ *Marianæ*, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*, now call'd *Aigues Mortes*.

FRANCI }
FRANCONES } v. *Franks*.

FRANCIA (*Orientalis*) a Country in *Germany*, about the Rivers *Lippe* and *Siege*, so call'd by the *Franks*, when they inhabited those Parts, before they pass'd the *Rhine*.

FRANCONIA, first probably so nam'd by

the *Franks*, now one of the ten Circles of *Germany*.

FRANKS, an ancient powerful Nation of *Germany*, who inhabited about the *Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*; but going afterwards into *Gaul*, gave their Name to that Country and People.

FRAOMARIUS, a King of the *Bucinobantes*.

FRAOMARIUS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

FRATANES, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

FREA, v. *Fria*.

FREINSHEIMIUS, a famous German Writer in the 17th Century.

FRIA, a Goddess of the Northern Nations, by some supposed to be the *Venus* of the *Romans*.

FRIDIBALUS, a King of the *Vandals*.

FRIEDEGILD, a Queen of the *Marcomanni*.

FRIEDERIC, a Prince of the *Wisi-Goths*.

FRIESLAND, a Country now divided into *East* and *West*, the former of which is in *Germany*, but the latter one of the seven United Provinces.

FRISII, the ancient Inhabitants of *Friesland*.

FRITIGERN, a Prince of the *Goths*, by some call'd King.

FURTIUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

G

GABINIUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

GAINA, a Goth by Birth, but a General of the Roman Army.

GAJOVOMARUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

GAISERIC, a Prince of the *Vandals*, in *Spain*.

GALATIA, a Country of *Asia Minor*, lying between *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*.

GALBA (*Servius*) a Predecessor of the Emperour *Galba*, in the Time of *Julius Cæsar*.

GALBA (*Sulpitius*) the 7th Roman Emperour, who succeeded *Nero*, and had the

the Character of a cruel and covetous Prince.

GALERIUS, who, with *Constantius*, made the 45th *Roman* Emperour, a great Persecutor of the *Christians*, v. *Constantius*.

GALINDI, an ancient People of *Prussia*.

GALLI, anciently the *Gauls*, now the *French*, v. *Gallia*.

GALLIA, anciently *Gaul*, now *France*.

The ancient Division of it was into ;

GALLIA *Transalpina*, or *Comata*, containing all *France*, on this Side the *Alps* : And

GALLIA *Cisalpina*, *Tonsa* or *Togata*, now *Lombardy*, between the *Alps* and the River *Rubicon*. The former was farther divided into ;

GALLIA *Belgica*, now a Part of *Lower Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, with *Picardy* ; divided, by *Augustus*, into *Belgica* and *Germania*, and the latter into *prima* and *secunda*.

GALLIA *Celtica*, divided, by *Augustus*, into *Lugdunensis*, and *Rothomagensis*, now *France* properly so call'd.

GALLIA *Aquitana*, divided by *Augustus* into *prima*, *secunda* and *tertia*, now *Gascony* : And

GALLIA *Narbonensis*, or *Braccata*, now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny* and *Provence*.

GALLICIA, a Province of *Spain*, of a large Extent, once a Kingdom, and comprehending *Old Castile*, but now a Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*.

GALLIENUS, (*P. Lic.*) the 34th *Roman* Emperour, who, after he had reigned eight Years, was assassinated at *Milan*.

GALLUS, who, with *Volusianus*, his Son, was reckon'd the 31st *Roman* Emperour, and were both murder'd by the Army for their Cowardice. He likewise adopted *Decius*, the Son of his Predecessor.

GAP, a City of *Dauphiny*, in *France*.

GANDARICUS *Magnus*, a King of the *Goths*.

GANNA, a celebrated *German* Sorceress.]

GARGILIANO, a River of *Italy*, which

formerly divided *Latium* from *Campania*.

GARONNE, one of the largest Rivers of *France*, which arising in the *Pyrenees*, flows through *Guienne*, forms the vast Bay of *Garonne*, and falls, by two Mouths, into the *British* Seas.

GAUL } v. *Gallia*.

GAULS }

GEBERIC, a King of the *Ostro-Goths*.

GELDUBA, a Fortreis of the *Ubii*, on the *Rhine*, not improbably the present Village of *Gelb*, on that River, 11 *German* Miles from *Neus*.

GELONI, an ancient People of *Scythia Europæa*.

GENEVA, a City of *Savoy*, now a free Republick, upon the Borders of *Helvetia*, at the going out of the *Rhone*, from the Lake of *Lemanus*, anciently a City of the *Allobroges*.

GENOBAUDES, a Prince of the *Franks*.

GENOBON, a King of the *Franks*.

GENSERIC, a renowned King of the *Van-dals*, first in *Spain*, and afterwards in *Africa*, who took *Rome*.

GEPIDÆ } an ancient Northern People,
GEPIDI } supposed to have dwelt about the Mouth of the *Vistula*.

GERARDUS *Noviomagus*, an Historian in the 16th Century.

GERMANICUS, the Son of *Nero-Drusus*, adopted by *Tiberius* ; but suspected to be poison'd by him, being designed by *Augustus* for his Successor.

GERMANS, the Inhabitants of *Germany*.

GERMANY, one of the largest Countries of *Europe*, and the Mother of those Nations which, in the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, conquer'd all the Rest.

GESATÆ, a Kind of *Militia* among the *Ancient Germans*.

GETA, an ancient People of *Scythia*, who inhabited betwixt *Mæsia* and *Dacia*, on each Side the *Danube*. Some think it the present *Walachia* or *Moldavia*.

GETULIA, a Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, in *Barbary*.

GLYCERUS, Emperour of *Rome*, in the *West*, who succeeded *Olybrius*.

GOAR, a King of the *Alani*.

GODEGISILUS, a King of the *Burgundians*.

GODIGISCLUS, a King of the *Vandals*.

GODWALD, a General of the *Marcomanni*.

GODWALDA, v. *Catualda*.

GOLZIUS (*Hubertus*) a famous Antiquary of *Guelders*, in the 16th Century, particularly knowing in Coins and Money.

GOMPHI, a Town of *Theffaly*.

GONDERIC, v. *Gundaric*.

GORDIANUS, the Name of three *Roman* Emperours, Father, Son and Grandson; but the Reign of the two former was so short (the Son being kill'd in Battle, and the Father having hang'd himself in Despair) that they are not reckon'd in the Series of Emperours: *Gordianus*, the Younger, was the 28th Emperour of *Rome*.

GORDUNI, the ancient Inhabitants of *Gaunt*.

GOTHI, v. *Goths*.

GOTHIA, the *South* Part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, said to be the Country of that Nation of the *Goths*, which contributed so much to the Downfall of the *Western Roman Empire*.

GOTHINI, v. *Goths*.

GOTHONES, v. *Gotini*.

GOTHUNNI, an ancient People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, a Mixture of *Goths* and *Hunns*.

GOTHS, an unciviliz'd but numerous and powerful People, in the *Lower Scythia*, in the *Northern* Part of *Europe*: They were divided into *Ostro-Goths* and *Wisi-Goths*.

GOTINI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who were driven out of their Country by *Maraboduus*.

GRÆCI, v. *Greeks*.

GRÆCIA, v. *Greece*.

GRAN, a River in *Upper Hungary*, which falls into the *Danube*, opposite to a City of the same Name.

GRATIAN, the 52d *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Valentinian*, who succeeded his Father, and his Uncle *Valens*.

GREECE, a large Part of *Europe*, call'd by the *Turks*, *Romelia*, containing many Countries, Provinces and Islands, once the Nursery of Arts, Learning, and Sciences.

GREEKS, the Inhabitants of *Greece*.

GREGORIUS *Turonensis*, a famous Historian of *Auvergne*, in the 6th Century, and Archbishop of *Tours*.

GREUTHUNGI, a *Gothick* Nation.

GRONINGEN, the Capital of one of the seven United Provinces of the same Name.

GROTIUS, a famous *Dutch* Writer at the Beginning of the 17th Century.

GRUDII, the ancient Inhabitants about *Louvain*, or, according to some, about *Bruges*.

GRUTERUS, a famous Poet and Critick of *Antwerp*, in the 16th Century, who, among other Works, publish'd a *The-saurus Inscriptionum*.

GRUTINGI, v. *Greuthingi*.

GUELDERS, one of the 17 Provinces of the *Low Countries*, and of the seven United Provinces.

GUGERNI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, who dwelt on the Right Banks of the *Rhine*, between the *Ubii* and the *Batavi*.

GUNDARIC, a King of the *Vandals*, in *Spain*.

GUNDEUCUS, a King of the *Burgundians*, the Son of *Gundicarius*.

GUNDICARIUS, a King of the *Burgundians*, who founded that Kingdom in *Gaul*.

GUNDOBALD, a King of the *Burgundians*.

GUNDOMAD, a King of the *Alemanni*.

GUNTHERIC, a General of the *Peuceni*.

GUN-

GUNTHICARIUS, v. *Gundicarius*.
GUTTONES, an ancient People of *Germany*, inhabiting about the *Vistula*.
GYTHONES, v. *Guttones*.

H

HÆMUS, a Mountain dividing *Moesia* and *Thrace*.
HAIMBURG, a small Town in *Lower Austria*, on the Borders of *Hungary*, remarkable for nothing but its Antiquity.
HAINAULT, an Earldom in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and one of the 17 Provinces.
HALIDEGASTES, a General of the *Franks*.
HANNIBAL, a valiant *Carthaginian* Commander, who warred 16 Years with the *Romans*.
HARIOBAUDUS, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.
HARTOMUNDUS, a General of the *Franks*.
HARUDES } a People of *Gallia Celtica*, sup-
HARUDI } pos'd to have been originally
Germans; and by some to have inhabit-
ed about *Constance*.
HASDINGI, v. *Asdingi*.
HELEN, the Wife of *Constantius*, and Mother of *Constantine the Great*.
HELIOGABALUS, the 24th *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Caracalla*, a Prodigy of Lewdness and Debauchery.
HELLESPONT, the famous Streights by *Constantinople*, dividing *Europe* from *Asia*, between *Propontis*, and the *Ægean Sea*.
HELVETIA, *Swisserland*, now divided into 13 Cantons.
HELVETII, the *Swiss*, Inhabitants of that Country.
HELVOETSLUIS, a Village on the *Goree*, in *South Holland*.
HEMONA, v. *Laubach*.
HEMUS, v. *Hæmus*.
HENGIST and *Horfa*, the two first *Saxon* Princes, who came to *England*.
HENNEGAU, v. *Hainault*.
HERACLEA, a City of *Thrace*, on the *Pontus Euxinus*.

HERACLIAN, one of the Usurpers of the Imperial Dignity, in the Reign of *Honorius*.
HERCYNIAN Forest, the largest Forest of *Ancient Germany*, being reckoned by *Cæsar* to have been 60 Days Journey in Length, and 9 in Breadth. Many Parts of it have been since cut down, and many are yet remaining; of which among others, is that call'd the *Black Forest*.
HERMANARIC, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.
HERMANDURI, v. *Hermunduri*.
HERMIGARIUS, a Prince of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.
HERMUNDURI, an ancient People of *Germany*, particularly in the Country now call'd *Misnia*, in *Upper Saxony*; tho' they possess'd a much larger Tract of Land, according to some, all *Bohemia*.
HERNAC, the Son of *Attila*, King of the *Hunns*.
HERODIANUS, an Historian of *Alexandria*, in the 3d Century.
HERODOTUS, a famous Historian of *Halicarnassus*, in *Asia Minor*, about 450 Years before the Birth of *Christ*.
HERTHA, a Goddess of the *Suevi*, the same the *Romans* worship'd under the Apellation of *Magna Deorum Mater*.
HERTIUS, (*Joh. Nic.*) a noted *German* Writer of the last, and the Beginning of this Century, who, among other Works, publish'd a *Notitia veteris Germaniæ populorum*.
HERULI, an ancient *Northern* People, who came first out of *Scandinavia*, but afterwards inhabited the Country now call'd *Mecklenburg*, in *Lower Saxony*, towards the *Baltick*.
HILDEMUND, a General of the *Franks*.
HILDERIC, a General of the *Goths*.
HIPPO, a City of the Province of *Constantine*, in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, in *Africa*, upon the *Mediterranean*.
LIII 2 HISPA-

HISPALIS, the City of *Sevil*, in *Spain*.

HOLSATIA, v. *Hölstein*.

HOLSTEIN, a Duchy in *Germany*, in the Circle of the *Lower Saxony*, formerly a Part of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, and now bounds the *German Empire* towards *Denmark*; but a good Part of it belongs to that Crown.

HONORIUS, the 55th Emperour of *Rome*, with his Brother *Arcadius*.

HORACE (or *Horatius Quintus Flaccus*) a famous *Latin Poet*, of *Venutium*, in *Apulia*, in the Time of *Augustus*.

HORTARIUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.

HOSTILIANUS, the younger Son of *Decius*, who enjoy'd the Imperial Title a short Time; but is not reckon'd in the Series of the *Roman Emperours*.

HULDIN, a Duke of the *Hunns*.

HUNILA, a *Gothick Princess*, the Wife of *Bonofus*.

HUNNIMUND, a Prince of the *Suevi*.

HUNNS, an ancient People, supposed to have come first out of *Scythia*; some say the ancient Inhabitants of the *Marshes* of the *Mæotis*; and after having over-run the greatest Part of *Europe*, settled in *Pannonia*, and gave Name to the Country now call'd *Hungary*; tho' some suppose the *Hungarians* to have been another Race of *Scythians*, who expell'd the *Hunns*, in the Reign of *Charlemaign*.

HUNORIC, a King of the *Vandals* and *Alani*, the Son of *Genferic*.

HYRCANIA, a Country of *Asia*, bordering on the *Caspian Sea*.

I J

JANUS, the most ancient of the Heathen Gods in *Italy*: His Temple was shut up in Time of Peace.

JAZYGÆ } a People of *Sarmatia Europæa*,
JAZYGES } inhabiting about the Countries now call'd *Livonia* and *Prussia*.

IDATIUS, a *Spanish Historian*, who wrote

a Chronicle, from the Time of *Theodosius*, to the Year 467.

IGILLUS, a General of the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*.

ILERDA, a City of *Catalonia*, in *Spain*, now call'd *Lerida*, on the *Segre*.

ILLYRICUM, formerly the Country between *Pannonia* to the North, and the *Adriatick Sea* to the South, divided into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*. It is now chiefly comprehended under *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, and border'd by *Pannonia*, *Istria*, *Macedonia*, and the *Adriatick Gulph*; almost wholly under the respective Dominions of the *Venetians* and the *Turks*.

INDUCIOMARUS, a Prince of the *Treviri*.

INGUIOMARUS, a Prince of the *Cherusci*, Kinsman of *Arminius*.

INIS, v. *Inn*.

INN, a River of *Germany*, which runs thro' *Bavaria* and *Tyrol*, and falls into the *Danube*, near *Passau*.

INSBRUCK, the Capital of *Tyrol*.

INSUBRES, the Inhabitants of *Insubria*.

INSUBRIA, a Country of *Gallia Cis-Alpina*, now the Duchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, &c.

IONIA, a Country of *Asia Minor*, anciently inhabited by a Colony from *Greece*.

JORNANDES, Author of a History of the *Goths*, and a *Goth* by Nation, in the Time of *Justinian*, supposed by some to have been Bishop of *Ravenna*.

JOVIAN, the 49th *Roman Emperour*, who reign'd but seven Months.

JOVINUS, a *Gaul*, who assumed the Imperial Dignity at *Mentz*, in the Reign of *Honorius*; but was defeated by *Ataulph*, and put to Death.

IPRES, a fine and very strong City, and Castle of the *Low Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*.

IRMENSÄUL, a famous Monumental Column in *Germany*, suppos'd to have been erected in Honour of *Arminius*, destroy'd by *Charlemaign*.

ISELBURG, v. *Aliso*.
 ISIS, an *Egyptian* Goddess, likewise worship'd by the *Suevi*.
 ISSEL, v. *Yffel*.
 ISTER, that Part of the *Danube*, which pass'd by *Illyricum*.
 ISTRIA, v. *Istropolis*.
 ISTRIA, a Country now in *Italy*, under the *Venetians*, bordering on *Illyricum*, so call'd from the River *Ister*.
 ISTROPOLIS, a City of *Lower Mæsia*, near the South Entrance of the *Danube*.
 ITALICUS, a King of the *Suevi*.
 ISAURIA, a Province anciently of *Asia Minor*, now a Part of *Caramania*, and subject to the *Turks*.
 ISERE, a River of *France*, which arises in *Savoy*, and falls into the *Rhone* above *Valence*.
 ITALUS, the Son of *Flavius*, a General, and afterwards King of the *Cherusci*.
 ITALY, one of the most famous Countries in *Europe*, once the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, now under several Princes.
 JUDÆA, taken extensively the whole Country of *Palestine*, but more strictly that inhabited by the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*.
 JUGURTHA, a King of *Numidia*, a Kingdom bordering on *Mauritania*.
 JULIA, the Daughter of *Augustus*, who for her Wantonness was banish'd *Rome*.
 JULIA, the Grand-Daughter of *Augustus*, of not much better Fame.
 JULIAN, (*Didius*) the 20th *Roman* Emperour, who reign'd but two Months and five Days.
 JULIAN, the 48th *Roman* Emperour, surnamed the *Apostate*.
 JULIERS, a Duchy in *Westphalia*, situate between the *Maeße*, and the *Rhine*.
 JULIUS CÆSAR, the first *Roman* Emperour.
 JULIUS Nepos, Emperour of *Rome*, in the *West*, upon the Resignation of *Glycerius*.
 JULIUS Paulus, a Prince of the *Batavi*.

JULIUS Vindex, a Nobleman of *Gaul*, famous for attempting to free his Country from the Tyranny of *Nero*.
 JUPITER, the supream God of the *Heathens*.
 JUPITER Feretrius, a Name given *Jupiter*, from the Spoils offer'd him by *Romulus* in the *Capitol*.
 JURA, a Mountain in *Gallia Belgica*, which separated the *Sequani*, from the *Helvetii*, most of which is now call'd *Mont St. Claude*.
 JUTÆ } the Inhabitants of *Jutiæ*, or *Jut-*
 JUTES } land.
 JUTIÆ, v. *Jutland*.
 JUTLAND, the greatest Part of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, suppos'd to have been the Country of the ancient *Cimbri*, now belonging to *Denmark*.
 JUTHUNGI, a Nation of the *Alemanni*.
 JUVAVIA, formerly the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum*, now *Saltzburg*.

K

KELLEN, v. *Colonia Trajana*.
 KESSEL, a Town in *Brabant*, on the River *Neerße*, not far from the *Maeße*.
 KEYSERSWAERT, a Town and Castle on a small Island made by the *Rhine*, in the Archbishopick of *Cologne*, by some suppos'd to be the *Colonia Trajana*.

L

LABARUM, the *Roman* Imperial Standard, with a Cross upon it, from the Time of *Constantine the Great*, which was carried before the Emperours in their Wars.
 LABIENUS, one of *Julius Cæsar's* Captains, who afterwards revolted to *Pompey*.
 LACEDEMON, v. *Sparta*.
 LACTANTIUS, a famous Orator at *Nicomedia*, in the Beginning of the 4th Century, who, for his Eloquence, was call'd the Christian *Cicero*.
 LACTATIUS Catulus, v. *Catulus*.

LACUS *Benacus*, v. *Lago di Guarda*.

LÆLIANUS, (C. *Lælianus*,) caus'd himself to be proclaim'd Emperour at *Mentz*, but was slain by his own Soldiers.

LAGO di *Guarda*, a Lake now belonging to the *Venetians*, between *Verona*, *Brescia*, and *Trent*.

LAMPRIIDIUS (*Ælius*) a Roman Historian, towards the Conclusion of the 3d Century.

LANGOBARDI, v. *Longobards*.

LANGRES, a large and ancient City of *Champaign*, at the Source of the River *Marne*.

LANGUEDOC, a Province of *France*, the Western Part of what the Romans call'd *Gallia Narbonensis*.

LARISSA, the principal City of *Theffalia*, a Province of *Macedonia*, on the River *Peneo*.

LATINS, the Inhabitants of *Latium*, or an ancient Part of *Italy*, whence the *Latin* Tongue is so call'd.

LATOBRIGÆ } a People of *Gallia Belgica*,
LATOBRIGI } between the *Allobroges*,
and *Helvetii*, in the Country now call'd *Lausanne*.

LAUBACH, a City of *Carniola*, on a River of the same Name, which falls into the *Save*.

LAUREACUM, *Colonia M. Antonini*, the Capital of *Noricum Ripense*.

LAZI, an ancient People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, according to some on the Banks of the *Palus Mæotis*, but, according to others, towards the *Caspia Portæ*, near the *Iberi*.

LECK, a new Branch of the *Rhine*, which divides from it in the Province of *Utrecht*, and falls into the *Maese* below *Rotterdam*, call'd anciently *Fossa Corbulonis*.

LEGES *Agrariæ*, Laws for the equal dividing of common Lands among the People.

LEIBNITZ, (*Gotfried William*) a famous and very learned Polyhistorian, Mathematician, and Philosopher, of *Leipzick*,

of the foregoing, and the Beginning of the present Century, greatly and justly esteem'd by many Princes, and made Baron and Aulick Counsellour by the Emperour.

LEMANUS (*Lacus*) the Lake upon which *Geneva* stands, made by the River *Rhone*, between *Swisserland* to the North, and *Savoy* to the South, commonly call'd the *Lake of Geneva*.

LEMNOS, an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, now call'd *Stalimane*.

LENTIA, v. *Lintz*.

LENTICENSES, a Nation of the *Alemanni*.

LENTILA, v. *Lintz*.

LEO, a Roman Emperour, in the East, who succeeded *Marcian*.

LEON, a City of *Spain*, in *Asturia*, built in the Time of *Nerva*, the Emperour, the Capital of the Kingdom of that Name, at the Source of the River *Esla*.

LEVACI, a People of *Brabant*, whose Town was call'd *Leew*, not far from *Louvain*.

LEUCI, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, where now *Lorrain* is, well skill'd in Darting, their City is now call'd *Toul*.

LEYDEN, an ancient and famous City, and now an University of *Holland*, on the old Stream of the *Rhine*, near the Lake of *Haerlem*. In the Time of the Romans, the *Prætor* for *Belgick Gaul* resided there.

LICINIUS, admitted a Partner in the Empire with *Constantine*, the Great; but lost his Life in raising Commotions against him.

LIEGE, a City, and likewise a Bishoprick, in the Circle of *Westphalia*, in *Germany*.

LIGURIA, a Part of ancient *Italy*, extending from the *Appennines* to the *Tuscan Sea*.

LILYBÆUM, v. *Capo Boco*.

LIMBURG, a City and Duchy in the Low Countries, situate betwixt the Duchy of *Juliers*, and the Bishoprick of *Liege*.

LIMI-

LIMITES, so the *Romans* call'd certain Districts on their Confines, environ'd with Intrenchments and Ditches.

LINGONES, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, inhabiting in and about *Langres*, in *Champaign*.

LINTZ, the Capital of *Upper Austria*, a populous and handsom City, with a Bridge over the *Danube*.

LIPARI, there are seven Islands call'd the *Liparian Islands* (*Insulæ Vulcanicæ*) in the *Tuscan Sea*, belonging to *Sicily*, of which this is the Chief.

LIPPE, a River of *Germany*, arising near *Paderborn*, and falls into the *Rhine*, below *Cologn*.

LISBON, the Capital of *Portugal*, on the *Tagus*.

LITHUANIANS, the Inhabitants of *Lithuania*, formerly a Part of *Sarmatia Europæa*, now a Province and Grand Dukedom, belonging to *Poland*.

LIVIA, the Wife of *Augustus*.

LIVY, a *Roman* Historian in *Padua*, where he died, A. C. 17. many of whose Works are lost.

LOCCENIUS, a famous Historian of the last Century, in *Germany* and *Sweden*.

LOIRE, one of the greatest and most celebrated Rivers in *France*, said to take 112 Rivers in its Course: It rises in *Velay*, and falls into the Bay of *Aquitain*, below *Nantz*.

LOMBARDS, v. *Longobardi*.

LOMBARDY, v. *Longobardia*.

LONGOBARDI, originally a *Suevian* Nation, so call'd, as some will have it, because they suffer'd their Beards to grow long; but others say, because originally made up of two Nations, the *Lingones* and the *Bardi*.

LONGOBARDIA, (anciently the greatest Part of *Gallia Cisalpina*) a Kingdom of itself, 'till *Charlemaign* put an End to it. It is yet call'd *Lombardy*; but now contains several Dukedoms, States, or Dominions.

LUCAN, a celebrated Poet of *Corduba*, in the Time of *Nero*, famous for an Heroick Poem on the Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.

LUGDUNUM Batavorum, now *Leyden*, in *Holland*.

LUGDUNUM Celtarum, now *Lions*, in *France*, formerly the chief City of *Gallia Celtica*.

LUPUDUNUM, now *Ladenburg*, in the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, upon the *Neckar*, near *Heidelberg*.

LUSITANIA, *Portugal*, a Kingdom on the West of *Spain*, formerly a Part of it.

LYDIA, an inland Country of *Asia Minor*, formerly govern'd by the famous *Croesus*, who was the last King of it.

LYGII, an ancient People of *Upper Germany*, who inhabited the Country now call'd *Silesia*, and on the Borders of *Poland*.

LYONS, an ancient, populous, and rich City of *France*, a *Roman* Colony in the Time of *Augustus*: It is the Capital of of a Province call'd *Lionnois*, situate at the Foot of a Hill, upon the Confluence of the *Saone* and *Rhone*.

M

MABILLON (F.) a famous *French* Writer, of the foregoing Century, of the Order of the *Benedictines*.

MACEDONIA, a large Country, of great Antiquity and Fame, in *Greece*, containing several Provinces, now under the *Turks*.

MACRIANUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.

MACRINUS, a *Moor* by Birth, who, with his Son *Diadumenus*, is reckoned the 23d *Roman* Emperour; but were both murder'd within 14 Months.

MÆOTICK Lake, a vast Lake in the North Part of *Scythia*, now call'd *Marbianco*, or *Mare della Tana*. It is about 600 Miles in Compass, and the River *Tanais* disembogues itself into it.

MÆOTIS,

MÆOTIS, v. *Mæotick*.

MAESE, a large River of *Gallia Belgica*, which falls into the *German Ocean* below the *Briel*.

MAESTRICH, a City of *Brabant*, on the *Western Bank* of the *Maese*.

MAGNENTIUS, a *German*, and Usurper of the *Roman Empire*, in the Time of *Constantius*, the Younger.

MAJORIANUS (*Julius*) a *Roman Emperor* in the *West*, on the Resignation of *Avitus*, A. 457.

MALCHUS, a *Sophist* of *Constantinople*, of the 5th Century.

MALLORIX, a Prince of *Friesland*.

MALOVEND, a General of the *Marfi*.

MANHEIM, a City in the *Lower Palatinate*, at the Confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Neckar*.

MANLIUS (*C. Manlius*, or *Manlius Capitolinus*) a *Roman*, famous for defending the *Capitol* against the *Gauls*.

MANNUS, the great Ancestor of the *Germans*, by some call'd *Tuisto*.

MAR, v. *Morau*.

MARABODUUS, a General of the *Marcomanni*.

MARCELLUS, a famous and valiant *Roman*, who was five Times Consul, and distinguish'd himself in the Wars with the *Syracusans*, and with *Hannibal*.

MARCIAN, a *Roman Emperour*, in the *East*, about the Middle of the 5th Century.

MARCIANOPOLIS, a City of ancient *Moesia*, now in *Bulgaria*, commonly call'd *Preslaw*, about 20 Miles from the *Eu-xine Sea*.

MARCOMANNI, a Nation of the *Suevi*, whom *Cluverius* places between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, and the *Neckar*; who settled, however under *Maraboduus*, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*.

MARCOMER, a Prince of the *Franks*.

MARGUS, a City of *Moesia*, on the *Danube*.

MARIANA, a learned *Spanish Jesuit* and Historian, who died *Anno 1624*.

MARIUS, (*C.*) a renown'd *Roman*, who was seven Times Consul, and rais'd himself by his Valour.

MARK, v. *Morau*.

MAROS, v. *Morau*.

MARS, the Heathen God of War.

MARSACI, an ancient People, inhabiting, among other Countries along the Sea-Coast, an Island formed by the Rivers *Maes* and *Rhine*, near *Dort*.

MARSEILLES, a large and flourishing City of *Provence*, in *France*, on the *Mediterranean*; said to be very ancient, and, according to some, built by the *Phœnicians*; but, as *Justin* will have it, by the *Phocians*, in the Time of *Tarquinius*, King of *Rome*.

MARSI, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, on and about the River *Lippe*.

MARTENA (*Castrum Martena*) suppos'd by some to be the present *Marckburg*, in *Stiria*.

MARTIAL, a famous *Epigrammatick Poet*, in the 1st Century, and in the Times of eight Emperours, from *Galba* to *Trajan*: He was born at *Bilbilis*, in *Celtiberia*, now *Butiera*, in the Kingdom of *Arragon*.

MARTINACH, a Town in *Switzerland*, in the Country of *Valais*.

MASDRAS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

MASYUS, a King of the *Semnonēs*.

MATTIACI, a People of *Germany*, in the Country now call'd *Hessen*.

MATTIACUM, a City of *Hessen*, call'd *Marpurg*, or, according to others, *Baden*, because famous for its Baths.

MATTIUM, the Capital of the *Catti*, v. *Mattiacum*.

MAURITANIA, an ancient large Region of *Africa*, divided into *Cæsariensis*, *Tingitana* and *Sitofensis*.

MAXENTIUS, the Son of *Maximian*, who assum'd

assumed the Title of *Roman Emperour*, and was a cruel Tyrant; but being overcome by *Constantine*, was drown'd in the *Tyber*.

MAXIMIAN, (surnamed *Hercules*) who, with *Dioclesian*, made the 44th *Roman Emperour*, v. *Dioclesian*.

MAXIMINUS, who with his Son made the 26th *Roman Emperour*, and succeeded *Al. Severus*, but were both slain in the 3d Year of their Reign.

MAXIMUS, a *Spaniard*, who assum'd the Title of *Roman Emperour*, in the *West*, in the Time of *Theodosius*; but was slain in a Tumult by the Soldiers.

MAXIMUS (*Petronius*) a *Roman Emperour* in the *West*, who succeeded *Valentinian*, III.

MAYN, a famous River of *Germany*, arising from two Springs, which unite in one Stream at *Culembach*, in *Franconia*, and after having divided that Circle, into two Parts, passing by *Franckfort*, falls into the *Rhine*, near *Mentz*.

MEDIOMATRICES } a People of *Lorain*,
MEDIOMATRICI } on the *Mosel*, about the City of *Metz*.

MEDITERRANEAN Sea, the first discover'd Sea in the World, still very famous, and much frequented, which breaks in, from the *Atlantick Ocean*, between *Spain* and *Africa*, by the Streights of *Gibraltar*, or *Hercules Pillars*, the *Ne plus ultra* of the Ancients.

MELA (*Pomponius*) a *Spanish Geographer*, who liv'd in the Time of *Claudius Caesar*.

MELO, a Prince of the *Sicambri*.

MELLOBAUDES, a King of the *Franks*.

MENAPII, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*, who inhabited both Sides of the *Rhine*: Some take them for the Inhabitants of *Cleves*, and others of *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, &c.

MENTZ, a City of *Germany*, of great Antiquity, where some say Printing was first invented, about A. 1430, now the Residence of one of the Spiritual Electors, in

the Lower Circle of the *Rhine*, on that River, over-against where the *Mayn* falls into it.

MERIDA, a City of *Portugal*, on the River *Guadiana*.

MEROVEUS, a King of the *Franks*.

MEROVINGI, the Kings of the *Franks*, who descended from *Meroveus*.

MERSEBURG, a small City of *Germany*, in the Circle of *Upper Saxony*, and Marquisate of *Misnia*, on the *Saal*.

MESOPOTAMIA, a large Country in the Middle of *Asia*, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*.

METAURUS, a River of *Umbria*, now call'd *Metoro*, in the Duchy of *Urbino*.

METZ, an ancient City in the Duchy of *Lorain*, on the River *Mosel*.

MILAN, one of the greatest and noblest Cities of *Italy*, built by the *Gauls* call'd *Insubres*, about 50 Years before our Saviour, tho' some pretend above 1000 Years sooner.

MINERVA, the Heathen Goddess of War, and Patroness of Arts and Sciences, Wisdom and Learning.

MISNIA, a Province and Marquisate in *Upper Germany*, subject to the Elector of *Saxony*: Also the Capital of that Province, on the *Elb*, three *German Miles* from *Dresden*.

MISNIANS, the Inhabitants of that Country.

MODENA, a City of *Lombardy*, the Capital of a Duchy of the same Name, situate on the River *Secchia*.

MOESIA, a Country of *Europe*, and a Province of the *Ancient Illyricum*, bordering on *Pannonia*, divided into the *Upper*, containing *Bosnia* and *Servia*, and the *Lower* call'd *Bulagria*.

MOESII, the People of that Country.

MOGUNTIA, v. *Mentz*.

MOLDAVIA, a Part of *Moesia Inferior*, formerly belonging to the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but more anciently a Part of *Dacia*, now under a Prince of its own,

M m m m

call'd

call'd a *Hospodar*, who is a Vassal to the Port.

MORAU } a large River, arising in the
MORAVA } Confines of *Bohemia*, which
divides *Moravia* into two Parts, and
falls into the *Danube*, not far from
Vienna.

MORAVIA, a Province in the Kingdom of
Bohemia, formerly, for some Time, a
Kingdom of itself, afterwards a Duchy,
and then a Marquisate.

MOREA, a famous large and fruitful *Penin-
sula* of *Greece*, anciently call'd *Pelopon-
nesus*, now belonging to the *Venetians*.

MORINI, an ancient People of the *Low
Countries*, who probably inhabited on
the present Coast of *Bologne*, on the
Confines of *Picardy* and *Artois*, because
Cæsar observes, that, from their Coun-
try was the nearest Passage to *Britain*.

MORINORUM *Comites*, so the ancient
Counts of *Flanders* were sometimes call'd.

MOSCHI, a People who dwelt, in ancient
Times, at *Colchis*, and afterwards form'd
a Kingdom on the Borders of *Asia* and
Europe.

MOSEL, a River which, running thro'
Lorain, passes by *Triers*, and falls into
the *Rhine*, at *Coblentz*, famous for the
Vines growing in the Neighbourhood
of it.

MUNIMENTUM *Corbulonis*, v. *Groningen*.

MURSA, a Town and Castle, in *Sclavonia*,
at the Conflux of the *Draw* and *Danube*,
now call'd *Esseck*, famous for a Bridge
three Miles over.

MYOPARONES, a Sort of Ships, or small
Vessels, made Use of by the *Saxons*.

MYSIA, a Country of *Asia Minor*, not
far from the *Hellepont*.

MYSI, the Inhabitants of that Country.

N

NAB, a River of *Nortgow*, which arises
near the Source of the *Mayn*, and falls
into the *Danube*, above *Ratisbon*.

NAISSUS, a City of the *Upper Moesia*.

NAMUR, a large and strong City of the
Low Countries, on the *Maeße*.

NANTUATES, an ancient People of the
North Part of *Savoy*, whose Country is
now call'd *Le Chablais*.

NARBONNE, an ancient *Roman* City, in
Languedoc, in *France*, said to be built
138 Years before the Birth of *Christ*.

NARISCI, the ancient People of the Coun-
try now call'd *Nortgow*, in *Germany*,
the Capital of which is the famous City
of *Nuremburg*.

NASUA, a General of the *Suevi*, the Bro-
ther of *Cimberius*.

NAULOBATUS, a General of the *Heruli*.

NECKAR, a River of *Swabia* in *Germany*,
which rises in the *Black Forest*, not far
distant from the *Danube*, but taking a
quite different Course falls into the *Rhine*.

NEMESIANUS, a *Latin* Poet of *Carthage*,
towards the End of the 3d Century.

NEMETES, a People of ancient *Germany*,
about the City of *Spire*, on the *Rhine*.

NEOCÆSAREA, the Capital of *Pontus*, on
the River *Lycus*, now call'd *Tocat*.

NEPOTIANUS, a Nephew of *Constantine*,
the Great, who assum'd the Imperial
Dignity, at *Rome*; but was murder'd
by *Magentius*.

NERO, the 6th Emperour of *Rome*, the
most cruel and wicked of them all.

NERVA, the 13th *Roman* Emperour, a
good and worthy Prince.

NERVII, an ancient People of *Belgica*,
thought to have dwelt in the now Dio-
cese of *Cambray*.

NESSUS, a River in *Thrace*.

NEUS, a small City in the Archbishoprick
of *Cologne*, on the *Rhine*, at the Con-
flux of the River *Erpt*, with that River.

NICE } a City of *Bitbynia*, famous for
NICÆA } the first General Council, An.
324, against *Arianism*, &c.

NICOMEDIA, a City in *Bitbynia*, where
Constantine, the Great, died.

Nico-

NICOPOLIS, a City of *Achaia*; likewise a City of *Bulgaria*; at the Confluence of the *Isacar*, and the *Danube*, commonly call'd *Nigeboli*.

NIEPER, (or *Borysthenes*) a River of *Sarmatia Europæa*. the greatest in *Europe*, except the *Danube*, which rises in *Muscovy*, and, after having taken several vast Rivers in its Course, falls into the *Euxine Sea*, near *Bialagorod*.

NIESTER (or *Tyrus*) a River of *Sarmatia Europæa*, which falls into the *Euxine Sea*, between the *Danube* and the *Nieper*.

NIMES (or *Nismes*) an ancient and yet flourishing City of *France*, in the *Lower Languedoc*.

NIZZA, v. *Nice*.

NOLA, a City and Roman Colony of *Campania Felix*, noted for the Death of *Augustus*.

NORDHAUSEN, a free Imperial City of *Germany*, in *Thuringia*, upon the River *Zorge*.

NOREJA, a City on the Borders of *Illyricum*, about nine German Miles from *Aquileja*.

NORIC Alps, that Part of those Mountains, which were in, or bordering upon *Noricum*.

NORICI, the Inhabitants of *Noricum*.

NORICUM, anciently a large Country, now containing several, as a great Part of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, Part of *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, &c. and divided into,

Noricum Mediterraneum,

Noricum Ripense.

NORTHERN Sea, or the *German Ocean*.

NOVEM POPULI, a Province of *France*, now call'd *Gascony*.

NOVI, a Town in *Lower Moesia*.

NOVIOMAGUS, v. *Spire*.

NUMANTIA, a celebrated City of ancient *Spain*, famous for a gallant Resistance against the *Romans*, in a Siege of fourteen Years.

NUMERIANUS, the 42d Roman Emperour, and youngest Son of *Carus*, murder'd by his Father-in-law *Aper*.

NUMIDIA, a Country of *Africa*, bordering on *Mauritania*.

O

OCTAVIANUS, v. *Augustus*.

OCTODURUS (*Vicus Veragrorum*) v. *Martinac*.

ODENATUS, an Heroick Prince of the *Saracens*, about *Palmyra*, whose Wife was the famous *Zenobia*. *Gallienus* admitted him to a Share in the *Roman Empire*; but he was murder'd by one of his own Relations.

ODINUS, a *Northern Hero*, rever'd as a God.

ODOACER, a Prince of the *Rugii*.

ODOTHEUS, a General of the *Greuthingi*.

OENUS, v. *Inis*.

OLYBRIUS, a Roman Emperour in the *West*, who succeeded *Anthemius*.

OLYMPIODORUS, a Heathen Historian of *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, at the Beginning of the 5th Century.

OMERS (St.) a handsom, large and strong City, in *Artois*, upon the River *Aa*, famous for a College of *English Jesuits*.

OPORTO, a large City of *Portugal*, at the Mouth of the *Douro*, which with *Cale*, a Village near it, gave Name to the whole Kingdom.

ORANGE, a City of *Provence*, Capital of a small Principality of that Name.

ORBEGO, a River in the Kingdom of *Leon*, which arises in the Mountains of *Asturia*, and falls into the *Esla*.

ORESTES, the Son of *Agamemnon*, and Friend of *Pylades*.

ORLEANS, a pleasant and noble City of *France*, in a Province of the same Name, on the *Loire*, said to have been built by the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, A. 163, and from him to have taken the Name of *Aurelia*; tho' others will have it *Au-*

reliana (from *Ore Ligeriana*) being situate near the Mouth of the *Loire* (or *Ligeris*.)

OSRHOENE, a Country of *Syria*, on the Borders of *Mesopotamia*.

OSRHOENI, the People of that Country.

OSTROGOTHA, a King of the *Goths*.

OSTRO-GOTHS, the *East-Goths*, v. *Goths*.

OTHO, v. *Otto*.

OTTO, the 8th *Roman* Emperour, who succeeded *Galba*, but reigned only 95 Days.

OTTO *Frisingensis*, a learned Bishop and Historian of *Freisingen*, in the 12th Century.

OVID (*Ovidius Naso*) an excellent *Roman* Poet, in the Time of *Augustus*.

OVIEDO, a City in the Kingdom of *Leon*, in *Spain*, five *Spanish* Leagues from the Sea.

OVLIA, a *Roman* Colony, establish'd by *M. Antoninus*, in *Noricum Ripense*.

P

PALENZA, a City of the Kingdom of *Leon*, in *Spain*.

PÆMANI, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*.

PAGI, } a famous *French* Chronologist
PAGIUS } and Historian, in the 17th Century.

PALERMO, a large and rich City of *Sicily*, built by the *Phœnicians*, and Capital of the Island.

PALMYRA, an ancient City of *Syria*, of which very fine Ruins are yet remaining, near the Defarts of *Arabia*.

PAMPELONA, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, once the Seat of its Kings, now subject to *Spain*.

PANNONES, v. *Pannonii*.

PANNONIA, a very large Country, in the ancient Division of *Europe*, divided into the *Upper* and *Lower*, and comprehend- ed betwixt *Illyricum*, the *Danube*, and the Mountains *Cethi*.

PANNONII, the Inhabitants of that Coun- try, supposed to be a Nation of the *Cel- tick Gauls*.

PAPYRIUS *Carbo*, a renowned *Roman*, said to be born with Teeth in his Head.

PARIS, an ancient and famous City, the Capital of all *France*, on the River *Seine*.

PARMA, a Duchy of *Italy*, which makes a Part of *Lombardy*.

PARTHIA, a Country in *Asia*, lying be- tween *Media*, *Caramania*, and the *Hir- canian* Sea.

PARTHI, the Inhabitants of that Country.

PASSAU, a Colony of *Septimius Severus*, and a free Imperial City of *Germany*, now of *Lower Bavaria*, at the Conflu- ence of the *Inn* and the *Danube*.

PATERCULUS, v. *Vellejus*.

PATRICIUS, a Title of great Honour a- mong the *Romans*, at first only the De- scendants of the Senators who were cre- ated in the Times of the Kings.

PAVIA, a City in *Lombardy*, of great An- tiquity, supposed to be built by the *Li- gurians*, on the River *Texino*, now in the Duchy of *Milan*.

PELOPONNESUS, v. *Morea*.

PERINTHUS, a City of *Thrace*, about a Day's Journey West of *Constantinople*, now in a decaying Condition, and call'd *Heraclea*.

PERSIA, one of the largest, most ancient, and celebrated Kingdoms of *Asia*. It anciently contained many Countries, and now many Provinces.

PERTINAX (*Helvetius*) the 19th *Roman* Emperour, the Successor of *Commodus*, a valiant, discreet and modest Prince.

PESCENNIUS *Niger*, proclaimed *Roman* Emperour, by the Army in the *East*, at the same Time that *Julian Didius* was by the Senat, and *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*; but could not maintain that Dignity.

PETTAU, an ancient *Roman* Colony of *Pan-*

Pannonia, on the *Draw*, now made a Part of *Stiria*, in the Borders of *Sclavonia*.

PEUCE, an Island in one of the Mouths of the *Danube*.

PEUCINI, the Inhabitants of that Island.

PHARAMOND, a King of the *Franks*, supposed to have reign'd about the Beginning of the 5th Century; tho' some question the Truth of the Accounts we have of him.

PHALANX, a Body of Men form'd compactly into a square Battalion or Squadron.

PHARSALIA, a Part of *Thessaly*, famous for a Battle between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*.

PHASIS, a large River in *Colchis*, now call'd *Fasso*, which flows into the *Euxine* Sea.

PHILIPPIS (or *Philippi*) a City of *Macedonia*, on the Confines of *Thrace*.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, a City of *Thrace*, near the River *Hebrus*.

PHILIP, with his Son, made the 29th *Roman* Emperour; but were both assassinated after a Reign of about five Years.

PHILOSTORGIUS, an *Arian* of *Cappadocia*, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History, from the Beginning of that Sect to the Year 425.

PHRYGIA, two Countries in *Asia Minor*, one call'd *Major*, the other *Minor*.

PIACENZA, an ancient City of *Lombardy*, near the *Po*, now the Metropolis of a Duchy of that Name.

PICENUM, an ancient District of *Italy*, lying Eastward of *Umbria*.

PICTS, an ancient barbarous *Northern* People, who by Intermarriages became, in a Course of Time, one Nation with the *Scots*; but are originally supposed to have come out of *Denmark*, or *Scythia*, to the Isles of *Orkney*, and from thence into *Scotland*.

PIGHIUS, an Antiquary of *Campen*, in

Over-Yffel, in the 16th Century.

PIPA, Daughter of a King of the *Marcomanni*, a Favourite of Emperour *Claudius* II.

PIPARA, v. *Pipa*.

PITHYUS, a City on the Borders of *Colchis*.

PLACENTIA } v. *Piacenza*.

PLACENZA }

PLEUMATII, an ancient People subject to the *Nervii*.

PLINY, there were two Brothers of this Name, both celebrated Writers, the eldest call'd *Plinius Secundus* (*Cajus*) of *Verona*; and the youngest *Plinius Secundus* (*C. Cæcilius*) of *Como*, towards the Conclusion of the first, and the Beginning of the 2d Century; the former famous for his Natural History; and the latter for his Epistles.

PLUTARCH, a noted Philosopher, Historian and Orator, under *Trajan* and *Adrian*, whose Works are a sufficient Testimony of his Learning.

Po, the largest River in *Italy*, which arises in *Piedmont*, and dividing *Lombardy* into two Parts, falls into the *Adriatick* Sea, by many Mouths.

PODOLIA, a Province of *Poland*, comprehended under *Red Russia*, but which extends Eastwards as far as the *Euxine* Sea.

POLLENTIA, an ancient City near the *Alps*, tho' the Learned disagree as to the particular Situation of it.

POLLIO (*Asinius*) a famous *Roman* Orator, who was Consul, A. U. 714.

POLYBIUS, an ancient *Greek* Historian of *Arcadia*, who came to *Rome*, and wrote the *Roman* History in 40 Books, of which five are yet preserv'd. He is supposed to have died above 100 Years before the Birth of Christ.

POMPEY, the Great, *Julius Cæsar*'s Son-in-law.

PONTANUS (*Jo. Js.*) a *Danish* Historiographer, in the 17th Century.

PONTUS, an ancient Kingdom of *Asia Minor*,

Minor, between *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*, upon the *Euxine Sea*.
PONTUS EUXINUS, the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, from the *Ægean*, along the *Hellespont*, to the *Mæotick Lake*, between *Europe* and *Asia*.
POSTHUMUS, a Native of *Gaul*, who assum'd the Title of *Roman Emperour*, in that Country, and maintain'd it for a Time, till he was slain by his own Soldiers.
PRÆTOR URBANUS, a Magistrate in ancient *Rome*, who had Power to judge Matters of Law between Citizen and Citizen.
PREDENECENTRI, v. *Abotrites*.
PRIMIPILARIS, among the *Romans*, an Officer who had serv'd as eldest Captain.
PRISCILLIANISTS, ancient Hereticks, Followers of *Priscillian*, a *Spaniard*.
PRISCUS (L.) suppos'd to be a Brother of Emperour *Philip*, and himself Lieutenant of *Macedonia*, where he assumed the Imperial Dignity.
PRISEUS, a *Sophist*, in the 5th Century, who wrote a History of the *Goths*.
PROBUS, the 40th *Roman Emperour*, who, after he had reign'd above six Years, was slain by the Soldiers at *Sirmium*.
PROCONSUL, the late *Consul*, also the *Consul's Deputy*, or Lieutenant-Governour of a Province, v. *Consul*.
PROCONSULARIS, a Province of *Africa*.
PROCOPIUS, an Historian of *Cæsarea*, in the Time of *Justinian*.
PROCLUS, a Governour of *Gaul*, who assuming the Title of *Roman Emperour*, in that Country, in the Reign of *Probus*, was by him defeated, taken Prisoner and hang'd.
PROVENCE, one of the *Southern Provinces* of *France*, the first the *Romans* conquer'd, and brought into the Form of a *Roman Province*, whence it was call'd *Provincia Romana*.
PRUDENTIUS, a Christian Poet, in the 4th Century.

PRUSA, a City of *Bithynia*, at the Foot of *Olympus*, built by *Hannibal*.
PRUTH, a River in *Moldavia*, which arising in *Red Russia*, flows thro' *Wallachia*, and falls into the *Danube*.
PRUTHINGI, v. *Greuthingi*.
PTOLEMY, a famous Astronomer and Geographer of *Alexandria*, in the 2d Century.
PUPIENUS, (*Maximus*) with *Clodius Balbinus*, is accounted the 27th *Roman Emperour*; but they were both murder'd by the Soldiers, after they had reign'd but nine or ten Months.
PYRENEES, (or *Pyrenean Mountains*) one of the largest Chain of Mountains, in *Europe*, which divide *Spain* from *France*, running from *East* to *West*, 85 Leagues in Length.

Q

QUADI, a Nation of the *Suevi*, in *Moravia*, and the North of *Austria*, as far as the *Danube*.
Q. CICERO, v. *Cicero*.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, v. *Cæpio*.
Q. VARUS, v. *Varus*.
QUINTILLUS (M. Aurelius) the 36th *Roman Emperour*, who was kill'd by the Soldiers, when he had reign'd but fifteen Days.

R

RADAGAIUS, v. *Rhadagaisus*.
RÆTI, v. *Rætii*.
RÆTIA, the Country of the *Grisons*, on the *Alps*; near the *Hercynian Forest*: It was anciently call'd by some the *Western Illyricum*, and was of a larger Extent towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Austria*, of which it comprehended a Part; and was divided into *Rætia prima*, (or proper) and *Rætia secunda*.
RÆTII, the People of that Country,
RATISBON, an ancient City of *Germany*, (first built by *Tiberius*) in the Circle of *Bavaria*, now famous for the Diet of the Empire being held there.

RAVENNA, a very ancient City of *Italy*, near the Coast of the *Adriatick Gulph*, said to be built, A. M. 1766. In the Decline of the *Roman Empire*, it was some Time the Seat of the Emperours of the *West*, as it was likewise of the *Wisi-Gothick Kingdom*.

RAURACI } a People of ancient *Germany*,
RAURIACI } near the *Helvetii*, who in-
RAURICI } habited near where *Basil*
 in *Switzerland* now is.

RAUSIMODUS, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.

RECHIARIUS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*, the Son of *Rechila*.

RECHILA, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

REGEN, a River of *Germany*, which arises in *Nortgow*, on the Borders of *Bohemia*, and falls into the *Danube* at *Ratisbon*, thence call'd *Regensburg*.

REGARIUS, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*.

REGGIO, a City in the Duchy of *Modena*, in *Italy*.

REGILLIANUS, a Native of *Dacia*, who assum'd the Title of *Roman Emperour*, in *Illyricum*.

REGINA CASTRA, v. *Ratisbon*.

REMI, v. *Rheims*.

REMISMUNDUS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

REOTINUS, a Leader of those *Britons* who retir'd into *Gaul*.

RESPA, a General of the *Goths*.

RESPENDIAL, a King of the *Alani*.

RHADAGAISUS, a *Northern Prince*, who invaded *Italy*, at the Beginning of the 5th Century, by some supposed a King of the *Goths*, by others of the *Vandals*.

RHÆTIA, v. *Rætia*.

RHÆTII, v. *Rætii*.

RHÆUS, a General of the *Astingi*.

RHAMIS, a Princess of the *Cherusci*, and the Wife of *Sesithacus*.

RHAPTUS, a General of the *Astingi*.

RHEMI, the ancient Inhabitants about *Rheims*.

RHEIMS, a very ancient, fine and popu-

lous City of *France*, in the Province of *Champaign*, on the River *Vesle*.

RHENANUS (*Beatus*) a learned *German Writer*, towards the Conclusion of the 15th, and in the Beginning of the 16th Century; who publish'd several Things of the *German Antiquities*, as likewise Annotations on several of the *Roman Writers*.

RHINE, a great and famous River in *Germany*, which formerly divided it from *Gaul*: It springs out of the *Rhætian Alps*, in the *Western Borders* of *Switzerland*, and the *Northern* of the *Grisons*, from two Springs which unite near *Coire* or *Chur*, and it falls into the *Maese* and the *German Ocean*, by two Mouths, whence *Virg.* calls it *Rhenus Bicornis*, or *Bicorniger*: Tho' now it has no Passage into the *Ocean*, but with the *Maese*, below the *Briel*, unless that Branch of one Part of it call'd the *Yffel*, which empties itself into the *Zuyder-Zee*, may be said to do it.

RHODES, a celebrated Island in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coast of *Asia Minor*, over-against *Caria*.

RHODOPE, a famous Mountain of *Thrace*, now call'd *Valiza*.

RHONE, one of the most celebrated Rivers of *France*, which arises from a double Spring in *Mont de la Fourche*, a Part of the *Alps*, on the Borders of *Switzerland*, near the Springs of the *Rhine*, and after a vast Circuit thro' *France*, falls into the *Mediterranean*, by five Mouths.

RHYNDAGUS, a River of *Mysia*, in *Asia*, which falls into *Propontis*.

RIALTO, one of the principal Islands, on which *Venice* is built.

RICHIMER, a General of the *Vandals*.

RICHOMER, a King of the *Franks*.

RIEZ, a little, but populous, City of *France*, in *Provence*.

RIGODULUM, v. *Rigol*.

Ri-

RIGOL } a Town on the *Mosel*, some-
RIGOLA } thing below *Triers*.

RIGOMAGUS, an ancient City of *Germany*, near the Conflux of the *Mosel* and *Rhine*.

RIMINI, an ancient City in *Romandiola*, at the Mouth of the River *Marcochia*, (or *Arminius*) on the Shoars of the *Adriatick Sea*, where there are yet many Remains of *Roman Antiquities*.

ROAN, the Capital of *Normandy*, by *Cæsar* call'd *Urbs Velocassium*, and by some said to be built by him, now a rich and populous City, one of the best of *France*, on the *Seine*, below *Paris*, having a noble Harbour, and a great Trade.

ROER, a River of *Germany*, which arises in the Duchy of *Juliers*, and falls into the *Maese*, at *Roermond*.

ROMAN Miles, containing 1000 Roman Paces, each of four Foot, ten Inches, and a fifth of an Inch.

ROMANS, the Inhabitants or Subjects of *Rome*, born at or free of that famous City, v. *Rome*.

ROME, once the Seat of the *Roman Empire*, and the Capital of the then known World, now the immediate Capital of *Campagna di Roma* only, on the River *Tyber*, and the Papal Seat; generally suppos'd to have been built by *Romulus*, in the first Year of the 7th *Olympiad*.

ROMULUS, the suppos'd Son of *Mars* by *Ilia*, the Niece of *Numitor*, and Twin-Brother of *Rhemus*, the first King of *Rome*.

ROMULUS, a *Roman Emperour* for a short Time, in the *West*, during the Time of *Julius Nepos*, but dethron'd by *Odoacer*.

ROSCIUS (L.) a Tribune of *Rome*.

ROTHOMAGUS, v. *Roan*.

ROXOLANI, a People of *Scythia Europæa*, bordering upon the *Alani*: Their Country, anciently call'd *Roxolania*, is now

Red Russia, belonging to the Crown of *Poland*.

RUA, a King of the *Hunns*, *Attila's* Predecessor.

RUFINUS, one of the Guardians of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*.

RUGI, an ancient People of *Germany*, on the left Banks of the *Danube*, about where the *Morau* falls into that River.

RUGIA } an Island in the *Baltick*, on the
RUGEN } Coast of *Pomerania*.

RUGII, the Inhabitants of the Island of *Rugen*, (or *Rugia*,) in *Pomerania*.

S

SAAL, a River in *Germany*, arising in *Franconia*, which flows thro' *Thuringia*, and entring *Misnia*, falls into the *Elb*, below *Bernburg*, in *Upper Saxony*.

SABIS, v. *Sambre*.

SACI, an ancient People of *Asia*, from whom some, tho' erroneously, pretend to derive the *Saxons*.

SACHS, a Sort of Knives, or short Swords, made use of by the ancient *Saxons*, from which they took their Name.

SACROVIR (*Julius*) a Person of Distinction among the *Ædui*.

SAGUNTUM, a noble City of ancient *Spain*, the Memory of which is recorded with Honour, for the Fidelity shewn to its Allies the *Romans*.

SALASSII, an ancient People of *Piedmont*, whose chief Town was where now *Aosta* is situate.

SALI, a City of *Sarmatia Europæa*.

SALII, an ancient People of *Germany*, by some said to be the Progenitors, by others a Nation of the *Franks*. An ancient People of *Provence*, in *France*, who according to *Strabo*, *Mela*, &c. extended from about *Aix* to *Nice*. Another Nation, in the Tract now call'd *Saillant*, in *Overyssel*.

SALII,

SALII Gallicani, a Body so call'd among the *Auxilia Palatina*.

SALLUST, a Latin Historian, of *Amiterno*, in *Italy*, who died A. U. R. 723.

SALLUVII, v. *Sallyes*.

SALLYES, a People of *Gallia Narbonensis*, about where *Aix* now is.

SALONA, an ancient City of *Dalmatia*, and a Roman Colony; the Place where *Diocletian* was born, and whither he retreated, after he had resign'd the Imperial Dignity.

SALVIANUS, a famous Priest of *Marseilles*, in the 5th Century.

SAMAROBRIGA } v. *Amiens*.
SAMAROBRIVA }

SAMBIDA, v. *Sangibanus*.

SAMBRE, a River of the *Low Countries*, which arises in *Picardy*, and falls into the *Maese* at *Namur*.

SANGIBANUS, a King of the *Alani*.

SANTEN, a small Town of great Antiquity, formerly a Roman Colony, not far from the *Rhine*, now in the Duchy of *Cleves*, two German Miles from *Wesel*.

SANTONÆ } the ancient Inhabitants of
SANTONES } *Guienne*, or *Xantoigne*.

SAONE, a great River of *France*, arising out of Mount *Vauge*, in *Lorain*, not far from the Source of the *Mosel*, and, dividing the City of *Lions*, falls soon after into the *Rhone*.

SAPOR, a King of *Persia*.

SARACENS, People of *Arabia Felix*, by some said to be the *Ismaelites*, the Descendants of *Abraham* by *Hagar*; Robbers, as their Name originally signifies, who attain'd to so universal a Power, that they over-run *Syria*, *Persia*, *Palestine*, *Egypt*, and even Part of *Sicily*, *Italy*, *France*, and most of the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, under their own Kings, and withstood the united Force of *Christianity*, in the 11th and 12th Centuries, till the *Turks*, *Egyptians* and *Persians*, at length, abolish'd their very Name.

SARDICA, a City of *Thrace*, famous for a Council, in 347. It is now call'd *Sophia*, and, by the *Turks*, *Triadizza*.

SARDINIA, a great Island in the *Mediterranean*, which in the Time of the *Romans* had 42 Cities, now belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Title of King.

SARMATÆ, the Inhabitants of *Sarmatia*.

SARMATÆ Limigantes, a Body of *Sarmatian* Bondsmen, who rebelling against their Masters, drove them out of their Country; but were themselves subdued by the *Romans*.

SARMATIA, a very large Northern Country, divided into,

SARMATIA Asiatica, containing *Tartary*, *Petigora*, *Circassia*, and the Country of the *Morduitæ*: And

SARMATIA Europæa, containing *Russia*, Part of *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Lithuania*.

SARUS, a General of the *Goths*.

SATURN, the Heathen God of Time, called the Son of *Cælus* and *Terra*.

SATURNALIA, certain Days of Rejoycing and Hospitality, with the *Romans*, which took this Name from the Golden Age of *Saturn*, when all Things were common.

SAU, v. *Save*.

SAVE, a large River, which arises in *Upper Carniola*, and falls into the *Danube* at *Belgrade*.

SAUL, a *Gothick* General.

SAUROMATES, a King of *Bosphorus*.

SAXONS, a powerful People of *Ancient Germany*, who formerly inhabited a great Part of it, and of which two Circles yet bear their Name.

SAXONY, formerly a larger Part of *Germany*, than at present, which, at Times, has had very different Bounds: What remains under that Denomination is now divided into the *Upper* and the *Lower*; but is subject to many Princes.

SCALIGER (*Julius Cæsar*) a Philosopher, Poet, Physician, and excellent Critick,
N n n n of

- of *Agen*, in *France*, but born at *Ripa*, in *Italy*, in 1484.
- SCALIGER (*Joseph*) the Son of the former; likewise an excellent Critick.
- SCANDINAVIA, anciently a vast *Northern Peninsula*, containing what is yet call'd *Schonen*, anciently *Scania*, belonging to *Denmark*, and Part of *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Lapland*.
- SCAURUS (*M. Aurelius*) a noble *Roman*.
- SCHATENIUS (*Nic.*) a *Westphalian Jesuit*, of the last Century, who wrote a History of that Country.
- SCHELD, a noted River in the *Low Countries*, which arises in *Picardy*, and washing several of the principal Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, in its Course, falls into the *German Ocean* in two Mouths, one retaining its own Name, and the other call'd the *Honte*.
- SCYRUS, an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, one of the *Cyclades*, over-against *Magnesia*.
- SCYTHÆ, v. *Scyths*.
- SCYTHIA, a large Country, properly *Crim-Tartary*; but, in History and Geography, greatly extended, and particularly divided into,
- SCYTHIA *Asiatica*, on either Side of Mount *Imaus*: And
- SCYTHIA *Europæa*, about the *Euxine Sea*, and the *Mæotick Lake*.
- SCYTHS, the ancient Inhabitants of these Countries, who extended their Dominion far and near, not only in the *North*, and other Parts of *Asia*; but possessed themselves of the greatest Part of *Europe*, insomuch that the *Ancient Germans*, *Gauls*, *Illyrians*, *Spaniards* and *Britons*, are reckon'd *Celto-Scythæ*.
- SEDUNI, an ancient People of *Swisserland*.
- SEDUSII, an ancient People of *Germany*, on the Borders of *Swabia*.
- SEGESTA, a City of *Upper Pannonia*.
- SEGESTES, a Prince of the *Cherusci*.
- SEGIMER, a General of the *Cherusci*.
- SEGIMUND, a Prince of the *Cherusci*.
- SEJNI, an ancient *German Nation*, Neighbours of the *Condrusi*.
- SEGUIANI, a People of *Gallia Celtica*, about where now *Lionois Forêt* is situate.
- SEINE, one of the principal Rivers of *France*, arising in the Duchy of *Burgundy*, not far from a Town of the same Name, and running thro' *Paris*, and by *Roan*, forms at *Caudebec* a great Arm of the Sea.
- SEISSEG, an ancient *Roman Town* in *Pannonia*, on the *Save*, now a Village in *Croatia*, on the Borders of *Sclavonia*.
- SEMNO, a Prince and General of the *Lygii*.
- SEMNONES, an ancient Nation of the *Celtæ*, who inhabited about the *Lionois*, in *Gaul*.
- SENONES } v. *Semnones*.
- SENNONES }
- SENS, a very ancient City of *France* (said to be built before *Rome*) on the River *Yonne*, in the Prefecture of *Champaign*.
- SEQUANA, v. *Seine*.
- SEQUANI, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*, inhabiting the Country now call'd the *Franche Comte*, or the *Upper Burgundy*.
- SERTIMIUS (*Severus*) the 21st *Roman Emperour*, who died in *England*, at *York*.
- SERAPIO } a Prince of the *Alemanni*, who,
- SERAPIS } with that Name, borrowed the *Egyptian Superstition*.
- SEPTORIUS, a noble *Roman* of *Marius's* Party.
- SERVIA, a Province of the *Turkish Empire*, of great Extent, in the Time of the *Roman Empire*, called *Mæsia Superior*.
- SERVIUS GALBA, v. *Galba*.
- SESITHACUS, a Prince of the *Cherusci*, the Son of *Segimer*.
- SESTERTIUS, a *Roman Coin*, of the Value of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of *Brass*.
- SEVERUS (*Libius*) a *Roman Emperour* in

in the *West*, who succeeded *Majorianus*.

SICAMBRI, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, between the *Maese* and the *Rhine*, where now *Guelderland* is ; tho' by some placed on the Banks of the *Mayn*.

SICILIA, v. *Sicily*.

SICILY, a large Island in the *Tyrhene Sea*, at the *South-west* Point of *Italy*, formerly call'd the Store-house of the *Roman* Empire, and the first Province the *Romans* possessed out of *Italy*, having conquer'd it A. U. C. 495, being 256 Years before *Christ*. Some of the ancients thought it to have been originally join'd to *Italy*.

SIDO, a King of the *Suevi*, who had follow'd *Maraboduus*, Nephew of *Vannius*.

SIDONIUS Apollinaris, a famous Philosopher and Poet, of *Lyons*, in the 5th Century, who took the Post of General against the *Goths*, and was afterwards Bishop of *Clermont*.

SIEGE, a River of *Germany*, which arises in the Country of *Nassau*, and falls into the *Rhine* above *Bonn*.

SIGISMUND, a Prince of the *Cherusci*, who was *Sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum*.

SIGOVESUS, a *Celtick* Prince, Nephew of *Ambigatus*.

SILINGI, a Nation of the *Vandals*.

SILVANUS, a *Frank*, the Son of *Bonitus*.

SINGERIC, a King of the *Goths*, whose Reign was of short Duration.

SINGIDUNUM, v. *Belgrade*.

SINUessa, a City of *Campania*, not far from the *Save*, an ancient *Roman* Colony, now in a ruinous Condition.

SINUS Codanus, v. *Baltick*.

SIRMISCH, a City in *Lower Hungary*, anciently in *Pannonia*, the *Lower*, now reduc'd by the *Turks* to a meer Village ; but famous for two *Arian* Councils, held under *Constantius*, in 351 and 357, and for being the Birth-place of *Probus*.

SIRMIUM, v. *Sirmisch*.

SLESVICK, a City in the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, the Capital of a Duchy of that Name, formerly call'd *South Jutland*, on the River *Slei*, (which falls into the *Baltick*,) four *German* Miles from the Mouth of it, now subject to *Denmark*.

SOANE, a River of *Sarmatia Asiatica*.

SOMME, a River of *Picardy* in *France*, which falls into the *British* Sea at *St. Valery*.

SOZOMENUS, an Historian of *Cyprus*, in the 5th Century.

SPAIN, one of the most considerable Kingdoms of *Europe*, anciently a Part of *Hesperia*, and likewise, at least a Part of it, call'd *Iberia*, divided by the Ancients into *Terraconensis*, *Bætica* and *Lusitania* ; now into 15 Kingdoms or Provinces, which however are reduced under three Crowns, or Governments, *Castile*, *Portugal* and *Arragon*.

SPANHEIM (Baron *Ezekiel von*) a learned Nobleman of *Brandenburg*, who being sent as *Prussian* Envoy to the Court of *Great Britain*, died at *London*, in 1710.

SPARTA, a City of *Peloponnesus*, now call'd *Misithra*, said to be so ancient as the Days of the Patriarch *Jacob*.

SPARTIANUS (*Ælius*) a *Latin* Historian, towards the Conclusion of the 3d Century.

SPESHARD, a Forest, in *Franconia*, between *Francfort* and *Fulda*.

SPIRE, an ancient City of *Germany*, in the now Upper Circle of the *Rhine*, and on that River ; a free Imperial City, but taken and burnt by the *French*, in 1689.

SPOLETO, a City of great Antiquity, of *Umbria*, in *Italy*, the Capital of a Duchy of the same Name, on the River *Tesino*, where are yet some stately Ruins of ancient *Roman* and *Gothick* Edifices.

SPOLETUM, v. *Spoletto*.

STATIUS, an eminent *Roman* Poet under *Domitian*.

STILICO, the Father-in-law of *Honorius*, first appointed one of his Guardians.

STRABO, a *Stoick* Philosopher, who wrote 17 Books of Geography, dedicated to *Tiberius*, in the Reign of whom, and of his Predecessor *Augustus*, he lived.

STRASBURG, a City of *Germany*, anciently the Capital of the *Tribocci*, on the *Rhine*, now the chief City of *Alsace*, belonging to the *French*; some pretend it is so ancient as to have been built 33 Years before the Birth of *Abraham*, of which, however, they give no Proof.

SUERIDUS. a General of the *Goths*.

SUETONIUS (*C. Tranquillus*) a Roman Writer, Secretary to the Emperour *Adrian*, who, among other Works, wrote the Lives of the 12 *Cæsars*.

SUEVIA, v. *Swabia*.

SUEVI, an ancient, great and warlike People of *Germany*, who possessed the greatest Part of it, from the *Rhine* to the *Elb*, but afterwards removed from the Northern Parts, and settled about the *Danube*, and some march'd into *Spain*, where they establish'd a Kingdom.

SUEVI Deditii, the *Suevi*, who were carried by *Tiberius* over the *Rhine*.

SUNICI, an ancient People of the Duchy of *Limburg*, where there is yet a Place call'd *Sunich*, a Name probably borrow'd from them.

SUNNO, a General of the *Franks*.

SUOMARIUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.

SWABIA, one of the ten Circles of *Germany*, situate between *Bavaria*, *Alsatia*, *Switzerland*, and *Franconia*, which had formerly its own Dukes; but is now divided, and subject to many Princes.

SYLVANUS, v. *Silvanus*.

SYNESIUS, a learned Bishop of *Ptolemais*, in the 5th Century.

SYRACUSA, once one of the noblest Cities of *Sicily*, said to be built by *Archias*, a *Corinthian*, above 700 Years before *Christ*; where *Archimedes* was kill'd at

the taking of it by the *Romans*, 210 Years before our Saviour. It has been so often entirely destroy'd, that it has no Remains to shew of its Antiquity.

SYRIA, a large Country of *Asia*, containing several Provinces.

SYRTES, two dangerous sandy Gulphs, in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coast of *Barbary*, in *Africa*.

T

TACITUS (*M. Claudius*) the 38th Roman Emperour, who was 70 Years of Age when elected, and reign'd but 6 Months.

TACITUS (*Pub. Cornelius*) an excellent Roman Orator and Historian, who liv'd in the Reigns of ten Emperours, from *Nero* to *Adrian*, both inclusive.

TAIFALI, v. *Thaifali*.

TANAIS, a very large River in *Scythia*, dividing *Asia* from *Europe*: It rises in the Province of *Resan*, in *Muscovy*, and flowing thro' the *Crim Tartary*, runs into the *Mæotick Lake*, near a City of the same Name, now in Ruins, and in the Hands of the *Turks*.

TANFANA, a famous Temple in *Ancient Germany*, in the Dominions of the *Marfi*.

TARQUINIUS *Priscus*, the 5th King of *Rome*.

TARRACONA } a City of *Spain*, which,
TARRAGONA } in ancient Time, gave Name to that Part of it call'd *Terraconensis*; by some said to be built by the *Scipio's*, tho' others say before the *Roman Conquest*, and that they only enlarged it. It stands on the Mouth of the River *Tulcis* (now *el Fracoli*) with a small Haven on the *Mediterranean*.

TARSOS, the Metropolis of *Cilicia*, famous for being the Birth-Place of *St. Paul*.

TAURINA *Sylva*, the Forest of *Turin*.

TAURUS (Mount) the greatest Mountain in all *Asia*, extending from the *Indian* to the *Ægean Sea*, call'd by different Names

Names in different Countries; viz. *Imaus, Caucasus, Caspius*, by the Greeks, *Ceraufius*, and, in Scripture, *Ararat*. *Herbert* says it is 50 *English* Miles over, and 1500 long.

TECK, a small River, in the County of *Rouffillon*, which springs out of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and falls into the *Mediterranean*.

TECTOSAGÆ } v. *Volcæ*.
TECTOSAGES }

TENCTERI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, bordering on the *Rhine*.

TERENTIA, the Wife of *Mæcenæ*, beloved by *Augustus*.

TERNI, an ancient *Roman* Colony, on the River *Nare*, 12 Miles from *Spoletò*.

TEROUANNE, a City of *Artois*, in the *Low Countries*, on the River *Leye*.

TETRICUS, who assumed the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in *Gaul*, but, after a very short Reign, resign'd to *Aurelianus*.

TEUTENBURG, a noted Place in the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, in *Westphalia*, where *Arminius* overthrew a select Army of the *Romans*, under *Q. Varus*.

TEUTOBOCCHUS, a King of the *Teutones*.

TEUTOBURGUM, v. *Doesburg*.

TEUTOBORGIIUM, v. *Teutenburg*.

TEUTONES } an ancient People bordering
TEUTONI } on the *Cimbri*, the common
ancient Name for all the *Germans*, whence they yet call themselves *Teutsche*, and their Country *Teutschland*.

TEUTONICK, of or belonging to the *Ancient Germans*.

TEUTSCHE, v. *Germans*.

THAIFALI, an ancient Nation of *Gothick* Extraction.

THEBES, a City of *Bæotia*, in *Greece*, said to have been built, A. M. 2620, by *Cadmus*, destroy'd by *Alexander*, the Great, but rebuilt.

THEIS, a River of the *Upper Hungary*, which, arising in the *Carpathian* Mountains, flows thro' *Transylvania*, and here

falls into the *Danube*, a little below *Peterwaradin*.

THEMISTIUS, a famous *Greek* Orator, who lived about the Middle of the 4th Century.

THEODOMIR, a King of the *Franks*.

THEODIMIR, a Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*.

THEODORIC, I, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*.

THEODORIC, II, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*.

THEODORIC, the Son of *Theodomir*.

THEODORIC, a *Gothick* Prince, the Son of *Triareus*.

THEODORIX, the Son of *Baitoritus*, a Prince of the *Sicambri*.

THEODOSIUS, the Great, the 53d *Roman* Emperour, a good, virtuous, successful and generous Prince.

THEODOSIUS, the Younger, the Son of *Arcadius*, Emperour of the *East*.

THERMOPYLE, a famous Pass on the great Mountain *Ossa*, leading into *Phocis*, in *Achaia*, now call'd *Bocca di Lupo*.

THERUINGI, a Nation of the *Wisi-Goths*.

THESSALY, a Country of *Greece*, formerly a great Part of *Macedonia*, now call'd *Janna*.

THESSALONIA, the chief City of *Macedonia*, now call'd *Salonichi*.

THEUDORIX, a Prince of the *Sicambri*.

THOLOUSE, a City of *Aquitain*, of great Antiquity, the Capital of *Languedoc*, (call'd anciently *Tolose Tectosagum*) on the *Garonne*.

THORISMOND, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*.

THRACE, a large Country of *Europe*, Eastward from *Macedonia*, commonly call'd *Romania*, bounded with the *Euxine* and *Ægean* Seas.

THUMELICUS, the Son of *Arminius*.

THUROVARUS, a General of the *Goths*.

THURINGI, the Inhabitants of *Thuringia*.

THURINGIA, a Country of *Germany*, in the Upper Circle of *Saxony*, between *Misnia*, *Brumswick*, *Hesse* and *Franconia*. It had formerly its own Kings, but is now divided among many Princes.

THUS-

- THUSNELDA**, the Daughter of *Segestes*, and Wife of *Arminius*.
- TIBERIUS**, the 3d Roman Emperour, a cruel and debauch'd Prince.
- TIBER**, v. *Tyber*.
- TIGURINI**, a Nation of the *Helvetii*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Canton of *Zurich*, in *Switzerland*.
- TILLEMONT** (*Seb. le Nain de*) a famous French Historian in the 17th Century.
- TOMI**, a City of *Pontus*, famous for being the Place of *Ovid's* Banishment.
- TOMOS** } v. *Tomi*.
TOMUS }
- TONGRES**, an ancient and formerly a very large City of the *Low Countries*, now a small Town in that Part belonging to the Bishop of *Liege*.
- TOSCANA**, v. *Tuscia*.
- TOUL**, a City of *Lorain*, upon the *Mosel*.
- TOURNAY**, a City anciently in *Gallia Celtica*, now in *Flanders*, upon the *Scheld*.
- TOXANDRI**, an ancient People of the *Low Countries*, about *Breda* and *Gertruydenburg*; but according to some of the *Diocele* of *Liege*.
- TOXANDRIA**, the District they inhabited.
- TRAJAN**, the 14th Roman Emperour, generally call'd the Good, tho' a Persecutor of the *Christians*.
- TRAJANA Colonia**, v. *Colonia Trajana*.
- TRANSYLVANIA**, a large Province of *Europe*, situate between *Upper Hungary*, *Wallachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Polish Russia*, subject to its own Prince, who is a Vassal of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.
- TRAPEZUNT**, the Capital of *Natolia*, on the *Euxine Sea*.
- TRAPEZUS**, v. *Trapezunt*.
- TREBONIUS**, the 3d Conspirator, who, with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, slew *Julius Cæsar*.
- TREB. Pollio**, v. *Pollio*.
- TRENT**, a City in the North Part of *Italy*, on the Borders of *Tyrol*, famous for a Council begun A. 1545.
- TREVES**, v. *Triers*.
- TREVIRI**, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, from whom the City of *Triers* was so named.
- TREVIRIS**, v. *Triers*.
- TRIBIGILD**, a *Gothick* General.
- TRIBOCCI**, an ancient People of *Germany*, about *Straßburg*.
- TRIBOCES**, v. *Tribocci*.
- TRIDENTUM**, v. *Trent*.
- TRIERS**, a very ancient City of *Lower Germany*, on the *Mosel*, said to have been built by *Trebetas*, the Brother of *Ninus*, 1496 Years before *Christ*; made a Roman Colony in the Time of *Augustus*, and afterwards the most famous City of *Gallia Belgica*. It was for some Time the Seat of the *Western Empire*, now only the Seat of the Ecclesiastical Elector of that Name.
- TRIPOLI**, a large City of *Barbary*, on the *Mediterranean*, the Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name.
- TRISTAN de St. Amant** (J.) an Antiquary of *Paris*, of the 17th Century.
- TROY**, a City of *Phrygia*, in *Asia Minor*, near Mount *Ida*, razed by the *Greeks*, after a ten Years Siege, 432 Years before the Building of *Rome*.
- TRUDUS**, a King of the *Marcomanni*.
- TRUTINGI**, v. *Gruthingi*.
- TUBANTES**, an ancient People of *Germany*, about *Westphalia*.
- TUGEINI**, the People of *Tugium*, in *Helvetia*.
- TUGIUM**, a City and Canton of *Helvetia*, or *Switzerland*, now call'd *Zug*.
- TUISTO**, the great Ancestor of the *Germans*.
- TULINGI**, an ancient People of *Germany*, who inhabited about where now *Stutlingen*, in *Switzerland* is.
- TULL**, v. *Toul*.
- TUNGRI**, an ancient People inhabiting about where *Tongres*, in *Liege*, now is.
- TUSCANY**, v. *Tuscia*.
- TUSCIA**, *Tuscany*, anciently call'd *Tyrrhenia*, and *Etruria*.
- TUSCII**, the Inhabitants of *Tuscany*.

TYBER, one of the most noted, tho' not largest Rivers of *Italy*, which arises in one of the *Appennines*, and, among other Places, passing thro' *Rome*, falls into the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, at *Ostia*.

TYGRIS, a rapid River of *Asia*, which, in its Course, unites with the *Euphrates*.

U, V.

VADA, v. *Wagening*.

VADOMAR, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.

VAGUS, a large River in *Upper Hungary*.

VAILLANT (*J. Foy*) an Antiquary of *Beauvais* in the 17th Century.

VALAMIR, a Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*.

VALA Numonius, a Roman Officer, under *Quintilius Varus*.

VALENCE, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*, now in the *Dauphiny*, on the Rivers *Rhone* and *Isere*.

VALENCIA, a City of *Spain*, which gives Name to a whole Kingdom, about a Mile from the *Mediterranean*, suppos'd to be built by *Junius Brutus*.

VALENS, the 51st Emperour of *Rome*, who falling into the Hands of his Enemies, was burnt in a Cottage.

VALENTINIAN, I, the 50th Emperour of *Rome*, a virtuous Prince, and a strict Observer of Justice.

VALENTINIAN, II, the Son of *Valentinian, I*, Emperour of *Rome*, replaced upon the Throne by *Theodosius*, after the Death of *Gratian*.

VALENTINIAN, III, a Roman Emperour in the *West*, after the Death of *Honorius*.

VALERIA, a Country in *Upper Pannonia*.

VALERIAN, the 33d Roman Emperour, a Persecutor of the *Christians*, otherwise possessed of many good Qualities, but unfortunate.

VALERIUS Maximus, an Historian, who dedicated his Works to *Tiberius*.

VALERIUS Procellus, a renowned Gaul,

Cæsar's Ambassador to *Ariovistus*.

VALESTUS, a French Historiographer, about the Middle of the foregoing Century.

VANDALS, an ancient People of the Northern Parts of *Germany*, about *Mecklenburg*, and on the Coasts of the *Baltick*, who, in the 5th Century, together with the *Alani*, and others, made Incursions into *Gaul* and *Spain*, and, in the latter, gave the Name of *Vandalitia*, to Part of it, now call'd *Andalusia*; who, likewise, from thence, went into *Africa*, and establish'd a Kingdom there.

VANGIO, a Nephew of *Vannius*, and King of the *Suevi*, who had followed *Maraboduus*.

VANGIONES, an ancient People of *Germany*, about the City of *Worms*.

VANGIONUM Civitas, v. *Worms*.

VANNIUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

VARUS (*Quintilius*) made, by *Augustus*, *Præfetus Galliæ Cisalpinæ*.

UBII, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, who inhabited about where *Cologne* and the Duchy of *Juliers* now are; but in the Reign of *Claudius Cæsar* inhabited the other Side of the *Rhine*.

UBIORUM Oppidum, v. *Cologne*.

VECHT, a River in *Lower Germany*, which arises not far from *Munster*, and falls into the *Zuyder Zee*.

VEDUCUS, a Gothick Duke.

VELLEDA, a famous German Sorceress.

VELLEJUS Paterculus, an industrious Historian, who lived in the Times of the three first Emperours; and, being a Soldier also, was in most of the Actions, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, which he relates.

VELOCASSES, an ancient People of *Normandy*, about *Rouan*.

VELSERUS (*Marcus*) a learned Antiquary and Senator of *Augsburg*, in the 16th Century.

VENETI, this Name was anciently given as well to the *Venetians*, as to the People of *Vannes*, in *Little Britain*, in *France*, but there was another ancient People so call'd, whom our Author supposes to be included under the Name of *Sarmatæ*, and to have extended to the *East-Sea*, by *Ptolemy* call'd *Sinus Venedicus*.

VENETIÆ, v. *Venice*.

VENICE, a noble City of *Italy*, built upon 60 Islands, joined together by 500 Bridges, at the Top of the *Adriatick Gulph*, the Capital of a powerful Commonwealth.

VERAGRI, a People of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, whose chief Town was *Aguanum*, now *St. Maurice*.

VERCELLI (*the Plains of*) famous for a Victory the *Romans* obtained there over the *Cimbri*. The City of that Name is in *Piedmont*, on the River *Sesia*; on the Borders of the Duchy of *Milan*.

VEROMANDUI, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, whose Country, now a Part of *Picardy*, is still call'd *Vermandois*.

VERONA, a City of *Lombardy*, the Capital of a Province of the same Name, on the River *Adige*, said to be built by the *Gauls*, 282 Years before *Christ*. It has yet several Remains of Antiquity.

VERRITUS, a Prince of the *Frisii*.

VERUS (L.) who, with *M. Aurelius*, made together the 17th *Roman* Emperour.

VESONTIO, v. *Besancon*.

VESPASIAN, (*Titus Flav.*) the 10th *Roman* Emperour, the Father of *Titus*; a valiant, but withal a mild Prince.

VESTALPUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.

VETERA Castra, v. *Castra Vetera*.

VETERANIO, an Usurper of the Imperial Dignity in *Pannonia*, in the Time of *Constantius* the Younger.

VETUS (L.) a *Roman* Lieutenant in *Germany*.

VICTOR, a Bishop of *Worms*.

VICTORIA, the Mother of *Victorinus*, to whom the Title of *Mater Castrorum* was given.

VICTORINUS, assum'd and maintain'd, for some Time, the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, but was murder'd by his own Soldiers, near *Cologn*.

VIDERIC, a King of the *Greuthingi*.

VIDIMIR, a Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*.

VIDRUS, v. *Vecht*.

VIENNA, formerly an inconsiderable Place in *Pannonia*, now the Metropolis of *Austria*, and the Residence of the Emperour.

VILOCASSES, a People of *Gallia Belgica*.

VINDELICIA, otherwise call'd *Rætia Secunda*.

VINDELICI, an ancient People of *Germany*, Inhabitants of that Country.

VINDONISSA, v. *Windisch*.

VIRDOMARUS, v. *Viridomarus*.

VIRGIL, (*Virgilius Maro*) a famous *Latin* Poet of *Mantua*, born in the Consulat of *Pompey* and *Crassus*.

VIRIDOMARUS, a Commander of the ancient *Gauls*, slain by *Claudius Marcellus*.

VIRTHUNGI, v. *Futhungi*.

VISTULA, v. *Weichsel*.

VISUMAR, a King of the *Vandals*.

VISURGIS, v. *Wefer*.

VITELLIUS, the 9th *Roman* Emperour, for his vicious Life put to Death in the eighth Month of his Reign.

VITHERIUS, v. *Videric*.

VITHICABIUS, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.

VITHIMER, a King of the *Greuthingi*.

VITHUNGI, v. *Futhungi*.

VITODURUM, v. *Wintertbur*.

VITRODURUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

UIDES, a Prince of the *Hunns*.

ULPIA Castra, v. *Cleves*.

ULPIA TRAJANA, v. *Zarmigesothusa*.

ULPHILA, a *Gothick* Bishop, famous for inventing their Letters, and translating the

the Bible, or at least a Part of it, into the *Gotbick* Tongue.

ULPHILA, a *Goth* by Birth, but a General in the *Roman* Service.

UMBRIA, a large Country of *Italy*, on both Sides of the *Appennines*.

Voccio, a King of *Noricum*.

Vocion, a King of *Noricum*.

VOLCÆ *Tectosages*, a Colony of *Gauls*, in *Germania Magna*, originally of *Gallia Narbonensis*; but making an Incurfion into *Germany*, establish'd themselves near the *Hyrclinian* Forest.

VOLTORNO, a River in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which falls into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, North of that City.

VOPISCUS (*Flavius*) an Historian of *Syracusa*, in the Times of *Dioclesian* and *Constantius Chlorus*.

USATES, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.

USIPITES, an ancient People of *Germany*, who frequently changed their Habitation.

USSULDUN, a Town of *Guienne*, in *France*.

UTRICOLI, a little City in *Italy*, in the Duchy of *Spoletto*.

W

WAHL (or *Waal*) the middle Branch of the *Rhine*, which, passing by *Nimeguen*, falls into the *Maese*, above *Gorcum*.

WALLIA, a King of the *Wisi-Goths*.

WALACHIA, a Part of ancient *Dacia*.

WACHTER, a modern *Saxon* Author, yet living, who has lately publish'd a *Glossarium Germanicum*, in two Vol. in *Folio*.

WAGE, v. *Vagus*.

WAGENING, a little Town of *Guelderland*, on the Right of the *Rhine*, by some supposed to be the ancient *Vada*.

WESER, a River of *Lower Germany*, which arises in *Franconia*, and, among other Places of Note, passing by *Bremen*, falls into the *German Ocean*, not

far from the Mouth of the *Elb*, between that and the *Ems*.

WEICHSEL, a famous River of *Poland*, which arises in the *Carpathian Mountains*, in *Upper Silesia*, formerly parted *Germany* from *Sarmatia Europæa*, and falls into the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*, in three Mouths.

WESTPHALIA, one of the ten Circles of *Germany*.

WETTERAU, a Province in the Upper Circle of the *Rhine*.

WINDISCH, a City of *Bern*, in *Switzerland*, anciently call'd *Vindonissa*.

WISI-GOTHS (or *West-Goths*) v. *Goths*.

WITTEKIND, a famous *Saxon* Historian, of the 10th Century.

WORMS, a City of *Germany*, within the Bounds of the *Palatinate*, free and Imperial, on the *Western Bank* of the *Rhine*.

WINTERTHUR, a pretty Town, in the Canton of *Zurich*, in *Switzerland*.

Y

YSSEL (Old *Yssel*) a River, arising near *Heyden*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*, which, at *Doesburg*, unites with the *Fossa Drusiana*.

Z

ZABERN, a City of the *Lower Alsace*, on the River *Sorr*, four *German Miles* from *Strafsburg*. This is likewise call'd *Alsace-Zabern*; but there are two other Places of this Name; viz. *Berg-Zabern*, a little Town in the Duchy of *Deux Ponts*; and *Rhine-Zabern*, in the Bishoprick of *Spires*.

ZANTICUS, a King of the *Jazygi*.

ZARMIGESOTHUSA, the Capital of the ancient *Dacia*, in the Reign of *Decebalus*; but by *Trajan*, after his Conquest of that Country, call'd *Ulpia Trajana*.

ZECKLER (or *Siculi*) in *Transylvania*, supposed to be a Remnant of *Attila's Army*.

O o o o

ZE-

ZENO, a Philosopher of *Cyprus*, the Father of the *Stoicks*.

ZENO, Emperour in the *East*, who succeeded *Leo*.

ZENOBIA, a famous *Virago*, a Queen of *Palmyra*, Wife of *Odenatus*.

ZINGITANA, a Part of ancient *Africa*, now included in the Kingdom of *Algiers*.

ZOSIMUS, a *Greek* Historian, in the Time of *Theodosius*, the Younger.

ZÜLCH, a little Town, in the Duchy of *Fuliers*.

ZUYDER-ZEE (or *South-Sea*) a great Bay between *Friesland*, *Guelders* and *Holland*, separated from the *North-Sea*, by the Islands on the Coast of *Holland*: There goes out of it a Creek up to *Amsterdam*; and the Mouth or Entrance into this Bay, from the *North Sea*, is by the Island of *Texel*.



A N

I N D E X,

O F T H E

Most REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES
Of the First VOLUME.

NB. *The Roman Number is the Book ; the small Figures are the § ; and those with n the Note ; but when the first or second, or both are omitted, those immediately preceeding are to be understood.*

A

ABGANDASTER attempts to poison *Arminius*, iv. 21.

ADRIAN bears the Surname of *Germanicus*, v. 7. causes the *Roman* Confines to be secured against the *Germans*, *ib.*

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ship, Divinations, &c. *ib.* are surpriz'd by the *Hunns*, 15. fight a Battle with *Gratian*, 23, 27. invade *Gaul*, viii. 15. they separate, 30. a Part of them submit to the Dominion of the *Vandals*, 41. the Rest settle in *Gaul*, about *Valence*, ix. 15. wage War with *Attila*, 33. establish themselves in *Scythia Minor*, x. 7. invade *Italy*, 18.

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O o o o 2 *Rome*,

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- ALEXANDER SEVERUS, whether he was murder'd at *Mentz*, v. 28. n. 5.
- AMBER mention'd by *Herodotus*, v. *Æstii*.
- AMBIGATUS sends Colonies into *Germany* and *Italy*, i. 3.
- AMBIORIX defeats *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, ii. 16. attacks *Q. Cicero* in his Camp, 17. escapes the Snare laid for him by *Julius Cæsar*, 26.
- AMBRONES join the *Cimbri*, i. 9. are totally routed by *Marius*, 12.
- ANDERNACH, built by *Julian*, vi. 60.
- ANGLES go to *Britain*, ix. 35.
- ANGRIVARII, where they inhabited, iv. 10. are vanquish'd by the *Romans*, *ib.* surprize the *Bruëteri*, v. 8.
- ANICIA GENS, whether the House of *Habsburg* be descended from them, x. 23. n. 1.
- ANSIBARII, whence so call'd, iv. 34. n. 1. are drove away by the *Chauci*, 34. are known again among the *Auxilia Palatina*, vi. 58. n. 6.
- ANTÆ, their Form of Government, Religion, &c. vi. 43. n. 4.
- ANTONINUS PIUS repairs the Highways in *Lower Germany*, v. 11.
- ANTONINUS (M.) bears the Title of *Germanicus*, v. 14. Columns erected in Honour to him, on Account of the *Marcomann* War, 21. His Death at *Vienna*, 22.
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- ARDARIC serves under *Attila*, ix. 25. defeats his Sons, x. 6. his golden Coins prohibited in the *Burgundian* Statutes, *ib.*
- ARDENNE (*the Forest of*) how far it extended, in the Days of *Julius Cæsar*, ii. 15, 24.
- ARIOVISTUS vanquishes *Gaul*, ii. 2. obtains, from the *Romans*, the Title of King, *ib.* is defeated by *Julius Cæsar*, 6. whether this Battle was fought near *Basil*, n. 5. his two Queens, 6. his Death, *ib.*
- ARMINIUS serves at first in the *Roman Army*, iii. 22. is admitted a *Roman Knight*, 25. carries away *Thusnelda*, the Daughter of *Segestes*, iv. 3. encounters *Germanicus*, 5, 12. was Master of the *Latin Tongue*, 10. is engag'd in a War with *Maroboduus*, 18. his Death, 21. whether the *Irmen Saul* was erected in Honour to him? *ib.* routs *Quintilius Varus*, 26.
- ASCARICUS given, by *Constantine*, the Great, a Prey to the wild Beasts, vi. 15. n. 1.
- ASPAR is *Patricius* and *Magister Militum*, x. 29.

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AURELIAN bears the Title of *Germanicus Maximus*, v. 49. refuses that of *Carpicus*, 50.

B

BASTERNÆ are accounted *Germans*, by *Pliny*, i. 2. n. 4. are concern'd in the *Marcomann* War with *M. Antoninus*, v. 13. n. 1. are carried, by *Probus*, over the *Danube*, 55.

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